

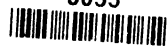


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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

VOLUME 2

MARCH, 1937

NUMBER 1

Tenancy in the Central States

Dwight Sanderson

Structural Changes in Rural Russia

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Notes

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Current Bulletins

Edited by Charles P. Loomis and Helen Wheeler

Book Reviews

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The Effect of the Depression on Tenancy In the Central States

Dwight Sanderson

THERE IS a general impression that the depression has caused a considerable increase in the number of tenant farmers. If the gross increase is considered this is true, for the number of tenant farmers in the United States increased 7.5 per cent from 1930 to 1935 (Table I). However, if the proportion of farm operators who were tenants is considered, it is found that there was an actual decrease (0.3 points) from that of 1930. In both the North and the South the largest proportion of tenancy was in the Central States. The gross increase or decrease and the percentages of all farms which were operated by tenants, with the points of increase or decrease between censuses for three divisions, are given in Table 1.¹ In all of the North Central States the proportion of tenancy increased; but in Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa the percentage of all farms operated by tenants increased less than from 1925 to 1930. In the South Central States the percentage of tenants declined in all states except Kentucky, in which the increase was less than from 1925 to 1930, and Tennessee, which remained the same. These facts indicate that the effect of the depression on tenancy was very different in the North than in the South, and that it was different in some states from others. The differences in the North Central States indicate the need for careful analysis of the tenancy trend in each state and by agricultural regions. It will be particularly important to isolate the influence of the increase of small farms and part-time farms near cities from the trend of tenancy in the strictly agricultural counties devoted to general farming.

Dwight Sanderson is professor and head of the department of rural social organization at Cornell University.

¹ Data for this and the following tables from *United States Census of Agriculture, 1935*, Vol. I, and *Press Release* of March 16, 1935, "Farm, Acreage and Value by Color and Tenure of Operator."

TABLE I

PERCENTAGES OF INCREASE OR DECREASE IN NUMBER OF FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS, 1930 TO 1935; PERCENTAGES OF ALL FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS, 1910 TO 1935; AND POINTS OF INCREASE OR DECREASE BETWEEN CENSUSES FOR THE NORTH CENTRAL AND SOUTH CENTRAL STATES

STATES	Per Cent Increase or Decrease in Number of Tenant Farms 1930 to 1935	Per Cent of all Farms Operated by Tenants					Points Increase or Decrease in Per Cent of Farms Operated by Tenants Between Censuses of			
		1935	1930	1925	1920	1910	1930-1935	1925-1930	1920-1925	1910-1920
East North Central.....	21.2	29.4	27.3	.....	.....	.....	2.1	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	28.1	28.9	26.3	25.5	29.4	28.4	2.6	0.8	-3.9	1.0
Indiana.....	16.4	31.6	30.1	29.2	32.0	30.0	1.5	0.9	-2.8	2.0
Illinois.....	11.2	44.4	43.1	41.7	42.6	41.4	1.3	1.4	-0.9	1.2
Michigan.....	42.5	19.0	15.5	15.1	17.7	15.8	3.5	0.4	-2.6	1.9
Wisconsin.....	24.6	20.7	18.2	15.5	14.4	13.9	2.5	2.7	1.1	0.5
West North Central.....	13.2	42.6	39.9	.....	.....	.....	2.7	.....	.....	.....
Minnesota.....	18.7	33.7	31.1	27.1	24.7	21.0	2.6	4.0	2.4	3.7
Iowa.....	8.4	49.6	47.3	44.7	41.7	37.8	2.3	2.6	3.0	3.9
Missouri.....	21.2	38.8	34.6	32.6	28.8	30.0	4.2	2.0	3.8	-1.2
North Dakota.....	20.9	39.1	35.1	34.4	25.6	14.3	4.0	0.7	8.8	11.3
South Dakota.....	9.1	48.6	44.4	41.5	34.9	24.8	4.2	2.9	6.6	10.1
Nebraska.....	7.8	49.3	47.1	46.4	42.9	38.1	2.2	0.7	3.5	4.8
Kansas.....	9.2	44.0	42.4	42.2	40.4	36.8	1.6	0.2	1.8	3.6
East South Central.....	5.0	54.8	55.9	.....	.....	.....	-1.1	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	16.7	37.1	35.9	32.2	33.4	33.9	1.2	3.7	-1.2	-0.5
Tennessee.....	11.4	46.2	46.2	41.0	41.1	41.1	.0	5.2	-0.1	.0
Alabama.....	5.6	64.5	64.7	60.8	57.9	60.2	-0.2	3.9	2.9	-2.3
Mississippi.....	-3.4	69.8	72.2	68.3	66.1	66.1	-2.4	3.9	2.2	.0
West South Central.....	-1.5	59.5	62.3	.....	.....	.....	-2.8	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	-0.6	60.0	63.0	56.7	51.2	50.0	-3.0	6.3	5.5	1.2
Louisiana.....	-0.8	63.7	66.6	60.0	57.1	55.3	-2.9	6.6	2.9	1.8
Oklahoma.....	4.0	61.2	61.5	58.5	50.9	54.8	-0.3	3.0	7.6	-3.9
Texas.....	-5.1	57.1	60.9	60.4	53.3	52.6	-3.8	0.5	7.1	0.7
United States.....	7.5	42.1	42.4	38.6	38.0	37.0	-0.3	3.8	0.6	1.0

The importance of such an analysis has been well shown by Frey and Smith in a study of tenancy in 10 southern states of 170 counties with a high proportion of croppers,² which gives the picture of the tenancy situation in the counties with high production of cotton. Their comparisons, however, are of the percentage of increase in the numbers of tenants of each class.

The trend of tenancy, the analysis of changes in the type and color

² Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, "The Influence of the AAA Cotton Program upon the Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer," *Rural Sociology*, (December, 1936), 483-505.

of tenants, and a comparison with other parts of the country are better made by using the percentages of all farms operated by tenants, although the contrasts would be greater if confined to the counties where there are most croppers. To reveal the factors which caused a decline of tenancy in the South from 1930 to 1935 it is necessary to separate

TABLE II

PERCENTAGES OF THE NUMBER OF ALL FARMS WHICH WERE OPERATED BY CROPPERS, AND INCREASE OR DECREASE BETWEEN CENSUSES, SOUTH CENTRAL STATES, 1920 TO 1935

STATES	Per Cent of Farms Operated by Croppers				Points Increase or Decrease Between Censuses of		
	1935	1930	1925	1920	1930-1935	1925-1930	1920-1925
East South Central							
Kentucky.....	11.9	12.3	10.2	10.9	-0.4	+2.1	-0.7
Tennessee.....	18.8	20.5	16.0	15.1	-1.7	+4.5	+0.9
Alabama.....	24.9	25.4	21.3	18.7	-0.5	+4.1	+2.6
Mississippi.....	44.0	43.3	39.5	31.9	+0.7	+3.8	+7.6
West South Central							
Arkansas.....	26.0	31.0	25.1	20.4	-5.0	+5.9	+4.7
Louisiana.....	29.7	30.7	25.7	23.1	-1.0	+5.0	+2.6
Oklahoma.....	6.4	10.4	6.6	4.6	-4.0	+3.8	+2.0
Texas.....	15.3	21.3	19.6	15.7	-6.0	+1.7	+3.9
TOTAL.....	21.8	24.5	....	....	-2.7	.....	.....

TABLE III

PERCENTAGES OF THE NUMBER OF ALL FARMS WHICH WERE OPERATED BY "OTHER TENANTS," AND INCREASE OR DECREASE BETWEEN CENSUSES, SOUTH CENTRAL STATES, 1920 TO 1935

STATES	Per Cent of Farms Operated by Other Tenants				Points Increase or Decrease Between Censuses of		
	1935	1930	1925	1920	1930-1935	1925-1930	1920-1925
East South Central							
Kentucky.....	25.2	23.6	22.0	22.5	1.6	2.0	-0.5
Tennessee.....	27.4	25.7	25.0	26.0	1.7	0.7	-1.0
Alabama.....	39.6	39.3	39.5	39.2	0.3	-0.2	0.3
Mississippi.....	25.8	28.9	28.8	34.2	-3.1	0.1	-5.4
West South Central							
Arkansas.....	34.0	32.0	31.6	30.8	2.0	-0.4	0.8
Louisiana.....	34.1	36.0	34.3	34.0	-1.9	2.3	0.3
Oklahoma.....	54.8	51.1	51.9	46.3	3.7	-0.8	5.6
Texas.....	41.8	39.6	40.8	37.6	2.2	-1.2	3.2
TOTAL.....	35.4	34.6	....	....	+0.8	.....	.....

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGES OF ALL FARMS, BY COLOR OF TENANT OPERATORS AND TYPE OF TENANCY, AND POINTS OF INCREASE OR DECREASE BETWEEN CENSUSES. SOUTH CENTRAL STATES, 1930, 1935

STATE	Per Cent of all Farms Operated by						Points Increase or Decrease 1930-1935					
	White Tenants			Colored Tenants			White Tenants			Colored Tenants		
	Total	Croppers	Other Tenants	Total	Croppers	Other Tenants	Total	Croppers	Other Tenants	Total	Croppers	Other Tenants
Kentucky.....	35.6	10.9	24.7	1.5	1.0	0.4	+1.7	-0.1	+1.8	-0.5	-0.3	-0.3
1930.....	33.9	11.0	22.9	2.0	1.3	0.7						
Tennessee.....	36.6	12.9	23.6	9.6	5.8	3.8	+1.5	-0.8	+2.2	-1.4	-0.9	-0.5
1935.....	35.1	13.7	21.4	11.0	6.7	4.3						
Alabama.....	36.8	12.7	24.1	27.6	12.2	15.4	+2.4	-1.9	+4.3	-2.7	+1.5	-4.1
1935.....	34.4	14.6	19.8	30.3	10.7	19.5						
Mississippi.....	22.4	9.9	12.5	47.4	34.1	13.3	+1.5	-0.4	+1.9	-3.8	+1.3	-5.0
1930.....	20.9	10.3	10.6	51.2	32.8	18.3						
Arkansas.....	36.3	9.7	26.6	23.7	16.2	7.5	+1.4	-2.5	+3.9	-4.4	-2.6	-1.8
1930.....	34.9	12.2	22.7	28.1	18.8	9.3						
Louisiana.....	28.7	9.8	18.9	34.9	19.7	15.2	+1.2	-0.9	+2.1	-4.3	-0.3	-4.0
1935.....	27.5	10.7	16.8	39.2	20.0	19.2						
Oklahoma.....	56.1	5.1	50.9	5.2	1.3	3.9	+1.8	-3.0	+4.7	-1.9	-0.9	-1.0
1930.....	54.3	8.1	46.2	7.1	2.2	4.9						
Texas.....	46.9	10.1	36.8	10.0	5.0	5.0	-0.8	-3.8	+3.0	-3.0	-2.2	-0.9
1935.....	47.7	13.9	33.8	13.2	7.3	5.9						
TOTAL.....	38.0	10.3	27.7	19.2	11.5	7.7	+1.1	-1.8	+2.9	-3.0	-0.9	-2.1
1930.....	36.9	12.1	24.8	22.2	12.4	9.8						

types and color of tenants. The percentage of all farms operated by croppers increased from 1920 to 1930, but declined in all the South Central States except Mississippi from 1930 to 1935, whereas the percentage of "other tenants" increased in the last five years in all of these states except Mississippi and Louisiana (Tables II and III). With the exception of the last two, the increase in the percentage of the other tenants was similar to that in the North Central States. If the croppers are separated by color of operator, it is found that the percentage of white croppers decreased in all states and that the percentage of colored croppers also decreased in all except Alabama and Mississippi (Table IV). On the other hand, the percentage of other tenants who were white increased in all states but declined for the colored "other tenants" in all states. It is evident, therefore, that the decrease in tenancy was due to the decrease of croppers, while the percentage of white tenants actually increased.

If the percentage of all croppers and of all other tenants for the color of operator is computed, as in Tables V and VI, it is found that the proportion of white croppers decreased and that of the colored croppers increased in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana, whereas the proportion of "other tenants" who were white increased the most and that of those who were colored decreased the most in the same states. This would seem to indicate that white croppers were displaced by Negro croppers, and that negro "other tenants" became croppers in these states. Although the proportion of colored croppers increased in these four states, there must have been a considerable number of colored croppers who lost their status as croppers, for the proportion of all

TABLE V
PERCENTAGES OF ALL CROPPERS BY COLOR OF OPERATOR

STATES	Per Cent of all Croppers				Points Increase or Decrease Between 1930 and 1935	
	White		Colored		White	Colored
	1935	1930	1935	1930		
Kentucky.....	91.6	89.7	8.4	10.3	+1.9	-1.9
Tennessee.....	68.7	67.1	31.3	32.9	+1.6	-1.6
Alabama.....	51.1	57.6	48.9	42.4	-6.5	+6.5
Mississippi.....	22.4	23.9	77.6	76.1	-1.5	+1.5
Arkansas.....	37.5	39.4	62.5	60.6	-1.9	+1.9
Louisiana.....	33.3	34.8	66.7	65.2	-1.5	+1.5
Oklahoma.....	80.3	78.3	19.7	21.7	+2.0	-2.0
Texas.....	66.4	65.5	33.6	34.5	+0.9	-0.9

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGES OF ALL OTHER TENANTS BY COLOR OF OPERATOR

STATES	Per Cent of All Other Tenants				Points Increase or Decrease Between 1930 and 1935	
	White		Colored		White	Colored
	1935	1930	1935	1930		
Kentucky.....	97.9	96.9	2.1	3.1	1.0	-1.0
Tennessee.....	86.1	83.0	13.9	17.0	3.1	-3.1
Alabama.....	60.9	50.3	39.1	49.7	10.6	-10.6
Mississippi.....	48.5	36.6	51.5	63.4	11.9	-11.9
Arkansas.....	79.1	70.8	20.9	14.8	8.3	-8.3
Louisiana.....	53.6	46.7	46.4	53.3	6.9	-6.9
Oklahoma.....	92.9	90.3	7.1	9.7	2.6	-2.6
Texas.....	87.9	85.2	12.1	14.8	2.7	-2.7

tenants and of all operators (including owners) who were white increased in all states and more decidedly in these four states (Table VII).

From the above data it is evident that to determine the effect of the depression upon changes in farm tenure will require careful analysis for each state, or preferably for agricultural regions and particularly types of counties. To what extent these changes were due to the depression or were the result of the policies of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and of better credit facilities through the Farm Credit Administration will probably be difficult to determine, but warrants detailed analysis.³

Frey and Smith⁴ state that one effect of the AAA program has been to decrease the mobility of cotton tenants and croppers in the South. That there has been a decrease in mobility is shown by the census figures of the percentage of croppers reporting the years on the farm in 1935 as contrasted with 1930. Although there was a slight increase in the percentage of croppers on the farm under one year, the percentage of those who had been on the same farm only one year was very much less in 1935 than in 1930, while those on the same farm for two years showed a considerable increase⁵ throughout the South. This data on the period of farm occupancy will warrant careful study to show the

³ For examples of such studies see Gordon W. Blackwell, "The Displaced Tenant Farm Family in North Carolina," *Social Forces*, XIII (1934), 65-73; Harold Hoffsommer, "The AAA and the Cropper," *Social Forces* XIII (1935), 494-502. Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 81.

⁴ *Op. cit.*

⁵ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U. S. Census of Agriculture*, 1935. "Period of Farm Occupancy," *Press Release*, October 28, 1936.

TABLE VII
PERCENTAGES OF ALL OPERATORS AND OF ALL TENANTS, BY COLOR
OF OPERATOR, SOUTH CENTRAL STATES, 1930, 1935

STATES	Per Cent of All Operators, White		Per Cent of All Tenants, White		Points Increase Between 1930 and 1935	
	1935	1930	1935	1930	of All Operators, White	of All Tenants, White
Kentucky.....	97.0	96.3	95.9	94.4	0.7	1.5
Tennessee.....	87.4	85.7	79.0	76.0	1.4	3.0
Alabama.....	66.6	63.5	57.1	53.2	3.1	3.9
Mississippi.....	45.7	41.5	32.1	29.0	4.2	3.1
Arkansas.....	71.8	67.1	60.5	55.4	4.7	5.1
Louisiana.....	58.6	54.3	45.1	41.2	4.3	3.9
Oklahoma.....	91.6	88.2	91.5	88.4	3.4	3.1
Texas.....	85.6	82.6	82.2	78.3	3.0	3.9

areas of low and high mobility and should make possible the determination of just when changes of tenure within given areas occurred.

Changes of tenure are socially significant only as they indicate the probable changes in standards of living and social relations which go with them. The social aspects of tenancy in the South and in the North are radically different. It has long been held that areas with a high percentage of tenants have poorer social conditions, and there is considerable evidence to support this view. This has been clearly shown for the South by previous investigations,⁶ but in the better counties of the Corn Belt the effect of increasing tenancy upon social conditions in their communities has never been accurately described or measured. Tenancy is already an acute economic problem, but public policy with relation to it should be based upon an accurate knowledge of the social trends produced by it. For this purpose we need comprehensive studies of the social effects of tenancy in counties where it is highest in the Corn Belt as well as throughout the South.

⁶ Cf. C. C. Taylor and C. C. Zimmerman, "Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers," *Special Bulletin North Carolina Tenancy Commission* (N. C. Board of Agriculture, 1923). E. C. Branson and J. A. Dickey, "How Farm Tenants Live," *University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin*, II (January, 1, 1923).

Structural Changes In Rural Russia

N. S. Timasheff

I

THE POSTWAR PERIOD has been an epoch of far-reaching structural changes in rural society. Agrarian reforms carried out in many states of Central and Eastern Europe have abolished the landowner class; in these countries the peasant class has become dominant in rural areas. On the other hand, as a result of the world depression, in several countries the productive activity of the villages has been subjected to compulsory organization (marketing boards in England, wheat laws in France, AAA in the United States). Further, the rise of the Totalitarian State, which was simultaneously the revival of the Corporative State of the Middle Ages, transformed free rural producers in Italy and Germany into members of Rural Guilds.

Much deeper still have been the structural changes effectuated by Communism in rural Russia. Here the peasant class has been abolished and replaced by a hybrid class, uniting the characteristics of half-free hired workers, of small land-tenants, and of shareholders in large agricultural enterprises. This did not happen all at once. There has probably never been a more agitated history of structural changes in rural areas than that of Russia during recent years.

II

The Communists gained power in Russia at a time when the rural structure of the country was undergoing peaceful, but far-reaching changes: first, the total cultivated land was being gradually absorbed by peasants, with the elimination of the landlords, and secondly, the traditional half-socialist structure of the *mir* (or village commune) was being replaced by individual ownership of Western type.

(1) When, in the year 1861, the serfs were liberated by order of the Emperor Alexander II, 148 million hectares (in European Russia) be-

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came the property of the agrarian communities called *mirs*; 89 million hectares remained the property of landlords.¹

Half a century later, on the eve of the War, the situation was quite different. Only 44 million hectares were still the property of landlords; the rest as well as about six million hectares of state lands² had been bought by peasants and had become their individual (not *mir*) property.

The process of liquidating large estates took place with the help of the government, which, in the years 1882 and 1885, created special banks for that purpose. The speed of the process increased with every decade. The last decade before the War increased the peasant's possessions nearly as much as the preceding 40 years. Twenty years more of peaceful development with the same trend, and the category of landlords would have become, in Russia, only a historical reminiscence.

(2) Until the year 1906, the Russian village was dominated by the peculiar *mir*-structure. It was a structure combining common property with almost individual economic activity. The land belonged to groups of homesteads, *mirs*. After a certain number of years (determined according to local custom, which played a very large part in rural life), this land was divided among the homesteads; every homestead received a portion of every field or of every subdivision of the field; land was allotted to the separate homesteads in the ratio of the number of family-members or, in certain parts of Russia, of adult male workers in the homesteads. For the corresponding period the portions had to be cultivated individually; but almost everywhere local custom imposed upon the homesteads the obligation of allowing the cattle of the village to be pastured on fallow ground until late in summer; a definite rotation of crops was also imposed by the *mir*.

This *mir*-structure was simultaneously (a) an incentive towards an unrestricted increase of rural population (for a homestead received land in direct proportion to its numbers)³ and (b) an inhibition of improving agricultural methods. The rural population of Russia increased from 58 million in 1860 to 155 million in 1915.⁴ As agricultural

¹ A. P. Markow, *Outlines of the Economic Geography of Russia* (Paris, 1930), I, 83. Cf. for the prerevolutionary period, Alexis N. Antsiferov, Alexander D. Bilimovich, Michael O. Batshev, and Dimitry N. Ivantsov, *Russian Agriculture During the War in Economic and Social History of the World War*, New Haven, 1930.

² This represented almost the totality of arable soil which had belonged to the state in the European part of Russia.

³ Cf. O. v. Niedermayer and J. Semionow, *Sowjetrussland, Eine geopolitische Problemstellung* (Berlin, 1934), p. 19.

⁴ Markow, *op. cit.*, I, 81.

techniques advanced only slowly, the situation of the peasantry, especially in Central and Southwestern Russia, became alarming. Peasant unrest in the years 1902-3 in the governments of Poltava and Kharkow, followed during the revolutionary years 1905-6 by much more serious disturbances, testified to this fact.

The disturbances and riots showed that the subjective attitude of the Russian peasants towards the agrarian question was determined by the idea of acquiring in their totality the landlords' estates, if possible without any indemnity. With the help of revolutionary parties of the so-called *Narodniki* (or populist) trend, the slogans were coined: "The land is God's or nobody's!" "It must be possessed by families who cultivate it with their own hands." A radical reform was necessary in order to prevent a revolutionary destruction of the social order.

This reform was the work of one of the most able statesmen in Russian history, P. A. Stolypin (Premier-Minister 1906-1911). A provisional law of November 9, 1906, which on June 10, 1910, and May 29, 1911, was replaced by definite ones, allowed the peasants to separate their allotments from the agrarian communities. They could become immediately private owners of the portions which they possessed in the common fields and later, if they wished, have their portions united into one allotment and their houses and stalls rebuilt there with governmental help. Peasants seemed to have been won over by the sound doctrine that only increased production by means of improved techniques and by separating from the *mir* could show a way out of the agrarian deadlock. On January 1, 1916, 6.2 millions homesteads had made their applications in order to become separated in the near future.⁵ Had the movement continued with the same speed, agrarian communities would have existed no more by the year 1935.

Both processes (the elimination of the landlords and the transformation of the *mir* into private property) were far from being brought to an end when the War broke out. The economic situation of rural Russia, on an average, was much better in 1914 than it had been 10 years earlier, but there were in the villages elements which had reasons to be dissatisfied. The Stolypin reform gave good opportunities to the rich and well-to-do peasants, but not to the poorer ones. Farms of two to three hectares of arable soil which were farmed with the backward techniques of Russian agriculture (an inheritance of the *mir*-structure)

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

could not become self-sufficient. On the other hand, the pasturage custom, which was especially profitable to poorer homesteads, was abolished with the introduction of separate allotments. Stolypin and his collaborators were aware of these repercussions, but according to their opinion there was no other path open for Russian agriculture. Poor peasants would have to sell their portions and join industry, which in the years before the War developed with truly American speed.⁶

The revolutionary situation, crested by the War and the maladjustment of the Government to the War conditions, strengthened such trends and in general resulted in the revival of the old peasant attitude towards the agrarian question.

The slogan "land" (i.e., the redistribution of land without indemnity) was one of the three or four which gave to the Communists the victory in the competition of 1917. The success of the Communist upheaval of November 7, 1917, signified the beginning of the First Agrarian Revolution.

III

The first agrarian revolution was carried out by the Communist Government with the support of the rural population, but in direct contradiction to the Communist doctrine.

The Russian Communists were orthodox Marxists. According to their opinion, only concentrated production could be efficient; therefore, land should be expropriated in totality and large estates created and managed by representatives of the victorious Proletariat in the same way as factories. But the constellation of forces in the country was such that even the announcement of a program of this kind would have given the upper hand to anti-Communist parties: in Russia, where the rural population represented 85 per cent of the total, a revolution could be victorious only with the support of the village.

Therefore the land-decree of November 8, 1917 (enacted the day after the successful upheaval) was inspired not by the Communist, but by the *Narodniki* program.⁷ Land (landlords' as well as peasants') was nationalized without any indemnity. The true meaning of this formula was different for the various classes of the rural population.

⁶ Cf. N. Karpow, *Agrarian Policy of Stolypin* (Moscow, 1925), pp. 58-80 and 86-92. (In Russian.)

⁷ See for the text of this decree the paper of Professor S. N. Prokopovitch in *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, edited by P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin (Minneapolis, 1930), I, 615-6.

The landowners' estates disappeared. Previous members of this class, together with businessmen, shopowners and a great number of intellectual workers, had to join the new class of pariahs. The principal tension which existed in rural Russia before the revolution, that between landlords and peasants, ceased to exist.

All the land was redistributed. Landlords' estates as well as those lands which, in the years 1861-1917, had been bought by peasants were united with the *mir*s. Richer peasants lost their land-surpluses; but they remained members of agrarian communities and were therefore not entirely despoiled. The new farms created by the Stolypin reform were also subjected to the process of equalization; frequently they were simply reincluded in the agrarian communities, and their owners became again *mir*-peasants.

According to the *Narodniki* program, hiring agricultural workers and leasing land was forbidden; every family was to cultivate its allotment by its own means. If these means were insufficient, the land was to be partitioned anew.

In their totality these changes signified an extraordinary simplification of the agrarian structure: landlords no longer existed; the separation of peasants into *mir*-peasants and Stolypin-peasants disappeared; the differentiation of the peasantry into economic layers also disappeared. The rural one-class structure preached by the *Narodniki* seemed to have been definitely introduced.

Later investigations by Russian economists⁸ have shown that this ideal structure was not entirely reached. Landlords' estates were distributed throughout the country in an irregular way. They were more numerous and larger in districts where the villages were relatively not overcrowded, and less numerous and smaller in districts where agrarian overpopulation existed. According to the *Narodniki* program, such an inequality was to have been corrected by redistributing the population through the country. But there was civil war, and the Communist Government did not care for such plans. It left the peasants free to arrange their affairs as they liked. And, according to the previously mentioned investigations, the intensity of equalization was quite different in various districts; in general, the section composed of Central and

⁸ Cf. "The Communist Policy towards the Peasant and Food Crisis in the U. S. S. R.," Birmingham Bureau of Research on Russian Economic Conditions, *Memorandum No. 8*, Birmingham, England, January 1933, 24 pp.; also, B. Brutzkus, "Agrarian Revolution in an Agrarian District," *Economicheskii Vestnik* (Berlin, 1924), Vol. 3. (In Russian.)

Eastern Russia was submitted to this principle with more rigor than the Northern, Western, and Southern provinces.

On the other hand, these investigations proved that the so-called "black partition" (according to the *Narodniki* program) had not been a sudden act, but had lasted through the whole period; land redistribution took place again and again, depriving the peasants of the feeling of security and making the situation in villages a chaotic one.

The agrarian revolution had far-reaching economic repercussions. With the introduction of the equality-principle the way toward technical progress was closed. The "black" partition resulted therefore in a general decrease of agricultural output. And this engendered a new social tension, the rural-urban tension, which had not existed before the Revolution.

The years of the first agrarian revolution coincided with the so-called War Communism in towns. Industry and trade were nationalized. Bad management combined with difficulties created by civil war resulted in a tremendous decrease of the industrial output. Industrial commodities became inaccessible to peasants; what *was* available was distributed by means of a card system among the population of the towns, for the working class was considered to be the "social basis" of the new regime.

The peasants were at this time individual producers. Their response to the new situation was the natural response of such producers. They decreased the cultivated area and the number of cattle (see Table II) in order to have no more surpluses, which had become useless. This signified starvation for the towns, industrial districts, and the army. The new government could not allow it. Bread and other products of agriculture could no longer be bought in villages; consequently, they had to be taken away by force. A general obligation of supplying the state with products of agriculture was imposed.⁹ The resistance of peasants was broken by military expeditions. The Civil War between Reds and Whites was complicated by a civil war between towns and villages.

Russia has never been a rich country; the socio-economic degradation of the years 1917-21 made her no longer self-sufficient. When in 1921 the climatic conditions were exceptionally bad, this resulted in famine.

⁹ Corn levies increased from year to year: 0.8 million metric tons in 1918, 1.8 in 1919, 3.4 in 1920, and 6.1 in 1921. A. S. Wainstein, *Rural Taxation before the War and during the Revolution* (Moscow, 1924), p. 63. (In Russian.)

The Communist Government officially recognized it and accepted the generous aid of America.

But despite all efforts to the contrary, official soviet statisticians acknowledge that in the years 1921-22 five million Russians died of starvation.¹⁰ As the Civil War also took its victims, in 1922 the population of Russia was 10 million smaller than in 1917. (See Table I.)

IV

Conditions calculated to restore the normal productive attitude of peasants were put into effect with great speed during the years 1921-22, when the "new economic policy" (NEP) was introduced. It was officially acknowledged by Lenin that the NEP was at the start the governmental response to the peasants' attitude.¹¹

TABLE I
POPULATION OF RUSSIA (IN MILLIONS)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
1917	141.7	30.7	111.0
1922	131.7	21.4	110.3
1928	150.4	27.6	122.9
1933	165.0	41.0	124.0

A series of special decrees, which were later included in the Agrarian Code enacted October 30, 1922, restored order in regard to the using of the land. The Code maintained the principle of nationalization; but, according to clause 11, the land was leased in perpetuity to the peasants or peasant groups who cultivated it. The *mir* structure was once more reinforced with regard to almost all of the arable soil. But disorderly and too frequent land partitions were prohibited. Land tenure was regulated in the same way as it had been before the Revolution.¹²

The same Agrarian Code allowed the peasants (with certain exceptions) to hire workers and to lease land. These measures were the legal basis for the re-establishment of inequality in the Russian village. On the other hand, private trade with corn and other agricultural products

¹⁰ Markow, *op. cit.*, I, 43.

¹¹ Lenin, *On the Food-tax* (Moscow, 1921), pp. 12-15. (In Russian.)

¹² The far-reaching similarity of the agrarian structure, introduced by the Agrarian Code of 1922, to the old structure is proved in detail by C. Zaitsev in his article "Agrarian Law," in *Law of Soviet Russia*, published by N. N. Alexeiev, A. V. Makletsov, and N. S. Timasheff (Prague, 1925), I, 215-235. (In Russian; German translation Tübingen, 1925.)

was re-established; peasants were enabled to sell their surpluses on the free market at prices determined by the law of supply and demand. The structure of industry was completely modified. This resulted in a rapid increase of production, and very soon peasants were again able to buy industrial commodities; the principal incentive towards increasing rural production again existed.

Table II shows the rapid increase of agricultural production during the NEP years. As a result of the poor *mir*-technology, towards the end of the period (1928) the cultivated area was nearly the same as before

TABLE II
SOWING AREA, GRAIN HARVESTED AND CATTLE IN RUSSIA

Year	Sowing Area (Millions of hectares)	Grain Harvested (Millions of metric tons)	Horses (Millions)	Horned Cattle (Millions)	Sheep (Millions)	Pigs (Millions)
1913	116.7	81.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
1916	106.5	62.3	35.8	60.6	113.0	20.9
1922	77.7	56.3*	21.5	45.8	84.2	12.1
1928	113.0	73.3	33.5	70.5	146.7	26.0
1932	134.0	69.8	19.6	40.7	52.1	11.6
1933	129.0	80.0†	16.6	38.6	50.6	12.1
1934	128.5	80.0†	15.3	37.8	40.5	14.2
1935	128.0	81.0†	15.5	46.2	50.8	22.2

* 42.3 million in 1921.

† Estimates; official data concern crops in field.

the Revolution, but the crops were smaller. But with regard to cattle, the year 1928 reached a maximum attained neither before nor since. However, this advance was not yet sufficient to restore the old economic level, for the population, under the incentive of the *mir*-structure, rapidly increased.¹³ The yearly increase of nearly 2 per cent was unprecedented. It resulted in curtailing the average food supply. Very accurate investigations of the question have shown that from 0.49 metric ton per inhabitant before the Revolution the crops had decreased to 0.45 towards the end of the NEP period.¹⁴

This was one of the unfavorable aspects of the situation, but from the viewpoint of the Communist Government there was another, which was considered much more important. The new agrarian structure resulted in a very rapid differentiation within the Russian village. Official statisticians agreed that the peasant class had separated into three layers, representing new classes in embryo: (1) rich peasants

¹³ See Table I.

¹⁴ Birmingham Bureau of Research, *Memorandum No. 8* (cited above), p. 10.

or *kulaks* (literally, "fists") who tended to become new landlords; (2) middle-class peasants; and (3) poor peasants whose fate was to become rural proletarians.¹⁵

According to the Communist doctrine, the political structure of a society is merely a reflection of its socio-economic basis. During the period of War Communism the Proletariat was considered to be the dominating class and the Communist Party its vanguard; therefore, all was according to the theory, for the dictatorship of the Communist Party was equivalent to the dominating position of the Proletariat. The NEP introduced a new social structure. Rich peasants gained the upper hand in the villages; very often, by means of "proletarians" who stood under their economic control they ruled like overlords in rural soviets which ostensibly represented the dictatorship of the proletariat. As a parallel trend of evolution in the towns gave an unexpectedly important social role to the so-called "nepmen," or "soviet-bourgeoisie," the very existence of the *kulaki* became, according to the Communist doctrine, a threat of counterrevolution, which might give political power to new classes.¹⁶

Furthermore, the rise of the *kulak* group made the Communist Government dependent on its good will with regard to the food supply of towns and industrial districts. According to official data, out of the 10.5 million metric tons of grain sold on the free market during the later years of the NEP, 2.8 million or 20 per cent, were of *kulak* production.¹⁷ The *kulaki* were able to retain their corn if dissatisfied with prices; this actually happened in the fall of 1927 and again in the fall of 1928.

During the later years of the NEP, the Government tried various means to incite peasants to sell their crops to governmental agents and, when their failure had become obvious, reintroduced compulsion: clause 107 of the Criminal Code, prohibiting the artificial raising of prices, was applied against rich peasants who had refused to sell their corn. In accordance with this law their crops were confiscated.

The Communist Government recalled the experience of War Communism: compulsion applied to individual producers had resulted in decreasing the output. A total change had to take place in order to save

¹⁵ According to Molotov's statements at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party, there were 1.4 million rich, 13.3 million middle class, and 5.2 million poor homesteads in the year 1926-27 (*Izvestia*, 1927, No. 293).

¹⁶ Cf. Kameneff's speech at the 14th Party Congress, (*Izvestia*, 1925, No. 296).

¹⁷ Cf. Stalin's article in *Pravda*, June 2, 1928.

the situation. Industrialization, according to the new Five-Year Plan, was to restore the dominant position of the Proletariat, and the Collectivization of rural areas was to destroy the *kulaki* and to guarantee the food supply of the urban population.¹⁸

These explanations have been necessary in order to prove that the Second Agrarian Revolution, which took place in the following years, was a result of peasant attitudes but not of peasant desires. This Revolution was a centrally initiated action in contrast to the first one, which had been initiated on the periphery. The First Agrarian Revolution had been a concession of the Communist Government to the peasants, a compromise with the *Narodniki* program. The Second Agrarian Revolution was an attempt to give Russia an agrarian structure entirely in keeping with the Communist doctrine.

V

Collectivization means a complete realization of the Communist doctrine with regard to rural structure; not only land-use, but also agricultural production becomes collective. During the years 1929-33 great efforts were made to realize this structural idea as completely as possible. Later on the efforts weakened, and a new compromise structure got the upper hand. But let us begin by explaining how the idea of complete collectivization was born, for it did not exist in the Communist mentality of earlier years.

Already during the period of War Communism some landlord estates were not submitted to partition among peasants but remained state farms; they were to become models of agricultural progress. Very seldom were such attempts successful, and in general the agricultural technique of state farms was very poor.

Among the exceptions was the state farm "Shevchenko" in the Ukraine.¹⁹ Here two favorable conditions were combined: (1) an exceptionally able manager, Markevich, headed the farm; (2) the farm was endowed with much more machinery than could be used on its fields. This was an accidental result of a very inadequate distribution of instruments of production, for the majority of state farms were badly handicapped by lack of machinery of any kind. The surrounding villages were suffering from land shortage and from backward techniques (the three-field system, the custom of common pasturage, poor

¹⁸ Cf. B. Brutzkus, *Der 5-Jahresplan und seine Erfüllung* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 39.

¹⁹ For the following cf. the article of Professor B. Brutzkus, "Hunger and Collectivization," *Sovremennya Zapiski*, 52 (1933), 418-9. (In Russian.)

machinery). Markevich proposed to the peasants that they combine all their possessions in one large organization. A six-year rotation of crops would be introduced and all the fields cultivated with the improved machinery of the state farm; the peasants would help, with their horses, on days indicated by Markevich. On five out of the six fields all jobs would be accomplished in this way; the sixth, to be used for potatoes and beets, would be separated into allotments corresponding to homesteads and, after the "collective" ploughing, peasants would cultivate their portions individually. As remuneration for the use of the machinery, the state farm would receive a certain percentage (25 to 30) of the grain; the rest, as well as straw and the crop of the sixth field, would remain the property of the peasants.

After some hesitation, the peasants of 26 villages agreed. The plan was put into effect in 1928 over an area of 24,000 hectares and was a great success. Markevich's farm gained high profits, and the economic conditions of the villages which became copartners improved remarkably. Markevich described his experiment in a book entitled *Inter-Village Tractor Stations*, in which he warned against imitating him in absence of the necessary conditions.

The idea of collectivization was included in the first Five-Year Plan, which officially was put into effect October 1, 1928, but actually several months later. According to the plan, collectivization was to advance slowly, in close correspondence with changes in peasant mentality, i.e., with the degree of their free acceptance of the idea and with the amount of available machinery. Therefore the plan provided that by its close, January 1, 1933, only 15 per cent of all peasant homesteads were to have lost their independence. But the government was in a hurry—for the reasons explained above. Therefore since the fall of 1929, the prudent provisions of the plan, as well as the warning of Markevich, were declared to be "counter-revolutionary cowardice." Rural areas were to be collectivized without regard to the peasant attitude or to the available machinery. The intensity of collectivization must outstrip the accomplishments of Markevich and the goals set by the authors of the Five-Year Plan. Finally, collectivization became a signal for a merciless attack against the *kulak*.²⁰

On December 27, 1929, Stalin declared that the Communist Government had decided to put an end to the very existence of the *kulak* class.

²⁰ For a more detailed account of the early stages of collectivization see P. A. Sorokin's paper in Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin, *op. cit.*, I, 621-34.

On January 6 and February 1, 1930, corresponding decrees were enacted, and one of the most terrible periods of the Russian Revolution began. For no other reason than that they had cleverly profited by the opportunities of the NEP period, the *kulaki* were expelled from their homesteads, with their families, with nothing but the clothes they had on at the moment of the expropriation. If they showed the smallest tendency to resist, they were deported to Labor Camps in the Far North, where the majority of them perished from cold and starvation. Their fields, cattle, and machinery, as well as their homes, became the property of the *kolhozi* (collective farms). The middle-class and poorer peasants were more favorably treated; they had to abdicate their economic freedom and become members of the *kolhozi*, but they were not forced into the class of pariahs.

The speed of the process was tremendous. This can be seen by comparing (Table III) the data for June 1, 1929, January 30, 1930, and March 1, 1930. The intensity of the process was also very great; by March 1, 1930, 78 per cent of the cattle of collectivized homesteads had already been made collective property.

The attitude of the peasants became more and more threatening. Practically no preparations were made to sow the fields. Slaughtering cattle in order to prevent collectivization became a kind of epidemic. Stalin realized the danger. On March 2, 1930, he published an article in which he accused the local authorities of having misunderstood his instructions and of having created many *kolhozi* on paper only. The fictitious, "compulsory" *kolhozi* were to be disbanded. Peasants who

TABLE III
COLLECTIVIZATION IN RUSSIA (A)

DATE	Number of <i>Kolhozi</i> (Thousands)	Number of Collectivized Homesteads (Millions)	Per cent of Homesteads Collectivized
1929, June 1.....	33	0.4	1.7
1930, January 30.....	59	4.4	16.9
1930, February 10.....	103	10.9	42.4
1930, March 1.....	110	14.3	55.0
1930, May 15.....	82	5.8	24.1
1931, June 1.....	211	13.0	52.7
1932, June 1.....	211	15.0	61.5
1933, June 1.....	224	15.2	64.4
1934, June 1.....	235	15.9	73.0
1935, July 1.....	246	17.3	82.8
1936, April 1.....	246	18.3	89.0

were unwilling to become *kolhoz*-members and could not be persuaded were to be left alone. Very soon Stalin's article was followed by corresponding decrees (of which that of March 15, 1930, was the principal one). The wave of collectivization relaxed. The comparison of figures (Table III) showing the decrease in collectivization from March 1 to May 15, 1930, proves that this first attempt had been a completely compulsory one.

This was only a temporary retreat. By different means, among which an excessive taxation of individual (noncollective) homesteads played a large part, the government succeeded in bringing forward the whole enterprise (cf. Table III, data for the years 1931-36). Towards the middle of the year 1931, the Russian peasantry was separated into two nearly equal classes: that of *kolhoz*-members and that of "individual" (in actuality *mir*) peasants. Later on the process gradually advanced towards the entire elimination of the second class, which had been a remnant of the old, prerevolutionary agrarian structure. The number of individual homesteads decreased not only because their owners joined the *kolhozi*, but also because they were simply abandoned. On the other hand, the crops of the individual homesteads decreased even more speedily than their percentages in the total rural population. Figures included in Table IV show that, (1) during 1930-36, 5.2 million homesteads were abandoned; (2) the *kolhozi* were unable to use completely the areas so abandoned (nearly 8.2 million hectares); and (3) the remaining individual homesteads have become dwarf-farms. In April, 1936, 11 per cent of homesteads were still individual, but the area cultivated by them was no more than 2.9 per cent of the total. On an average only 1.6 hectares are now cultivated by an individual homestead.

The conflict between the collective and the individual system of farming, which five years ago seemed to be the main question in rural Russia, no longer exists, for "individual" peasants have practically disappeared. The gradual victory of the collective system means that the political problem which decided the fate of rural Russia in the years 1928-29, has been solved; a counterrevolution on the part of the *kulaki* threatens no longer. But this does not at all mean that the problem of food supply has been solved. On the contrary, during several years a combination of conditions arose which again caused an important decrease in agricultural production.

First of all, the management of the new collective farms was in

general very bad; for "presidents" of the *kolhozi* were, in actuality, nominated by local party committees, very often from persons who had not the slightest idea of agriculture; for instance, in January, 1930, the government sent 25,000 urban Communists to the villages in order to implant there the true collective mentality. Labor became half-compulsory; the system of remuneration was entirely inadequate. The profits were distributed in equal parts among the members (the old *mir* idea); this resulted in total lack of any interest in good work. Finally, the realization of the Five-Year Plan created a large disharmony between heavy and light industry; the latter was in a state of stagnation or even of regress, and peasants were again unable to buy anything when selling their surpluses; the most important incentive for large agricultural production was gone.

Decreased agricultural production and a cessation of rural-urban exchange relationships resulted in a new rural-urban tension, which repeated that of War Communism. Peasants had to submit to large levies in kind (corn, potatoes, butter, linen, cotton, etc.). In spite of the levies, the urban population suffered from food-shortage; the food-card system had to be reintroduced.²¹

Simultaneously, social inertia had an unfavorable influence; during the years 1928-32 the population, as a result of the impulse given by

TABLE IV
COLLECTIVIZATION IN RUSSIA (B)

	1928	1931	1933	1935	1936
Total Number of Homesteads (millions).....	24.5	24.7	23.6	20.9	20.6
Collectivized Homesteads (millions).....	0.4	13.0	15.2	17.3	18.3
Individual Homesteads.....	24.1	11.7	8.4	3.6	2.3
Total Sowing Area (millions of hectares).....	113.0	136.2	134.0	128.0	128.0
Sowing Area of Individual Homesteads (millions of hectares).....	109.9	46.4	22.5	9.0	3.7

the NEP structure, again increased from 150 to 165 million.²² The crops of the years 1931 and 1932 were smaller than those of the last years of the NEP; the food ratio fell to 0.35 metric tons per inhabitant; the decrease in cattle signified a corresponding decrease in the food

²¹ Decrease in crops and cattle during the period we are studying is shown in Table II, corn-levies in Table V.

²² Only estimated; there had been no census from December 17, 1926 until January 6, 1937. (*Ivestia* 1937 No. 6).

TABLE V
CROP AND CORN-LEVIES IN RUSSIA

Date	Crops (Millions of metric tons)	Corn-Levies	
		(Millions of metric tons)	Per cent
1928	73.3	10.8	14.7
1929	71.8	16.1	22.4
1930	83.5	22.3	26.7
1931	69.4	23.1	33.2
1932	69.8	18.7	26.7
1933	80.0	23.1	28.9
1934	80.0	26.2	32.8

supply. A new hunger catastrophe in several parts of Russia was the result.²⁸

VI

Two things could help agriculture out of the terrible deadlock caused by too hasty collectivization—reinforcing the pressure or making concessions. During the years 1932-33 the government hesitated. Concessions, but insufficient ones, were already made; and simultaneously the pressure was reinforced. On August 7, 1932, the death penalty was introduced for stealing *kolhoz*-goods, and many peasants were shot for having harvested grain on collective fields for their own use. In January, 1933, "rural political sections" were created; they were closely related to the well-known GPU and were invested with much power in order to help actualize completely the new rural structure, in spite of the passive resistance of the peasants.

Foreign affairs forced the decision. Since 1932, Japan had been threatening war in the Far East. Since 1933, the new regime in Germany had begun threatening war in the West; this threat became acute, when, in January, 1934, a German-Polish agreement was concluded.

In face of these dangers, the government proceeded to undertake far-reaching modifications in all realms of life. This time, in contrast to the NEP period, cultural concessions were most important; but also in the socio-economic structure, especially in the rural structure, large

²⁸ All available material concerning hunger in Russia in 1932-33 has been collected by E. Ammende in *Muss Russland hungern?* (Vienna, 1935). During a certain time the question whether there was again hunger in Russia in 1932-33, was disputed, for the Communist Government denied it. Now the matter has been settled by a statement made by the same government in its official paper *Pravda*, December 5, 1935, where it openly confessed that in 1933 there was hunger and hunger deaths in Kouban, one of the richest agricultural districts in Russia.

concessions were made. The fact that concessions and modifications of Communist methods took place in order to reconcile public opinion proves that the policy of collectivization had been carried out not in accordance with, but against the desires of, the peasants.

In March, 1935, a new statute for the *kolhozi* was enacted. While the preparatory work was going on, Stalin made a speech²⁴ in which he confessed that the Communist management was unable to satisfy the primary needs of the *kolhoz*-members and of their families; therefore, the *kolhoz*-structure was to be transformed in order to give the collectivized peasants an opportunity to satisfy their needs by their own means.

In accordance with these statements, the new *kolhoz*-statute²⁵ allowed the peasants to possess small individual allotments within the collective farms (0.25 to 2 hectares, varying in different parts of the country). In addition to this, *kolhoz*-members were allowed to possess cows, sheep, and pigs (no horses) individually; the number of "individual cattle" was limited, but the *kolhoz*-management was ordered to help members in buying and feeding individual cows, and in other similar ways.

The status of a *kolhoz*-member has become very complex. He is a shareholder in the *kolhoz*, but his share can neither be sold or taken in kind. Upon leaving the *kolhoz* or being excluded from it, a member receives no compensation for the land which he once had incorporated within the common area; he has only the right to a certain sum of money representing his share in the collective cattle, in the common corn-reserves, and his cash contribution. Therefore, the membership in a *kolhoz* is *de facto* a compulsory one. This results in an inferior situation of the individual member in dealing with the *kolhoz*-management, which, until now, had been appointed by local party committees. For instance, every member has to accept the work proposed by the management, even if this work is poorly remunerated; in this sense labor in *kolhozi* is half-compulsory. On the other hand, the legal nature of the individual allotments is rather indefinite. They are, of course, not private property, for they cannot be sold or leased and are lost if the *kolhoz*-member loses membership; but in the cultivation of such allotments peasants are free from any interference by the management and

²⁴ Published in *Izvestia*, 1935, No. 62.

²⁵ Published in *Izvestia*, 1935, No. 44.

are small masters (producers of commodities under the individualistic principles of private initiative and personal profit).

All of this was not entirely new. Already in March, 1932, every *kolhoz*-member was allowed to possess a cow, and it has never been officially stated that he was not allowed to possess a garden or an orchard "individually"; but until 1934 the tendency was towards restricting individual economic activity within the *kolhozi*. The new tendency, on the contrary, is that of stimulating such activity. During the last two years statistical data concerning agriculture include a new item, individual allotments within *kolhozi*. In 1936 this item was four million hectares, more than the area cultivated by the still existing "individual" homesteads.

The reform of the *kolhozi* shows a new trait in the development of collectivization. The class of collectivized peasants gained the upper hand, or, more exactly, replaced almost entirely the class of *mir*-peasants; but the class structure of collectivization is now another one than what it had been in 1930-33. The extent of collectivization has increased until the last years, but its intensity has decreased.

Natural levies have been once more (as during the NEP) replaced by definite taxes in kind; in 1935 and 1936 their amount has been greatly decreased.

Since May, 1932, certainly since Spring, 1934, peasants have been allowed to sell their surpluses direct to consumers (not to professional traders, who are still prohibited). The market is free in the sense that prices are not regulated. The government influences them of course, for 90 per cent of the commercial operations in the country are carried out by governmental shops and stores; but the policy of the authorities is that of holding prices on a level, which should leave the peasants sufficient profits.

As part of the general policy of concessions, the disharmony between heavy and light industry has been mitigated to an appreciable degree. With every year consumers' commodities are produced in larger quantities, and peasants are again able to buy objects they need in exchange for the sale of agricultural surpluses.

The rural "political sections" were abolished in December, 1934; now special vice-directors of "machinery stations"²⁶ supervise, in a

²⁶ Tractors and other agricultural machinery are not distributed by the government among the *kolhozi*; they are grouped in "stations," and the management of these stations plays a large part in rural life, recalling the experiment of Markevich.

milder way, the political attitude of collectivized peasants and of the *kolhoz*-leaders.

Finally, the remuneration of *kolhoz*-members has been entirely reformed and is now more or less adapted to the efforts displayed by every family in collective farming. Every kind of labor is now evaluated in conventional units (called labor days); for instance, plowing one hectare of arable soil with a two-horse plow is equal to one unit; plowing one hectare of sandy soil with a one-horse plow, three-fourths of one unit; feeding cattle, one-half unit; working with a tractor and attaining the "norm," two units; conducting a column of tractors, three units; etc. There are complicated rules allowing the *kolhoz*-management to increase or to decrease the statutory number of labor units with regard to the quality of the labor. Every week the number of units gained by a homestead is noted in special books. When the yearly account of a *kolhoz* has been approved, the net income is divided among the homesteads (in kind or in money) in ratio to the number of units they have gained during the agricultural year.

The combined effect of these measures has been a weakening of the rural-urban tension and an increase in agricultural production. Of course, crops continue to disappoint the hopes of the government.²⁷ But the unfavorable tendency is reversed with regard to cattle (See Table II). The increase is due, in a large part, to the creation of "individual" cattle. On January 1, 1936, the distribution of horned cattle was the following: 21.2 million head of individual cattle of *kolhoz*-members; 13.4 of the *kolhozi*; 4.1 of state farms; 2.5 of individual (*mir*) peasants. At the same time 61.2 per cent of the sheep belonged to *kolhoz*-members "individually."²⁸

Beginning with the second half of 1934 no evidence of deaths from hunger or starvation has been forthcoming. The catastrophe of 1932-33 seems to have been overcome. A certain balance has been restored within rural areas and in rural-urban relations.

VII

Is this balance a definite one? And is the present rural structure final? It is hard to make any prophecy when one takes into consideration the fact that during the last 30 years the Russian peasantry was

²⁷ It is significant that the Communist Government, which publishes a tremendous number of data concerning the economic situation of the U. S. S. R., did not publish precise figures concerning the crops of the year 1935 until the end of 1936.

²⁸ J. Vermechew and M. Vesnik in *Planovoe Khozaystvo* 1936, No. 6, pp. 77 and 83.

successively submitted to the peaceful Stolypin reform, to the "black partition" of the First Agrarian Revolution, to the wholesale *mir*-restoration of the NEP, to the wholesale compulsory collectivization of the years 1929-33, and to the mitigated *kolkhoz*-system since 1934.

Russian events of the years 1917 to 1936 have refuted the common opinion that the peasantry was an invincible force of social inertia. The elementary force of the Revolution, the outbreak and success of which had been largely supported by Russian peasants, later on became stronger than this inertia. The Second Agrarian Revolution was carried out against the will of the peasants. On the other hand, both retreats of the Communist Government, that of 1921 and that of the last few years, have been provoked almost entirely by the passive resistance of the peasants.

Russian events of 1917-36 have corroborated the notion of the vitality of the rural population. In spite of incredible vicissitudes, of tremendous losses (in 1921-22 and again in 1932-33) in material goods and human lives, the rural population has continued functioning and has even increased in number.

A further lesson might be deduced from the same events by correlating the intensity of Communist methods applied in economics with the situation of agriculture. The results may be expressed as follows:

	<i>War Communism</i>	<i>NEP</i>	<i>Wholesale Collectivization</i>	<i>Mitigated Collectivization</i>
Communist methods.....	+	-	+	-
Crops.....	-	+	-	-
Cattle.....	-	+	-	+

A close correlation is given, and the fair conclusion is: extreme Communist methods applied in the economic sphere signify disaster in agriculture.

Membership of the American Farm Bureau Federation, 1926-1935

Ralph Russell

WHILE many people are interested in the membership of national farmers' organizations, there is a singular lack of information on the subject. Atkeson published a tabulation of the total membership of the National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, covering the period 1874 through 1915,¹ and another covering the years 1874 through 1927.² The writer added one year to Atkeson's table in 1929 and calculated the membership of the Wisconsin Grange from 1873 through 1928.³ Ebling, in 1925, gave the membership of farmers' organizations in Wisconsin from 1900 through 1924.⁴ Doubtless, other similar compilations for a state have been made, but there appears to have been no attempt to present the data continuously, although two national farmers' organizations, the Farm Bureau and the Grange, publish data from which membership may be approximated.

A tabulation of the membership of the American Farm Bureau Federation for the last decade is given in Table I. The membership for each year and the 10-year average are given for each state in which the Federation had members. Forty states are included. The data were obtained from annual reports in which the dues paid into the national federation by the state organizations were recorded. Membership was calculated by dividing the payments by 50 cents, the rate of national dues per member. While this method of estimation is open to some

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¹ T. C. Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Husbandry* (New York, 1916), p. 350.

² *Outlines of Grange History* (Washington, D. C., 1928).

³ Ralph Russell, *The Grange in Wisconsin*, unpublished manuscript thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1929.

⁴ Walter H. Ebling, *Recent Farmer Movements in Wisconsin*, unpublished manuscript thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1925.

TABLE I
MEMBERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, 1926-1935

STATE	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	10-Year Average
Alabama.....	10,848	6,264	8,719	8,195	10,957	3,370	1,372	2,580	5,325	15,230	7,287
Arkansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	500	75	58
Arizona.....	529	664	500	.....	502	.....	.....	500	519	.....	321
California.....	18,882	19,944	20,507	19,196	20,248	20,996	20,616	15,261	18,060	19,713	19,342
Colorado.....	118	169	160	842	4,090	1,889	133	39	141	500	808
Connecticut.....	1,228	2,453	1,689	1,953	2,645	2,218	2,419	1,500	2,404	3,227	2,174
Illinois.....	51,982	50,338	50,001	50,002	54,056	25,001	40,806	36,420	51,833	58,864	46,930
Indiana.....	33,617	32,795	37,999	34,914	32,780	30,418	24,516	21,338	27,123	28,628	29,513
Iowa.....	58,508	59,112	60,218	60,407	63,968	70,198	30,033	18,016	26,382	35,652	48,249
Kansas.....	4,372	4,065	4,550	6,662	10,116	6,967	6,996	3,690	6,429	9,815	6,366
Kentucky.....	.....	220	200	574	4,772	5,368	500	622	2,186	5,172	1,961
Louisiana.....	3,792	2,953	2,101	1,954	1,420	1,017	519	131	500	1,100	1,549
Maryland.....	3,464	2,810	2,186	2,341	2,489	2,504	1,159	1,602	2,331	3,371	2,426
Massachusetts.....	1,220	1,405	1,757	2,351	2,198	1,452	1,261	1,197	985	1,308	1,513
Michigan.....	10,114	8,788	11,354	9,350	5,420	3,705	1,896	1,542	2,367	3,782	5,832
Minnesota.....	.....	10,304	7,998	10,006	10,062	12,078	5,892	414	12,876	17,840	8,747
Mississippi.....	.....	.....	500	.....	.....	.....	.....	500	549	1,000	255
Missouri.....	.....	3,899	8,031	5,816	6,468	4,579	4,125	2,879	2,517	5,430	4,374
Montana.....	510	500	502	504	500	500	.....	500	500	500	452
Nebraska.....	167	720	514	838	683	856	300	575	551	1,901	710
Nevada.....	816	809	674	725	696	779	514	500	721	1,003	724
New Hampshire.....	2,293	2,279	2,389	2,375	3,365	3,128	2,648	2,172	2,221	1,855	2,472
New Jersey.....	4,389	2,877	4,946	3,710	4,877	3,881	2,920	1,843	1,749	1,802	3,289
New Mexico.....	.....	145	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	534	418
New York.....	26,685	26,420	30,043	33,278	36,841	36,063	34,092	26,355	28,797	30,508	30,908

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

STATE	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	10-Year Average
North Dakota.....	19	.....	2,994	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	302
Ohio.....	25,476	23,795	23,816	25,744	20,842	17,255	10,080	7,392	10,393	14,808	17,960
Oklahoma.....	53	.....	10	.....	.....	40	500	.....	.....	.....	60
Pennsylvania.....	.....	500	138	.....	71	84	501	634	613	598	314
South Carolina.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	.....	.....	1
South Dakota.....	6,000	2,836	.....	2,726	3,166	2,155	705	625	779	556	1,955
Tennessee.....	5,986	4,681	5,204	5,500	5,778	4,307	3,014	2,255	2,509	3,195	4,243
Texas.....	107	90	1,152	721	539	818	100	.....	.....	.....	356
Utah.....	3,193	2,253	2,961	2,865	2,191	1,554	814	538	600	938	1,791
Vermont.....	988	672	574	918	2,031	2,527	2,575	2,840	3,691	4,467	2,128
Virginia.....	1,230	1,000	1,000	2,168	2,009	1,545	1,646	1,660	3,415	3,978	1,965
Washington.....	999	1,144	951	1,029	866	784	500	596	770	900	854
West Virginia.....	782	.....	2,851	845	758	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,049	628
Wisconsin.....	.....	3,126	1,624	2,056	2,586	1,921	1,139	600	764	1,117	1,493
Wyoming.....	502	1,064	757	869	709	665	555	515	480	500	662
TOTAL.....	278,869	272,094	302,100	301,930	321,203	271,122	205,246	158,356	222,080	280,916	261,390

criticism, it is believed that the 10-year averages are fairly representative, and the changes from year to year are some reflection of actual conditions.

It is recognized that the payment of dues may be an inadequate criterion of membership and has faults as a basis for calculating the volume of membership. Those who have not paid dues may still consider themselves members of an organization and may be so considered by their local units. It is undoubtedly true that many members who are not in good standing take an active part in the work of an organization, although they are not included in state and national reports of membership. The local organizations of which they are members may recognize them fully, although an enumeration such as this, based only on dues recorded as paid, would not include them. Local units, on account of internal conditions, may not remit the share of dues payable to the overhead state and national organizations, even though members may have remitted promptly and in full. Again, such dues may be remitted late and so appear against a time-period different from that which the payments covered. It should be added that Farm Bureau membership is usually on a family basis, so that several people may be represented by but one membership. In the Grange, on the other hand, membership is individual so that a family would ordinarily be represented by several memberships. These facts should be taken into account in comparing Farm Bureau memberships with the enrollment in the Grange.⁵

As previously mentioned, the amount of dues reported by the American Farm Bureau Federation does not indicate to what extent the payments involve unpaid dues of previous years. Thus the state organization of Minnesota paid no dues in 1926, but in 1927 paid enough for more than 10,000 members. It is probable that a considerable part of this payment covered 1926 dues which had not been remitted in 1926. In preparing the table no attempt was made to discover how much was due the American Farm Bureau Federation in 1926 for memberships of previous years, nor how much was similarly outstanding in 1935. It is believed that in times past certain amounts due from state organizations which were financially embarrassed have been written off or compromised.

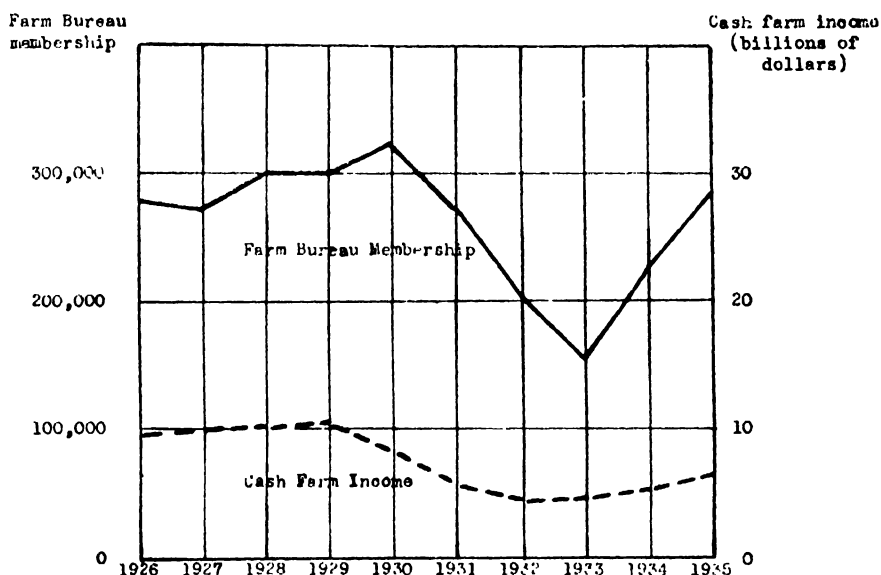
Table I and Figure 1 indicate that the membership of the American

⁵ The writer plans to treat Grange memberships, over the same period covered here, in a later article.

Farm Bureau Federation was 278,869 in 1926 and in 1935 stood slightly above that point, at 280,916. During the decade, membership declined slightly during 1926 and 1927, rose to a high of 321,203 from 1927 to 1930, and fell to a low of 158,356 by 1933. From 1933 to 1935 the membership increased markedly. The average for the decade of 261,390 members was below the figures at which the membership stood at the beginning and end of the period. The fluctuations in membership tended to follow in general the changes in farm income represented in

FIGURE 1

MEMBERSHIP OF THE FARM BUREAU FEDERATION AND CASH FARM INCOME,
1926-1935*



* Cash farm income includes benefit payments from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

TABLE II
FARM BUREAU MEMBERSHIP IN CERTAIN STATES

STATE	Average Membership 1926-1935	Membership 1935
Iowa.....	48,249	35,652
Illinois.....	46,930	58,864
New York.....	30,908	30,508
Indiana.....	29,513	28,628
California.....	19,342	19,713
Ohio.....	17,960	14,808
Minnesota.....	8,747	17,840
Alabama.....	7,287	15,230

Figure 1 by farm cash income, including benefit payments from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

The leading states in average Farm Bureau membership for the 10-year period were Iowa, Illinois, New York, and Indiana, followed by California and Ohio. At the close of the decade, however, the membership in Illinois far exceeded that in Iowa, and both Minnesota and Alabama had more members than Ohio.

Twenty-two states had a larger membership in 1935 than in 1926, while for 20 states the 1935 membership was larger than the average membership during the decade. States showing an upward trend in membership during the period were: Connecticut, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, Vermont, and Virginia. Four of these states averaged about 2,000 members while Minnesota and Kansas averaged 8,747 and 6,366, respectively. Nebraska averaged but 710 members.

A number of states showed no definite trend in membership. These included Arizona, California, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The Farm Bureau membership of Minnesota declined considerably during a part of the period, but rose sharply in 1934 and 1935. In Nebraska also, though the trend was downward from 1931 to 1934, the 1935 membership was far greater than for any other year of the decade. The data for New York and Iowa showed markedly the building up of membership during the middle of the decade which was characteristic of the total for the United States. In Minnesota and New Hampshire the same situation prevailed, but in a less noticeable degree.

A general decline in membership is indicated in the figures for Indiana, Louisiana, New Jersey, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Utah. The figures for Michigan show a downward trend, with some recovery in 1934 and 1935. In Texas, on the other hand, where the membership rose from slightly over 100 in 1926 to over a thousand in 1928, there was no reported membership for the last three years of the period. Other states which showed declining membership, but in which there was noticeable increase in membership in 1935, were Alabama, Illinois, Maryland, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

A number of states do not appear continuously in the record. Several made no payments in 1926, but had remitted regularly for previous years. Among these were Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. The state organizations of Kentucky, Missouri, and New Mexico sent

no remittances in 1925 and 1926, but had a previous record of regular payment and remitted regularly after 1926. South Carolina made a payment in 1922 but only one payment, in 1933, for the period covered by Table I.

One state, Mississippi, which had no organization previously, paid dues in 1928 and from 1933 through 1935. Arkansas appears only in the last two years of the table, but had remitted in 1922. Other states which had an irregular record of payments were Arizona, Mississippi, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. Of these, North Dakota and Oklahoma seem to have passed out of the picture, at least temporarily.

It is hoped that the presentation of this material may lead to an examination of records that may yield more representative figures than are now available. National farm organizations might improve the data they publish by providing information as to how much was paid on account of each year's membership by state organizations and, in the case of the Grange, giving data for each quarter separately. State organizations could indicate how accurately their remittances to national headquarters represented their actual membership. In the same way, local subdivisions of farmers' organizations might furnish estimates of their membership and help to build up a picture of the membership in each state. An explanation of the changes in Farm Bureau membership in each state in terms of the forces responsible would be interesting in itself and valuable as the basis of a national summary. Such a detailed account might be prepared at the national headquarters but would need to be supplemented by comments from officers of state organizations who comprehend a smaller field, but see it in greater detail.

Such data as that given here and that suggested above may be valuable to farm leaders, extension workers, and the like, as well as to scientific workers, especially economists and sociologists. A comparison of membership data for all farm organizations would provide a basis for detecting the influence of various social forces and particularly for following the interplay of conflicting interpretations of economic and social phenomena. For example, the large Farm Bureau membership in Iowa revealed in the accompanying tables and the meager membership in Nebraska suggest adherence by the farmers of these states to opposing or differing programs of social control.

Rural Fiction as Interpreter of Rural Life

Caroline B. Sherman

THAT RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS are giving increasing attention to rural fiction, are attempting to evaluate it, and are using it with discrimination and satisfaction in some of their work is one of the most encouraging developments in connection with this school of fiction. For it is a fact that long after rural fiction had begun to make a distinct name for itself, had reaped honors and awards, had been widely read and was in active demand, rural readers and rural leaders were surprisingly unaware of it. Academic classes were reading Willa Cather's *My Antonia*, either as required reading of a refreshing sort or as a delightful collateral duty, early in its day. But several years later, after Miss Cather had published other farm novels which are now classics in this school of writing—*O Pioneers*, *Song of the Lark*, and *One of Ours*—a rural sociologist, who was and is well known among his colleagues especially in the great Midwest, the scene of those books of Miss Cather's, had never heard of her.

It was not quite a decade ago that some of those who had been following this rural material closely from the first, began an uninvited and uncharted campaign to make it better known among those whose lives were being interpreted with such gratifying and often surprising success and among the leaders who were working with these men and women day by day. These books are playing a vital if somewhat unrecognized part, they reasoned, in giving to urban readers interesting and revealing chronicles and pictures of farm life and farm problems of yesterday and today. Perhaps this is their greatest sphere of usefulness. But they have a potential use among farm people and those who work with farm people, which, if developed, would make their value a well-rounded whole, embracing all of our population.

To rural readers these books could bring a revitalizing realization, it was somewhat silently argued, that their lives and families, and homes

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and farms, and problems and surroundings were by no means forgotten in the homes of the cities—homes that in general were at that time prosperous and unclouded whereas the farm families were then struggling in the aftermath of the World War as it affected agriculture. For some of those farm families who saw their problems too closely and too narrowly, the best of these books would throw new and revealing lights and shades on the stark facts of daily life. To some of the women particularly, who felt themselves struggling with conditions almost beyond their strength and who felt sure they were meant for better things, the best of the novels of farm women of pioneer days or of later years of endeavor could bring a wealth of understanding of themselves, their lives, and the possibilities of wringing from their hard daily conditions certain satisfactions that were beyond those offered in many homes of greater material comfort.

To rural leaders the best of these books could show farm characters and farm families in all their relationships and under wide varieties of farm conditions. Some of the trained novelist-observers—blessed with unusual insight, versed in psychological reasoning, and gifted with able pens—could penetrate motives, detect stimuli, sense the responses, and describe and picture the whole life story in all its bearings as no worker or observer however conscientious could hope to do if he were not unusually and sensitively endowed. Zona Gale has said that the unique power of the artist is that he alone among mortals can discern the hidden aspect of idea that lies back of every being, every thing, and every occasion. Not all of our novelists of rural life are artists, but all that are mentioned here give evidence of being at least touched with artistic faculty and most of them are endeavoring to develop the spark.

It was even true, a decade ago, that a trace of the old prejudice against novels, which was frequently indicated by the very tone of voice in which the word was spoken, was found among rural leaders as well as among rural parents. Perhaps Stuart Sherman did as much as any one person among our critics to break down the moral and intellectual bias against fiction generally. With his prodigious study and keen analysis and judgment of literature of all kinds, and his broad-minded and generous leadership of the younger writers and newer tendencies in America, he was an omnivorous reader of good fiction and occasionally wrote of the very newest of it, in essay form, in some of our most intellectual magazines. He began this even when working in and writing from the so-called Bible Belt and he continued after the

exactions of a metropolitan daily paper of the East were demanding more and more of his time. He apparently believed with Zona Gale that so long as the novel deals with the more intangible and unmeasurable aspects of reality it ministers not alone to our amusement but to the soul of man and that our present novelists have broken through the outer aspects to see more than ever before of the woman, the man, and life.

In the game of extending the enjoyment and use of rural fiction among rural people and rural work, several names come inevitably to mind. Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick, on his return to Wisconsin in 1928, encouraged the continued use and study of fiction among his advanced students and research workers and stimulated discussions of it in class and in print. The Extension Service in South Dakota conducted home reading courses that included critical study of some of these books. Under the direction of Dr. C. C. Taylor, a doctor's thesis on the contribution of modern fiction to special analysis was begun at the North Carolina State College; and a master's thesis analyzing the depiction of family life in selected novels of the twentieth century was prepared at the University of Southern California. Dr. E. R. Groves, before he came to the University of North Carolina, worked with rural fiction in his classes at Boston University. Dr. Charles J. Galpin, always awake to the broader influences, lent an encouraging ear and many an encouraging word. Several enthusiastic laymen played effective parts. Some of the university presses were generous in their interest and some of the more advanced farm journals lent a little space. Some governmental periodicals were receptive and Claribel R. Barnett, librarian of the United States Department of Agriculture, and Mary G. Lacy, librarian of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, gave both direct and indirect service to the cause. Benson Y. Landis at a relatively early date was glad to include a selected annotated fiction list in his *Guide to the Literature of Rural Life*, and to open *Rural America* to some discussion. Items regarding good rural fiction have been included almost from the first in the annotated list, "Literature of Rural Life," that appears in each number of that magazine.

But it remained for Dr. C. R. Hoffer to recommend rural fiction to students generally as a valuable level of study, in his *Introduction to Rural Sociology*. He pointed out that the novelist's methods and interpretive intuition set a standard of excellence from the standpoint of completeness of picturization that the social scientist may well strive

to attain, that the novelist's treatment necessarily has the advantage of bringing complex situations clearly into view, and that such writing may suggest important topics for study in a more objective way. Years have passed, and the rural novel is rapidly coming into its own as a recognized reflector of true rural life and its traditions and its changes, but Dr. Hoffer well knows that this recognition is not yet as general as it might be. The suggestion still stands in the revised edition of his textbook.

Previous to 1900 only three novels were published that are now considered as genuine studies of American rural life—Eggleston's *Hoosier School Master*, Howe's *Story of a Country Town*, and Hamlin Garland's *Main Travelled Roads*. Only a few other scattering volumes, that were not very significant, appeared during the next decade.

Then when Willa Cather began to publish her revealing novels of Midwestern farm life rather regularly every two or three years, the curtain may be said to have been permanently raised on the American farm as a recognized scene for American literature. A few discriminating readers here and there recognized from the first the strength and power of her characterizations, the interpretive value of her stories, and the compelling quality of her style. A few searching readers, through childhood experiences on farms or through later knowledge of farm life, welcomed them ardently as among our first to tell of farm life in its reality and yet with overtones that suggested all that farm life can give to those who know how to draw the most from it in character development and in the sustenance and rebuilding of the spirit. But it was not until the Pulitzer Prize was awarded to *One of Ours*, her story of the World War doughboy of Nebraska and his home life before and after, that the public generally awoke to all that she had given them and had yet to give. Many believed her earlier books to be better than the prize winner. Fortunately when attention was called to them they were read as they had never been read when new.

The younger generation of sociologists are realists. They realize that the share which the volunteer effort had in bringing rural fiction to the attention of the rural world cannot be measured. They are even willing to admit that, worthy as was the material they were laboring to introduce and selfless as were their motives, their results were probably minor compared with those brought by a few much publicized prize awards. For regardless of what we may think of the whole theory and

philosophy of prizes, there is no gainsaying that book prizes do greatly extend the practice of book reading.

During the decade that followed the one marked by Miss Cather's quiet and explorative farm-life writing, rural fiction developed such a startling habit of carrying off the prizes that some of its well-wishers grew apprehensive lest this excess of popular honors attract exploiters to the field and give the movement a spurious and harmful growth. The earlier wording of the Pulitzer fiction award seemed to suggest to the awarding committee the rural type. It was to go to the American novel that should best present the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood, which was fortunately interpreted to include womanhood. To review the Pulitzer novel awards for several years is like reviewing a reading list of farm-life fiction: in 1923 to Willa Cather for *One of Ours*; in 1924 to Margaret Wilson for *The Able McLaughlins*; in 1925 to Edna Ferber for *So Big*; in 1927 to Louis Bromfield for *Early Autumn*. When the wording of the award was changed somewhat in line with our increased interest in regionalism many of the prize-winning books still suggested the rural scene—*Scarlet Sister Mary*, *Laughing Boy*, *The Good Earth*, *Lamb in His Bosom*, *Now in November*, and *Honey in the Horn*.

Meanwhile other prizes, not limited by specific phrases, were also going to rural fiction. *The Able McLaughlins* won the Harper novel prize of that year as well as the Pulitzer, Glenway Wescott's *The Grandmothers* won it in 1926. Again last year the Harper and Pulitzer prizes united on Davis' *Honey in the Horn*, that robust tale of the recent pioneer and developing days of rural Oregon. A Pictorial Review prize in that earlier decade went to Martha Ostenso's *Wild Geese*. An Atlantic Monthly novel prize went to Mazo de la Roche's *Jalna*. A Pulitzer prize for biography was given to Hamlin Garland for *Daughter of the Middle Border*, which some librarians class as fiction, and a Theodore Roosevelt award also went to Garland as a social historian based on his *Middle Border* series.

Other biographical awards that have served to call attention to rural stories were the Atlantic Monthly award to Constance Connor Brown for *Grandmother Brown's One Hundred Years*, and its award to Mari Sandoz for *Old Jules*, and the prize that went to Robert Tristram Coffin for his *Portrait of an American*. This list of rural prize winners is not exhaustive, but it will serve to show why those who are interested in the orderly growth of rural fiction have been somewhat apprehensive

about its prize-winning propensities even though they welcomed the increase in the reading of these interpretive books.

Characterization is undoubtedly the greatest gift that our best rural novels give to sociologists and the characters that have been the best drawn, with surety of touch and with depth of understanding, in all their types and in all their varied responses and reactions, are the farm women who, just before the era of the rural novel, were considered among the least known, the least understood, and the least remembered of our population.

These farm women characters seem to separate into two chief groups—those who are genuine helpmates to their husbands and those who are farmers in their own right. In Frederick's *Green Bush* it is the wife's thorough understanding of the farm and her ability to manage it that enables the husband to mold local public opinion from his editor's chair and to formulate one of the best statements of the philosophy of country life that we have in fiction. In Dorothy Scarborough's *Can't Get A Red Bird* the same capabilities on the part of the wife allow the husband to devote his time to organizing the Texas farmers for co-operative marketing and to hunting out new markets in foreign lands. Other types of farm women aid their husbands chiefly through love and personality and an ability to meet with fortitude whatever life may bring. In Cornelia Cannon's *Red Rust* the young farmer's baffling experimentation to develop a rust-resistant strain of wheat is supported by unquestioning devotion. His wife can not visualize the possible outcome of his work and its potential benefits to thousands of farmers in the Northwest. Still less can she understand the processes through which he works toward his goal. But her interest, enthusiasm, and sympathy never flag and no sacrifice is too great if it will help him in his quest.

Among the truly great farm women in fiction—great in nobility of character and mind and heart—are those found in Willa Cather's *My Antonia* and Ellen Glasgow's *Barren Ground*. And in both instances it is the land and the association with it and with the growing world of family and farm and community that enable these expanding characters to conquer self and, in so doing, to grow into a communion with the creative forces with which they are working that feed the soul as surely as the work of their hands feed and clothe the body.

Other types of farm women are found in fiction too. There are the drab and overworked as in Ruth Suckow's *Country People*, and there

are those who are naturally unsuited to the farm as the gently-bred and spirited wife in Elaine Goodale Eastman's *Hundred Maples*. The resourceful pioneer women who built their full share into the homes and farms of the frontier are frequent in fiction. But the other kind are there too. In Rolvaag's *Giants in the Earth* the pioneer farmer in all his glory of health and strength and enthusiasm is companioned by a frail and haunted Norwegian wife, appealing and pitiful. The prairies are too vast for her. To her, untamed nature is full of terrors.

The chronicle of the daily and seasonal life on the farm is pictured tranquilly as in Gladys Carroll's *As the Earth Turns* and with tragic drama as in Josephine Johnson's *Now in November* and in many of the intermediate gradations. Plot is usually subordinated to the portrayal of character and life. But Herbert Quick used drama and striking incident in his early saga of the development of rural Iowa *Vandermark's Folly*, *The Hawkeye*, and *The Invisible Woman*, and the inherent drama of conflict between man and nature, between the generations, and between man and man weave through the themes of Rolvaag's rural trilogy of the Northwest *Giants in the Earth*, *Peder Victorious*, and *Their Fathers' God*. These trilogies of Quick and Rolvaag carry a deeper implication than is evident in any one book. Taken as a whole each of the sequences suggests the relative stability and continuity of rural life in spite of the hazards and changes of the rural economic world.

This school of fiction gives us not only varying but contrasting viewpoints. With Miss Cather, especially in *My Antonia*, we see the immigrants and their reactions to American conditions as seen through American eyes, whereas in the Rolvaag series we see American settlers through the eyes of immigrant settlers and the subjective revelation of the immigrants' reactions to American conditions and customs. We see the immigrant from one European country as viewed by the immigrants from another country. This viewing of the American scene and ways of life through the eyes of foreigners who are attempting to live among them, done by a master hand, is probably one of the great contributions to our rural fictional literature.

Within recent years there has been complaint in some quarters that in attempting to do justice to rural and pioneer life we have grown too far away from realities—that our writers are seeing their characters and lives through a sentimental or nostalgic haze. Those who feel thus might turn to the work of Vardis Fisher. In his somewhat autobio-

graphic tetralogy *In Tragic Life, Passions Spin the Plot, We Are Betrayed*, and *No Villian Need Be*, he gives us practically a sociological and psychological study of the effects throughout life of the impact of the excessively rude pioneer life of 40 years ago in the remote corners of the Snake River country on a sensitive child of homestead parents. The first volume was refused by eastern publishers, some of whom had issued other books by Fisher. They stated that they recognized its power but they believed it too strong meat for their readers. It was printed by an obscure western house. When the later volumes made their way through regular channels and were met by considerable acclaim on the part of some discriminating critics, that first volume was reprinted by the later publishers in order to make it generally available.

Regionalism, the consciousness of which is now coloring our thought and work so greatly, is well served by rural fiction. The interest in regionalism is one of the factors that has brought farm-life novels to the fore. For the influence of locality and local customs and problems is strongly reflected in this fiction which has dealt within the last few years with practically every area of the country. It is bound up in another chief value of this kind of writing which has been increasing rapidly during recent years—its power to depict the results of economic and social changes in the daily lives of the people.

It is this function of dealing with human values and of seeing all things in the terms of human beings that would seem to make rural fiction of especial interest to sociologists. They have watched and deplored the tendency among leaders to think and write of American life too exclusively in economic terms and this has been peculiarly true of American farm life. The economic aspects alone were too long in the ascendancy. Only in comparatively recent years have results of economic changes been studied as well as they should be in terms of the human family.

Even today we find that some of the most understanding and interpretive studies have been made by the novelists. Witness the study of tenancy in *Time of Man*, that sensitive and penetrating volume by Elizabeth Madox Roberts. Paul Green's recent book on tenancy, *This Body the Earth*, treats the subject in a different but vital fashion. The cutover country and the abandonment of its people is the theme of Mildred Walker's *Fireweed*. The changing population in rural New England and the gradually changing attitude toward it as New Englanders begin reluctantly to recognize the rejuvenating possibilities of

the melting pot are themes in Cornelia Cannon's *Heirs*, Edna Ferber's *American Beauty*, and Gladys Carroll's *As the Earth Turns*. Effects of declining soils and declining neighborhoods on once-dominant families are reflected in Ellen Glasgow's *Barren Ground* and *Vein of Iron*, and in Gladys Carroll's *A Few Foolish Ones*. A procession of keenly realized characters, molded by their differing attitudes toward the overwhelming commercialism of an agricultural community, moves through *The Farm*, by Louis Bromfield. Effects of successive great economic and social changes, as the whaling industry is succeeded by the clipper ships which in turn are superseded by steam, are shown in several recent novels of Maine life: in Mary Ellen Chase's *Mary Peters* and *Silas Crockett*, in Rachel Field's *Time Out of Mind*, and in Robert Tristram Coffin's *Red Sky in the Morning* and *John Dawn*.

People as conditioned by race and environment and as they appear and take their part in our pattern of American population is surely a great theme in itself. Probably our fiction has dealt with it more adequately than has any other body of literature. The number of novels dealing with Negro life is growing almost daily and it is usually rural Negro life. Indian characters, life, and traditions are being featured in fiction, particularly by Oliver LaFarge, and Indians are predominantly a rural people. In most of the rural novels that came from the press during a recent autumn the Indian had a part. The amalgamation of our races, the allotment of land to any with Cherokee blood, and the rural development of Indian Territory, later Oklahoma, are reflected in John Oskison's *Brother Three* and the differing viewpoints of the same principles and events as shown by the Indians and the whites are vividly portrayed in Edwin Lanham's *The Wind Blew West*.

Sociologists in thinking of the Ozark and similar people remember the books *Folk-Say* and *Backwoods America* published recently by university presses. It is probable that MacKinlay Kantor's little novel *The Voice of Bugle Ann*, with its story of the picturesque hound raising and training industry and the quaint characters involved in it, and the havoc wrought by the coming of alien people and customs, provides just as genuine a realization of some of the peculiarities of that region and its people in spite of the fact that it appeared on the film screen with such surprising promptness. Other fairly recent fiction regarding mountain people is decidedly interpretive. Meanwhile Marjorie Rawlings brings the distinctive people of the so-called hammock country of Florida into fiction in her *South Moon Under* and *Golden Apples*.

Naturally all of these books are not of equal quality. Some excel in one way, some in another. Each takes a definite and worth-while place in the complete and colorful national mosaic that our novelists are gradually providing. Given a few more years as rich in varied rural fictional writing as the last decade has been and we shall have a collection that, taken together, will well interpret our American rural scenes and rural people in all their amazing diversity.

Relationships Between Social and Economic Conditions in Rural India

S. K. Bedekar

IT is usual to find in books on Indian economics chapters describing the influence of social and religious institutions on the economic structure as it exists in India today, with a further description of what possible alterations in the former are likely to take place and what the effect of those changes on economic conditions will be. This type of treatment of the subject implies that the social conditions are a cause and the economic conditions are their effect. Yet social and economic conditions have actions and reactions on each other and it is hard to draw a dividing line between them.

The socio-economic conditions of a country are a result of many sets of factors. The geographical aspects, including such factors as climate, mineral wealth, nearness to sea, etc., are some of those which affect the economic development of a region. Some persons stress the ethnographical aspect as being primarily responsible for the economic conditions, and we read such statements as mixture of races gives rise to a vigorous community and Aryan races alone are capable of advancing civilization. The question is, Why is India socially backward? If we agree, on historical grounds, that geographically or ethnographically there is nothing inherent in the situation to prevent a high stage of social development being attained, then the answer is that social backwardness is mainly due to economic backwardness. Then to what is the economic backwardness due? Here we again turn around and answer, Because of social and religious institutions which hamper economic progress. Such is the never-ending cycle of reasoning. Individuals will interpret one as cause and the other as effect, largely according to their belief as to what constitutes the remedy for changing either or both. Those who believe in first improving the economic position as a

means of improving the social conditions will give the former as the cause and the latter as the effect. If, on the other hand, some believe that social conditions first need improvement, the reasoning will be reversed. At the same time, it is true that an economist has to consider social factors and a sociologist has to consider economic factors in explaining the contemporary conditions.

In India the first type of reasoning is more popular because of a peculiar situation which is something like this. Why are the economic conditions bad? Because politically we are incapable of guiding our affairs to our advantage. Why are we politically incapable? Because of our moral degeneration, as evidenced by our loss of self-respect in the past, and the present existence of social and religious institutions which are detrimental to our national unity. These suggestions, however, mask to a certain extent the fact, more or less true in all countries and at all times, that social conditions themselves are partly a result of economic conditions. Hence, before pointing out some relationships between social and economic conditions, it should be clearly understood that none is supposed to be the prime cause and the other only its effect.

The most outstanding relationship, which is noticeable in almost all cases, is between the poverty of the people and their inability to improve their social conditions. Dr. Marshall said that "the study of the causes of poverty is the study of the causes of the degradation of a large part of mankind." The physical, mental, and moral ill-health of the mass of the population is due to many causes, chief among which is their poverty. The relationship between poverty and many of our social conditions should be clearly recognized. In a city like Bombay, where rents are unusually high, the state of housing largely indicates the poverty of the occupants. It was noticed in an inquiry that the infant mortality was 577 per 1,000 in one-room tenements, 284 per 1,000 in two-room ones, and 107 per 1,000 among babies born in hospitals. That infant mortality in villages as well as in towns is due to many other causes is not denied, but it is almost certain that poverty which leads to insufficient food and bad housing is the main cause. As a general rule the death rate in the towns is higher than that in the rural areas, sometimes even higher than its own birth rate, and were it not for the immigration from rural areas, the population of Indian towns would continually decrease. The small peasant who is driven to urban centers to seek temporary employment becomes an industrial worker with a peasant outlook and prevents development of strong trade

unionism and class-consciousness among the urban proletariat. A census of Bombay textile workers showed that over 37 per cent had worked in the industry for less than five years. A large part of the urban working-class population are born peasants and, quite frequently, after spending the prime of life in urban areas trying to supplement their income, retire again as peasants. Effects of migration can be seen in the higher average age in urban areas as compared with rural ones and from the unequal ratios of the two sexes between the age of 25 and 40 in urban centers. The economic inability to maintain a family in urban areas, mainly owing to low wages and high rents for housing, is responsible for many thorny social and ethical problems in the cities, but they do not concern us here.

Public health and economic conditions act and react on one other and it cannot be stated that one of them is the cause and the other the effect. A medical man may point out that economic conditions are the cause of ill-health and an economist may point the other way. A country can obtain as much health as it is willing or able to purchase, and purchase of the higher requirements of sanitation and hygiene is limited by financial resources. Medical authority suggests that diseases such as leprosy, cholera, and malaria are not endemic to tropical climates only but are largely diseases of poverty.

It is very often pointed out that the doctrine of "Karma," meaning that what a man experiences in this life is the fruit of his actions in the preceding one, is responsible for the fatalism common to Indian people. This doctrine originated in Buddhism and was initiated to justify the principles of that religion. The influence of religious thought on economic activity is generally exaggerated. Religious thought is universally more or less otherworldly and the mass of the people in India, as in other countries, pay lip service to those doctrines while they pursue material ends with great enthusiasm. The pursuit of spiritual ends did not stand in the way of great material achievements in the past, and even today the most orthodox elements among Hindus and Mohammedans provide the leading communities in modern commerce and industries. The pessimism of the people has a basis in the economic and physiological conditions in which they exist. The spirit of fatalism also colored the views of the masses of Europe before the industrial revolution, and the great discoveries of new lands brought them opportunities for bettering their positions. The economic situation in which the mass

of the peasants now live is not such as to inspire any hope of great betterment of their position by their own work.

The Hindu law of inheritance, which is mainly based on the work of Vidyāneshwar written in the eleventh century, A.D., contains the following main points: (1) a father has absolute powers of disposition of his property only in respect of the self-acquired portion; (2) in case of inherited property sons acquire an indefeasible right of further inheritance by birth, and they can compel a partition of the property even in the father's lifetime; (3) a father is described by titles which imply the sole ownership of family property but only has the power of making gifts of joint-family property to a daughter or for a religious purpose; (4) it is the pious duty of the sons to pay their father's debts if these are not abnormal in character; and (5) in the same spirit of family communism, which pervades the whole code, wealth acquired by individual members of a joint family by reason of their learning or martial service becomes their self-gained property, provided it has been so acquired without detriment to joint family funds. Laws of inheritance thus lead to subdivision of farms to such an extent as to make them of an uneconomic size. They also prevent the emergence of a class of rich peasantry which can better educate their children and can carry out permanent improvements on their land. The economic faults of the laws of inheritance in India have become their social and political virtues. The farming community consists of small peasant proprietors who have permanent interests in the land, and a large group of agricultural proletariat has not developed.

Hinduism, which is the religion of more than two-thirds of the people of India, is also charged with encouraging an overbreeding of men and animals by insistence on marriage and restrictions on the taking of animal life. It is very difficult either to prove or disprove these charges owing to the impossibility of measuring their influence.

The caste system existing among Hindus originated mainly out of an economic necessity, viz., that of making communities self-sufficing in the division of labor. Within the endogamous castes there are usually a number of exogamous groups, and this restriction of the field of marriage results in many instances in a relative scarcity of brides. Therefore, marriage is costly, first, on account of the price which has to be paid to the bride's father and, second, on account of social functions connected with marriage which entail great cost. Darling observes that greater prosperity in the canal colonies of the Punjab resulted in an

increase in the number of marriages. Such a correlation between prices of food and the number of marriages was noticed in some Western European countries before the standard of living of the people became high enough to eliminate such direct relationship.

The relationship between the social organization of village communities and the economic condition of the peasants is recognized after comparing that which existed in the past with the one at present. Disintegrating influences on the village solidarity, such as the spread of the means of communication and the rise of urban industry, which gives scope for employment of individuals from rural areas, were primarily responsible for the change. The village moneylender, who had to depend largely on the good will of the community for the safety of his loans, could now live in the town and become less scrupulous or tender in recovering his loans. The spirit of individualism was partly responsible for the breakup of large joint-families and the resulting subdivision of holdings which was not compensated by more voluntary co-operation.

India is passing today through the same stages of economic progress as did Europe in the last century. The relationships between social and economic conditions are more or less of the same general nature, the points of difference being more superficial than fundamental. Extension of literacy, development of transport and communications, will tend to break some of the barriers to progress. If improved technical knowledge, materials, seeds, methods of cultivation, and livestock can be supplied to cultivators, and if technical as well as economic and social leaders can be found among the peasantry, the circle of complex economic and social barriers will be broken. There may be danger that increased productivity will lead to increase in marriages and population, but this danger will diminish with the spread of education and with the extension of higher standards of living.

Rating Marginal Homes from Observation

E. L. Kirkpatrick

NOTWITHSTANDING a growing emphasis on the need for measuring rural family living during the past 15 years, there is still a tendency to base welfare programs on mere guesses as to the prevailing standards in given communities. For the most part this is due to necessity. Although workers appreciate the need for exact information, their first concern is with the instigation of programs for improvement. Consequently, they do the very best they can after looking things over, perhaps after having examined the available information.

Thus, again we face the question of how well rural living standards can be judged from observation. Can a careful rating or scoring be regarded a dependable method, relatively speaking? Will it afford an index of the individual family's well-being or indicate the proportion of the total number in a given area above, at, or below a subsistence level of living? To what extent will it portray the needs for relief or rehabilitation advances?

In relation to a recent study of standards of living in a submarginal land evacuation territory there was an opportunity for rating 290 rural families from observation. Their homes were situated in the open country and in three villages of the Forest County (Wisconsin) portion of the Crandon Federal Land Purchase Area.¹ Included in the group were (1) those whose holdings had been appraised or optioned for purchase by the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; (2) those which had applied for aid to the Wisconsin Rehabilitation Corporation; and (3) those which typify stranded village groups in the "Cutover." When classified according to place of resi-

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¹ The study was made for the year ending March 31, 1935. For further information pertaining to it see E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Needed Standards of Living for Rural Resettlement*, Mimeograph Report, Wisconsin Rural Rehabilitation Division, Resettlement Administration, May, 1936.

dence, 105 of the families were on farms (places of at least three acres with some equipment and livestock used), 139 were living in the open country but not farming (although many of them were on three acres or more), and 46 were in the villages. Owing to similarities in occupational experiences and living conditions, as well as cultural backgrounds, the open-country nonfarm and the village families are treated as a single group in the analysis of data from the standard of living study.

After all available data had been taken from the rehabilitation and relief records, each family was visited for information on amounts and costs of the different consumption goods and facilities used during the year ending March, 1935. Distinction was made between the goods which were furnished by the farm or home place and those purchased. In more than four-fifths of the cases the latter included some items from public relief funds.

WORKERS RATED ALL HOMES ON APPEARANCE

The workers who visited the homes looked them over carefully from three viewpoints and rated each according to their best judgment into one of five grades ranging from A down to E. The first consideration was given to the general appearance of the homestead as the worker approached and scanned the house closely from outside. The second impression resulted from an encompassing of the interior, including equipment and furnishings. The third factor given attention was the personality of the homemaker or other persons interviewed. All three items were checked carefully against one another and in case of disagreement among them the differences were adjusted and a final index, representing as nearly as possible a balanced score, was reported. The ratings showed four farm families in the A group, 17 in B, 46 in C, 33 in D, and five in E. The corresponding numbers for the nonfarm group were two, 24, 68, 75, and 16. Owing to relatively few families in the two extreme groups, A was combined with B, and E with D when tabulations were made on the study. Thus, the families were rated "good," "fair," or "poor" for both the farm and nonfarm classifications. Differences in average cost of living, as well as distribution of the cost among the principal items, are shown for the three groups in each classification (Table I).

Farm Families—With respect to the farm families, at first glance there seems to be little difference in the prevailing standards of living

for the "good" and "fair" groups; both consumed about \$850 worth of goods and services, compared to less than \$750 worth for the "poor" group. A noticeably higher proportion of the total was furnished by the farm among those in the best group, compared to the others. This applies to rent as well as food, because the families which were rated highest lived in better houses. It is noteworthy that the "good" cases had markedly lower cash expenditure for purchased foods, clothing,

TABLE I

COST OF LIVING AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES AMONG THE PRINCIPAL ITEMS FOR FARM AND NONFARM FAMILIES RATED FROM OBSERVATION AS "GOOD," "FAIR," OR "POOR"; FOREST COUNTY PORTION OF CRANDON, WISCONSIN, LAND PURCHASE AREA, 1935

	RATING							
	All Families		Good		Fair		Poor	
	\$	Percent of Total	\$	Percent of Total	\$	Percent of Total	\$	Percent of Total
105 FARM FAMILIES								
Total cost.....	809	100.0	858	100.0	863	100.0	738	100.0
Furnished*.....	302	37.3	384	45.3	294	34.1	275	37.3
Purchased.....	507	62.7	464	54.7	569	65.9	463	62.7
Food.....	458	58.6	469	55.3	482	55.8	439	59.5
Furnished.....	204	25.2	243	28.7	203	23.5	188	25.5
Purchased.....	254	31.4	226	26.6	279	32.3	251	34.0
Clothing.....	116	14.4	99	11.7	134	15.5	107	14.5
Rent.....	31	3.8	55	6.5	28	3.2	19	2.6
Furnished.....	30	3.7	55	6.5	27	3.1	19	2.6
Purchased.....	1	.1	....	....	1	.1	....	....
Fuel.....	82	10.1	94	11.1	83	9.6	78	10.6
Furnished.....	68	8.4	86	10.1	64	7.4	68	9.2
Purchased.....	14	1.7	8	.9	19	2.2	10	1.3
Other Household Operations	21	2.6	26	3.1	21	2.4	14	1.9
Furnishings.....	21	2.6	24	2.8	24	2.8	16	2.1
Health Maintenance.....	31	3.9	17	2.0	31	3.6	36	4.9
Advancements†.....	18	2.2	26	3.1	23	2.7	8	1.1
Personal.....	27	3.3	29	3.4	32	3.7	19	2.6
Insurance, Life and Health	4	.5	9	1.1	4	.5	2	.3

* Goods furnished by the farm are evaluated at the farm price (cost of production) rather than at retail price.

† The item "advancement" includes formal education, reading, organization dues, church, Red Cross, and recreation.

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

	RATING							
	All Families		Good		Fair		Poor	
	\$	Percent of Total	\$	Percent of Total	\$	Percent of Total	\$	Percent of Total
185 NONFARM FAMILIES								
Total cost	748	100.0	898	100.0	768	100.0	690	100.0
Furnished*	161	21.5	186	20.7	147	19.1	165	23.9
Purchased	587	78.5	712	79.3	621	80.9	525	76.1
Food	408	54.5	438	48.8	420	54.7	392	56.8
Furnished	92	12.3	88	9.8	88	11.4	87	14.0
Purchased	316	42.2	350	39.0	332	43.3	295	42.8
Clothing	95	12.7	117	13.0	98	12.8	86	12.5
Rent	39	5.2	67	7.5	44	5.7	26	3.8
Furnished	15	2.0	35	3.9	13	1.7	11	1.6
Purchased	24	3.2	32	3.6	31	4.0	15	2.2
Fuel	85	11.4	103	11.5	83	10.8	81	11.8
Furnished	54	7.2	63	7.0	46	6.0	57	8.3
Purchased	31	4.2	40	4.4	37	4.8	24	3.5
Other Household Operations	23	3.1	33	3.7	23	3.0	20	2.9
Furnishings	25	3.4	28	3.1	26	3.4	23	3.3
Health Maintenance	33	4.4	30	3.3	34	4.4	32	4.6
Advancement†	10	1.3	24	2.8	10	1.3	7	1.0
Personal	26	3.5	47	5.2	24	3.1	22	3.2
Insurance, Life and Health	4	.5	11	1.2	6	.8	1	.1

* Goods furnished by the farm are evaluated at the farm price (cost of production) rather than at retail price.

† The item "advancement" includes formal education, reading, organization dues, church, Red Cross, and recreation.

fuel, and health maintenance compared to the mid-group, but a higher outlay for life insurance. It is significant, also, that they had smaller cash expenditures for clothing and health maintenance than did the "poor" families.

If proper allowance is made for smaller size of family or household, the families rated "good" have a significantly higher standard of living; in fact as much above the average for the "fair" group as the "poor" is below (Table II). To compare more closely, the "good" families are one-third smaller than the "fair," although they consume practically as many goods and services. Incidentally, they live in much the largest houses, with one room per person compared to .7 and .6 room for the "fair" and "poor" families.

TABLE II

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS FOR FARM AND NONFARM FAMILIES RATED FROM OBSERVATIONS AS "GOOD," "FAIR," OR "POOR"; FOREST COUNTY PORTION OF CRANDON, WISCONSIN, LAND PURCHASE AREA, 1935

	<i>All Families</i>		<i>RATING</i>					
			<i>Good</i>		<i>Fair</i>		<i>Poor</i>	
	<i>Persons (No.)</i>	<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Persons (No.)</i>	<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Persons (No.)</i>	<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Persons (No.)</i>	<i>Age (Years)</i>
105 FARM FAMILIES								
Total in Household.....	591	....	91	....	281	....	219	....
Total Family Persons.....	564	....	79	....	271	....	214	....
Husbands.....	99	48.7	20	47.3	42	47.1	37	48.5
Wives.....	96	41.8	18	46.6	43	40.4	35	41.7
Sons*.....	209	14.2	26	19.3	111	13.5	72	13.7
Daughters*.....	160	11.1	15	12.1	75	11.4	70	11.2
Total Nonfamily Persons..	27	....	12	....	10	....	5	....
Males.....	18	....	8	....	7	....	3	....
Females.....	9	....	4	....	3	....	2	....
Average Size of Household.	5.6	....	4.3	....	6.1	....	5.8	....
Average Size of Family....	5.4	....	3.8	....	5.9	....	5.6	....
185 NONFARM FAMILIES								
Total in Household.....	924	....	117	....	330	....	475	....
Total Family Persons.....	881	....	112	....	314	....	456	....
Husbands.....	183	42.8	26	40.0	67	57.4	90	43.8
Wives.....	170	37.0	24	34.4	65	38.0	81	36.9
Sons*.....	290	13.6	38	12.7	108	12.3	145	11.1
Daughters*.....	238	9.7	24	7.6	74	11.2	140	9.2
Total Nonfamily Persons..	43	....	5	....	16	....	19	....
Males.....	19	....	3	....	6	....	10	....
Females.....	24	....	2	....	10	....	9	....
Average Size of Household.	5.0	....	4.5	....	4.9	....	5.2	....
Average Size of Family....	4.8	....	4.3	....	4.6	....	5.0	....

* Includes also the sons and daughters away at school or elsewhere, if they are supported from the family purse.

In addition to the cost or value of the principal items in the living, attention was given also to the degree of participation, on the part of different members in the family, in some of the most significant home and community activities. These included reading, listening to radio programs, and attendance at church services, movies, and organization meetings.

In terms of hours spent per person (10 or more years of age) in leisure activities for the year, families rated "good" exceeded both the other groups (See Table III). Although they did about the same amount of reading for pleasure, they spent significantly more time

listening to radio programs and attending church services, moving pictures, and organization meetings.

Nonfarm Families—The three groups of nonfarm families show fairly uniform gradations in the average cost of living, almost \$900 for the "good," \$768 for the "fair," and \$690 for the "poor." About the same proportion of the total was furnished from the home place without a direct cash outlay for the two better groups, while the poor group obtained relatively more of their living from this source.

In terms of cash expenditures for principal items in the living, the families rated "good" were far better clothed than were those of the midgroup. Likewise, they had larger outlays for household operation, furnishings, personal items, and insurance. On the other hand, the "poor" families had noticeably lower cash expenditures for food, clothing, fuel, advancement, and life insurance than did the intermediates.

TABLE III

PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED HOME AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES FOR FARM AND NONFARM FAMILIES RATED FROM OBSERVATION AS "GOOD," "FAIR," OR "POOR"; FOREST COUNTY PORTION OF CRANDON, WISCONSIN, LAND PURCHASE AREA, 1935

	<i>All Families</i>	<i>RATING</i>		
		<i>Good</i>	<i>Fair</i>	<i>Poor</i>
<i>Hours per person (10 or more years of age) per year*</i>				
105 FARM FAMILIES				
Total.....	239	335	231	206
Reading.....	184	198	192	170
Radio.....	38	114	26	20
Church.....	12	14	9	14
Sunday School.....	2	4	2	1
Moving Pictures.....	3	4	2	.4
Organization Meetings.....	.3	.6	.1	.3
185 NONFARM FAMILIES				
Total.....	271	475	263	220
Reading.....	170	227	188	132
Radio.....	82	219	57	74
Church.....	11	15	13	9
Sunday School.....	3	1	3	3
Moving Pictures.....	3	11	.9	.6
Organization Meetings.....	1.5	2	.8	1

* The data for these activities were given in terms of "number of times attended." In the case of church and Sunday school it was assumed that the time spent at each meeting was one hour; in the instance of moving pictures and organization meetings, two hours.

Although the variation in size of family or household is not striking, allowance for it does accentuate the differences in the prevailing standards of living for the three groups of nonfarm families (Table II). In other words, while the families rated best were one-sixth smaller than those judged poorest, they consumed at least two-fifths more goods and facilities, on the average.

As with the farm families, the highest rated nonfarm group markedly exceeded the others at participating in home and community activities. The average person in the group spent 475 hours per year, the bulk of which was devoted to reading and radio auditing, compared to 263 hours for the intermediate and 220 hours for the other. This is in keeping with the higher expenditures for advancement which cover reading materials, radio facilities, church support, and organization dues as well as books and supplies needed in connection with formal schooling.

WHAT THE RATINGS SIGNIFY

Although the averages for "good," "fair," and "poor" groups are not too widely divergent, especially for the farm families, they are suggestive enough to encourage further attention to observation as a means of sizing up local situations. To look things over carefully on a comparative basis is one of the most hopeful approaches to a further means of discovering the actual conditions with respect to a given group of families. It is an effective guide for the investigator as well as the administrator. It will not suffice, however, as a substitute for more detailed statistical analyses, but it will serve in many instances as a basis of procedure in some of the emergency measures.

It is of interest that the findings here reported are in accord with those of other explorations in connection with standard of living studies in more prosperous farming areas prior to the depression.² This suggests that systematic observation can be made at least a rough means of sizing up local situations. If one worker were to use it relatively (and open-mindedly) for a given territory such as a county, he could ascertain fairly well the order in which specific families or groups of families are in need of attention in the welfare program. In fact, appearance of the farmhouse may be a fairly satisfactory index of the standard of living,

² See "Observation As a Measure of the Standard of Living Among Farmers," *Journal of Home Economics*, XIX (1927), and "Can Standards of Living Be Rated from Observation?" *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (1933).

to the extent at least that it is worthy of a more careful looking over than it has had in the past. If urban slums can be distinguished from sight, why cannot rural areas be classified by the same method? At any rate the open eye, as well as the open mind, is important with respect to the matter.

Obviously observation cannot be made to take account of the different kinds and amounts of consumption goods and facilities any more than it can indicate capacities of different members of the household to make the best possible uses of their available resources. It can be tried, however, at least as a rough tool for mapping a given district with regard to standards of living, somewhat as number of cows or condition of crops is used to delineate farming areas, or as surface appearances are suggestive of soil types. With careful use it should prove a satisfactory means of locating homes at or below subsistence levels of living in marginal as well as in more prosperous farming localities.

The Modifying Influence of the Family-Farm Upon Choice of Occupation

Roy H. Holmes

ON THE FARM, mainly, the family is the economic unit. The family-farm system naturally exerts pressure upon the young person, especially upon an only son, to remain in the parental occupation. It is without doubt true that family-farm life proceeds best when sons follow the fathers as a matter of course. It is the case, however, that farmer parents and their children belong also to the *larger* society as well as to the farm population. It is to be expected, therefore, that they will not be unaffected by the ideals of choice and competition which, at least in theory, determine the occupational placement of most young persons in our society. In many farm families there is being experienced a mental conflict between two loyalties: the one, to the family-farm system which demands the subservience of the individual; the other, to the world of choice.

The purpose of this article is to illustrate this conflict situation. The quotations used have been taken from letters received during the past four years from farming people in Michigan. The article covers but one phase of a somewhat comprehensive study of rural conditions and attitudes.

The study, as a whole, has been made possible by the co-operation of more than 500 local leaders drawn from every part of Michigan and selected mainly upon the recommendation of county school commissioners and village school superintendents. They have been invited to serve rural sociology by writing monthly letters descriptive of social conditions that have come under their observation, and of opinions and attitudes related to those conditions. Each letter that they have written has been given a personal answer intended to lead the correspondent to discuss still further those conditions and opinions in which he appar-

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ently is most interested. The correspondent is also furnished each month with a set of mimeographed statements to which he is asked to write his reactions. During the second and third years of the study, these statements were selected from the various letters received. During the fourth year, they consisted of tentative conclusions relative to various aspects of rural life as developed from a careful reading of the materials furnished by the correspondents during the first three years of the study.

The theory underlying this type of research is that the investigator may become well acquainted with rural conditions and opinions if he maintains, over a considerable period of time, a relationship of intimate friendship with a large number of representative rural families—a relationship that is maintained through the writing of frequent letters in which the correspondents are encouraged to express themselves freely. It is considered that the rural person is well qualified to assist in such a study if, in the first place, he is actually living in rural surroundings, on a farm or at least in daily contact with farming people; and in the second place, if he has been sufficiently active in his associations to come to the attention of school superintendents and others who are asked to make recommendations; and, finally, if he really enjoys thinking and writing about the conditions with which he is familiar, considering what seem to him to be the unpleasant as well as the pleasant aspects of those conditions.

From the more than 3,000 letters that have been received a large number of statements have been selected as especially significant for the light they throw upon the nature of rural society. For the purposes of this article, a few quotations have been chosen that seem to be especially relevant to the question of the influence of the family-farm upon choice of occupation.

The first five quotations merely express the views of the writers that many farmer parents hope that their children may continue the family occupation.

All the farmers I can bring to mind are eager to keep their sons on the farm.

If the farm is a paying proposition, naturally the parents would wish one son at least to carry on.

Of course parents cannot help but wish at least one of their sons would keep the old place and like that life.

I think it is rather difficult for parents who have pride in their farms and buildings to see their children following other occupations.

I suppose that parents rather lose interest if they know that a farm which has been in the family for several generations is going out of the family.

The next two writers analyze somewhat the motives of parents, indicating that they think both sentimental and practical factors are involved.

Some farm parents are interested either in "keeping the farm in the family" or in having the services of a hired man without regular pay days.

Many families not alone desire to keep the farm in the family, but to have help so Dad won't have to work so hard.

The following quotation is from the letter of a farm mother, who apparently is thinking mainly in practical terms.

We have one son and would have been glad to have him be a farmer as we have several farms and have to rent them, and it is not always possible to have desirable tenants. This son has a B.S. from the University. He is now teaching in a junior high school at a salary probably less than the income he would get from operating one of the farms.

The next group of writers refer to the actual process of modifying the occupational choices of farm young people. Evidently some of these writers are favorable and others unfavorable to the assertion of restrictive influences.

Especially where there is but one son, the farmer generally exerts guidance in the attempt to keep the son in the occupation. Much education would make him dissatisfied with the limited opportunities of the country.

Often a boy is shoved into farm work whether fitted for it or not. A man so hates the idea of building up his farm and seeing his hard work go to someone else—possibly a rather selfish motive.

I think that farm parents are very apt to make the youngsters fit into their plans regardless of the youngsters' plans.

Often farm people refer to young men who have left the farm for a college course as "duds." It is one way of creating in the minds of young children the dislike of leaving the farm.

The kind of teachers with whom I come in contact teach the boys and girls to look up to their farm life instead of towards city ways and wrong influences, and to look for satisfaction in doing the so-called drudgery of farm work.

In some cases in which the child's parents do not present a unified influence in regard to the child's choice of occupation, the mother is the one more likely to view the situation in personal terms, while the father asserts more of an institutional point of view. One reason for this difference lies in the fact that the father himself is more often than the

mother a product of family-farm life. More wives than husbands have come to the farms from the towns. One correspondent writes as follows regarding the influence of town-reared mothers:

In the case of an only son of a city mother, he is quite likely to want a life off the farm. City mothers, unless completely won over to farming, are apt quite unconsciously to influence the children against the occupation.

One of the "city mothers" among the correspondents makes the following statement:

Our farm, which is a good one, has been in the family for three generations. My husband is quite insistent that our son, an only child, shall keep the farm in the family for another generation. The boy who has just graduated from high school is not interested in the farm and wishes to become a chemical engineer. I can say nothing—just watch and wait.

This mother is evidently so sensitive to the *rightness* of both of the opposing loyalties that she refrains from *consciously* exerting what might be the decisive influence. It may be that all through the child's life she has *unconsciously* aided in the development of attitudes hostile to the family occupation.

It is not always the case that the "city mother" is unmoved by the sentimental appeal of family continuity. The following statement from one such woman is similar to several others that have been received.

Most farms have a great deal more of oneself put into their development than city property. We have done a great deal here that I hope my son or daughter will enjoy, little as I want to influence their choice.

Without doubt grandparents are in general less favorable than parents to the breaking of the family line. This may be in part due to the conservative attitude which increases with advancing age. It also may be accounted for in part by the fact that the older people represent a generation in which movement to the cities was less general than was the case in the 1920's. The following quotation from a mother illustrates the conflict in attitudes between the two generations.

We have just one son and he wants to study medicine. His grandparents think he should stay right here on the farm, but I would just as soon have him become a doctor.

The following two writers are of the opinion that a change of attitude is developing in the direction of increased freedom of choice.

As a child I can remember feeling that it was almost a disgrace for a rural young person to leave the country for the city, and believed that the motives

prompting him to seek the city were most objectionable in nearly all cases. Of course, I blindly echoed this sentiment of the people whom I heard talk of the matter, so much a belief must have been quite prevalent.

I believe the broader-minded people are getting away from the idea of son following in dad's footsteps.

The position taken by the mother from whose letter the next statement is quoted is unusual in its insistence that all farm children should be prepared for an alternate occupation.

Even though a child should greatly desire to take over the farm his forebears have owned for years, it is not fair to let him grow up expecting to carry on the ancestral occupation without having had preparation for some other line of work—in case he is unable to make a living on the farm.

In certain cases the son's interest in the occupation is a disappointment to his parents, as the next statement illustrates.

Our only son is in high school. We don't encourage him to remain on this or any farm. He belongs to the 4-H Club, shows an interest in farming, but I hope he will choose some other occupation.

With conflicting ideals finding expression in neighborhood and family disagreements, it is to be expected that many persons will experience something of a conflict in their own minds. Often this conflict is between an intellectual judgment on the side of personal freedom and an emotional urge to limit freedom of choice for the sake of family solidarity. When such a conflict occurs, the *feelings*, being more fundamental than the competing inclinations, are quite sure to determine parental behavior. The following quotation tells of this form of conflict.

Many farmers, although they say the child can choose his own vocation, deep down in their hearts want them to become farmers, so encourage and promote activities to instill farming into their minds.

The next statement is most interesting when considered in connection with an earlier statement from the same writer which gives the impression that her brother is very satisfactorily located in an urban occupation.

I have always felt that some such organization as the 4-H Club might have saved my brother for the farm, but there were none near us then.

In the reply sent to the afore-mentioned writer, it was remarked, "You seem to be *intellectually* satisfied with the fact that your brother

is in the city, but *emotionally* you are a bit sorry." As she has not referred to the matter in any of her subsequent letters, it may be assumed that she agrees such to be the case.

Possibly the most interesting illustration of this type of conflict which has thus far been received is contained in the following quotation from the letter of a farmer who has no sons.

No one could be more in sympathy with breadth of education and choice of occupation than myself, but no one could feel more keenly the tragic mess that can be made of farm life because of no direction or plan. And continuing farm ownership does furnish a plan. A subject that I have never mentioned and which has been just lately emphasized on me concerns the Holstein business in — Co. At a meeting of breeders last week, a speaker from the national association said that as a boy in Illinois, he used to hear a lot about — Co. It was the Holstein capital of the world, but that of late years he didn't hear much about it. The speaker said that he had wondered what had happened and in talking with men in the county they had told him the business had suffered because the sons hadn't kept up the work of their fathers. His question was answered quite easily. But the picture is sad because we did have a business in which there was a great deal of pride as compared with so many uninteresting farm situations. According to the facts, the picture can't be made too bad, but the worse it is, the more is emphasized the question—"What must be the benefits resulting from unfettered choice, to make up for the almost total loss of an important, interesting and proud business or way of life?"

Had the writer of the foregoing statement developed out of a different background, his question might have read, "What must be the importance of the breeding of Holstein cattle to justify the limitation of a young man's choice of occupation to the end that he would pursue that calling as a matter of course?"

The conflict that may exist between an individual's personality pattern and the social rôle that he feels called upon to play, because of institutional pressure exerted through relatives who are themselves products of the family-farm system, is illustrated in these two quotations:

My husband always wanted to be an engineer, but his father objected and made him a farmer. Machinery is natural to him and it is pitiful sometimes how he watches engines and trains—always a longing that was never gratified.

I know an only son who returned after college and conducted the farm very successfully, yet he has been heard to lament the fact that he is farming. His mother and sister expected him to do it.

The point must be emphasized that the fundamental conflict is between the very nature of the family-farm type of life or culture, upon

the one hand, and the ideal of freedom for personal development, upon the other. It lies far deeper than any mere clashing of personal natures in the working out of life's adjustments. One final quotation is descriptive of the situation as it sometimes presents itself.

Preparing an only son for choice of occupation means hardship for the parents as a rule, and it usually means that money which is needed for improvement on the farm is used for the child's education. Thus the farm becomes less attractive to the child.

As long as agriculture is carried on mainly by family-farm units, there clearly is no possibility of the urbanization of farm life to the extent that the average farm child will be as free to locate himself occupationally as are the children of the city. Without doubt it is equally true that, as long as the democratic ideal of freedom of choice is generally stressed in America, there will continue among farm people the conflict between the two loyalties.

A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900-1930

Carl Frederick Reuss

THE EFFECT of cityward migration upon the quality of the residual rural population is a matter of vital social significance. Yet, just as all rural areas are not alike, so the effects of migration are not everywhere the same. Broadly speaking, three types of rural areas may be distinguished. They are: (1) those adjacent to a small city; (2) those affected by industrial development; and (3) those remote from both city and industry. One single method of determining the qualitative nature of rural depopulation has been applied to each of these three types of rural locality. A different picture was found in each area, lending credence to the view that environmental influences largely determine the qualitative character of migration and its effects upon the residual rural population.

The first study, of a rural area adjacent to a city, was made in Albemarle County, Virginia, adjacent to the small city of Charlottesville.¹ Here it was found that the upper class of citizens is most heavily attracted away from farms to the city, that the next heaviest loss to the farms is from the middle class, and the least from the lower class. (Criteria used in determining class membership are explained later.) A rural area affected by marked adjacent industrial development was found in Santuc Township, Union County, South Carolina.² This community showed a heavy depletion of its best citizens, a 15 per cent increase in its middle-class citizenry, and the most severe depletion in its lower-class stock, who moved to the industrial plants nearby which offered them a haven from a struggling submarginal existence. The

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¹ Wilson Gee and Dewees Runk, "Qualitative Selection in Cityward Migration," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (1931), pp. 210-221.

² Wilson Gee, "A Qualitative Study of Rural Depopulation in a Single Township: 1900-1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX (1933), pp. 254-265.

third study, that of a rural agricultural region remote from both city and industry, is reported upon in detail in this paper. To fill out the picture here it might be stated that in this district, Stonewall, in Richmond County, Virginia, it was found that the upper class was most depleted, the middle class was next most depleted, and the lower class actually increased by 12 per cent.

At this point it is well to describe the methodology used in the three studies. Its very essence is the placing of each individual in the community into one of three classes, upper, middle, or lower. It is difficult objectively to define the basis upon which such a separation is made. Yet, despite this seeming weakness, it is a technique valued by all who have thoroughly understood it. It is the sort of matter which one "senses" rather than brings to a definitive statement. The process involves both social and economic considerations, with family traditions and community worth as essential elements. For, whatever may or may not be the case elsewhere, in many sections of the South it is possible with a marked degree of exactitude to sort the population of the community into an upper, a middle, and a lower class. Each person's station is somehow known and recognized by everyone in the community, including the individual himself. In the actual problem of classification, the consensus of opinion of older citizens whose daily lives brought them into intimate contact with the members of the district for a period of nearly 40 years was the determining factor, rather than a haphazard sorting of names by an entire stranger after but a brief visit to the area.

An accurate list of the white population of the district in 1900 was sorted into classes by this method, and the same thing was done for a similar list of those there in 1930. Through interviews were determined what has happened to each of the individuals there in 1900, and the origin of all those in the district in 1930 who were not there at the earlier census period. After the actual classification had been made in this manner, its accuracy was checked as it related to certain measurable economic characteristics available from the tax books of the county.

The objection may be raised that this sample is a small one, but this can be met by the statement that it is complete for the universe which it represents—a magisterial district of approximately 40 square miles. Neither methodology nor time and facilities made it possible to study the situation with regard to Negroes, though admittedly such a study would be valuable.

The area to which the technique was applied is the magisterial

district of Stonewall, Richmond County, located on Virginia's historic Northern Neck. Such great Americans as George Washington, James Monroe, and Robert E. Lee were born in Westmoreland, adjacent to Richmond County, and several fine old Colonial homes still stand witness to the character of those days.

Richmond County, one of the five Northern Neck counties, lies on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, about midway between the Chesapeake Bay and the fall line at Fredericksburg. Set up as a separate entity in 1692, it has always been a distinctly agricultural region and maintains that tradition today. Previously, the only means of transportation to the rest of the world was by water, with the result that the natural market and center for the area was Baltimore. However, within the past 10 years, with the bridging of the Rappahannock and the construction of modern highways throughout the whole Neck, the region has lost its extreme isolation, though even today the nearest city or town of any size is more than 50 miles from Warsaw, the county seat of Richmond County. With fast trucks farmers are able to send their produce to Richmond, the state capital, in little more than an hour over a good road. Their principal products are vegetables and truck crops, though the soil is well adapted to all types of general farm crops. Tomatoes are grown in quantity for the numerous canneries which open in season. Streams abound in fish and oysters of superior quality. Forest products have been and still are to some extent a source of revenue. Hunting in the marshes along the rivers and creeks furnishes furs for marketing.

Warsaw is a country village of quaint charm, about five miles inland from Downing Bridge, which spans the Rappahannock River at Tappahannock. The old court house and clerk's office hold records from the beginning of the county's history. The Northern Neck State Bank here serves a prosperous community. A motion picture house, a newspaper office, a central telephone exchange, and several modern stores enhance the prestige of Warsaw among the citizens of the nearby sections. The modern Warsaw High School is one of the two accredited high schools in the county.

Richmond County is almost wholly of native American stock, in 1900 only 28 of the population of 7,088 being foreign-born. By 1930 this number had decreased to 12 in a total population of 6,878. It will be noted that the county as a whole suffered a population decrease during the 30-year period. This, combined with its remoteness from the im-

mediate influences of cities and industries, was one of the chief reasons for selecting the area for study.

Stonewall District lies in the northwest corner of the county, adjacent to Westmoreland. It, too, during the 30-year period suffered a loss in population, from 1,473 to 1,045. The white population decreased from 1,002 to 826; the Negro decline was heavier, from 471 to 219. The study of the tax books revealed that in 1900 nine out of 10 of the upper class owned land, seven in 10 of the middle class owned land, and only four in 10 of the lower class were similarly fortunate. In 1930 the data showed that 93 per cent of the upper class, 79 per cent of the middle, and 48 per cent of the lower class owned land. The average size of holdings in 1930 was 172 acres for the upper, 91 acres for the middle, and 52 acres for the lower class. In 1900 the corresponding figures were 161 acres, 72 acres, and 27 acres, respectively. Thus it is evident that each class has been increasing the size of its landholdings, but especially is this true of the lower class, which practically doubled its average holdings. Since the upper class enlarged its average acres only slightly, and the middle and the lower classes much above their 1900 averages, it can be seen that the lower class gains are at the expense of the upper classes. This is a fact worth remembering, for it occurs again in this study that the lower classes in this remote agricultural community are gaining in numbers and in possessions, while the upper classes are leaving the area.

What may be a fact of significance is the average size of families, which for the purpose of this tabulation was considered to include all who were related to the head of the household. In 1900 the average was 4.9 individuals for the upper class, 4.4 for the middle, and 3.8 for

TABLE I
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF STONEWALL DISTRICT
BY CLASS, 1900 AND 1930

Class	1900		1930		Percentage Increase or Decrease*
	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	
Upper.....	292	29.1	220	26.6	-24.7
Middle.....	576	57.5	456	55.2	-20.8
Lower.....	134	13.4	150	18.2	11.9
TOTAL.....	1,002	100.0	826	100.0	-17.5

(—) Indicates decrease.

the lower class. By 1930 the average size had shrunk to 4.1 members for the upper class, remained exactly the same for the middle class, 4.4, and increased to 5.0 members for the lower class. Here the lower class was clearly making gains over the upper class.

A study of Table I, which gives the distribution of the white population by class, reveals that the upper class lost nearly one-fourth of its citizens during the 30-year period between 1900 and 1930. The middle class, during the same interval, suffered a decline of 20.8 per cent in its numbers. The lower class, on the other hand, actually gained in members, and increased by 11.9 per cent above its 1900 total. What must be the future effect upon the rural population if one of every four of its best citizens is removed from its midst, while population increases come from those of the lower levels?

The figures in Table II give the distribution of the white population of 1900 by class as to whether they are living or deceased. They reveal that of the 1,002 individuals living in Stonewall District in 1900, 365 have died, leaving 637 to be accounted for in this study. An interesting fact is the absolute equality between men and women in the district in 1900, 501 of each sex. Three more men than women died during the period under study. Though the figures may mean little without a presentation of the age distribution of the classes, it is a fact that the Grim Reaper took his heaviest toll from the lower class, of which nearly 45 per cent died since 1900, whereas the upper class had only 34.2 per cent of its members removed by death in the same period.

The origin of the 1930 white population by class is shown in Table III. Of the 220 of the upper class in 1930, 143 members were in the community in 1900 or are children of 1900 residents. This means that the remainder, 35 per cent, is to be accounted for by migration

TABLE II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION OF 1900 BY CLASS AND SEX
AS TO WHETHER LIVING OR DECEASED

Class	Entire White Population of 1900			Deceased			Still Living		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Upper.....	292	145	147	100	50	50	192	95	97
Middle.....	576	291	285	205	104	101	371	187	184
Lower.....	134	65	69	60	30	30	74	35	39
TOTAL.....	1,002	501	501	365	184	181	637	317	320

TABLE III
THE ORIGIN OF THE 1930 WHITE POPULATION BY CLASS

Class	Total in 1930 Census	Members of 1900 Stock Residing in the District	Occupations of Migrants			Percentage Accounted For by Migration
			Total	Farming	Other Work	
Upper.....	220	143	77	74	3	35.0
Middle.....	456	266	190	182	8	41.7
Lower.....	150	66	84	80	4	56.0
TOTAL.....	826	475	351	336	15	42.5

into the community, mainly as wives or husbands of those native to the district. The middle class recruited 41.7 per cent to fill up its ranks; the lower class added 56 per cent new members. Farming was the chief occupation of practically all who entered the community. A few engaged in merchandising, insurance selling, teaching, and the professions. The remainder performed various grades of skilled and unskilled labor.

How much of the loss noticed over the period of study can be attributed to the influence of cities and the cityward migration of rural folk of a remote district like Stonewall is a pertinent question. The answer is presented in Table IV, which indicates that 40.2 per cent of those still living from 1900 have migrated to cities. The question as to which class is moving in greatest proportion is also answered here. The upper class is most attracted to the city, the women more attracted than the men. Of the total 192 still living, 82, or 42.7 per cent, are living in cities. Forty-four and four-tenths of the women of the upper class have migrated to the city. The middle class moved cityward at the rate of

TABLE IV
THE NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF THE WHITES IN THE DISTRICT IN 1900
WHO ARE LIVING IN URBAN CENTERS

Class	Aggregate Number Still Living and for Whom Data Are Available			Number Now Located in Urban Centers			Percentage of Those Now Living Who Have Migrated to Cities		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Upper.....	192	95	97	82	39	43	42.7	41.1	44.4
Middle.....	371	187	184	147	75	72	39.6	40.1	39.1
Lower.....	74	35	39	27	11	16	36.5	31.4	41.0
TOTAL.....	637	317	320	256	125	131	40.2	39.4	40.9

39.6 per cent, and men were the chief movers. The lower class sought urban life to the extent of 36.5 per cent, but here women were more often classed as urban migrants than were the men.

The cities which attracted the greatest number of Stonewall folk were those which could easily be reached by water. Baltimore was the mecca for many. A greater number moved to Washington, perhaps going up the Potomac River, which is not far distant from Stonewall District, or perhaps moving down through Baltimore. Of all Virginia cities, Fredericksburg, just up the Rappahannock River, was the most popular. In terms of totals, 68 per cent of all urban migrants from Stonewall District went to Washington. Only 14.8 per cent moved to Virginia municipalities. Baltimore attracted 9.8 per cent of all migrants, and 7.4 per cent were scattered over the rest of the nation and the world, for one of the upper class went to India as a missionary and another from the same class is performing similar duties in China. The migration by classes shows another interesting characteristic. The upper class led in the migration to Baltimore, the farthest city; the middle class led the proportionate and absolute migration to Washington, the middle distance city; the lower class saw one-third of its members leave Stonewall for Virginia cities, the closest at hand.

A classification of the occupations of urban migrants shows results distinctly favorable to the upper class, as Table V will confirm. The

TABLE V
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN MIGRANTS BY CLASS

<i>Occupational Class</i>	<i>Number of Urban Migrants</i>			<i>Percentage of Urban Migrants</i>		
	<i>Upper</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>
Professional.....	9	7	0	11.0	4.8	0.0
Business.....	23	29	0	28.1	19.7	0.0
Clerical.....	24	52	8	29.2	35.4	29.6
Domestic Service.....	11	21	6	13.4	14.3	22.2
Skilled and Semi-skilled labor...	9	22	13	11.0	14.9	48.2
Occupation Unknown.....	6	16	0	7.3	10.9	0.0
TOTAL.....	82	147	27	100.0	100.0	100.0

upper class led in members who have taken up professions and business in the city, and a considerable number are in the higher grades of clerical work. The middle class shows strength in the business and dominates the clerical classification. In the lower levels of domestic

and personal service and skilled and unskilled labor, the lower class naturally leads, with over 70 per cent of its members so employed.

A question which next presents itself is, if so many have moved to cities, how many are left on farms? The answer is 52.3 per cent, as Table VI shows. The middle class showed the greatest preference for

TABLE VI

THE NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF THE WHITES IN THE DISTRICT IN 1900
WHO ARE NOW LIVING ON FARMS

Class	Number Who Are Still Living			Number Now Living on Farms			Percentage Now Living on Farms		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Upper.....	192	95	97	93	44	49	48.4	46.3	50.5
Middle.....	371	187	184	201	97	104	54.2	51.9	56.5
Lower.....	74	35	39	39	18	21	52.7	51.4	53.8
TOTAL.....	637	317	320	333	159	174	52.3	50.2	54.4

farming, the lower class next, and the upper class least, though the differences in percentage figures were not very great, ranging from 54.2 for the middle class to 48.4 for the upper group.

Still living on farms were 333 individuals. Of these, 212 remained on farms in Stonewall District. Farms elsewhere in Richmond County attracted 17. Farms in other parts of Virginia drew 100 individuals from Stonewall, but other states attracted only four. When analyzed by class, the figures show that the upper class remained in Stonewall District to the extent of 70 per cent of all that class who were still farming, and proportionately it remained on Richmond County farms to the greatest extent when it did seek other locations. The middle class showed the same general trend, though not quite as sharply defined. The lower class, however, preferred farms in other sections of the state, as is evidenced by the fact that 66.7 per cent of the lower class who remained on farms sought areas other than Stonewall.

Figures compiled on migration from owner or tenant family origin show that a greater proportion of urban migrants come from the owner class and an undue proportion of farm migrants derive from tenant families. In 1900 the class which owned land constituted 71.9 per cent of the total population. From this number came 73.4 per cent of urban migrants. The tenant class, making up only 28.1 per cent of the 1900 population, accounted for 40.5 per cent of the migrants to farms. In

the process they still remained largely a tenant class though some of them joined the ranks of landowners.

The size of family quite naturally exerts a tremendous influence upon migration. Larger families see greater numbers of their members migrate to cities; smaller families can better keep their members at home. Data were gathered on this subject but are not presented because of space considerations.

SUMMARY

From the data gathered in this field study of the qualitative effects of rural depopulation in Stonewall Magisterial District, Richmond County, Virginia, from 1900 to 1930, certain facts stand out which may serve to indicate general trends for similarly circumstanced rural areas, remote from the immediate pull of cities and industries, in other sections of the nation. It is of course not claimed that the very same results which have been found in Stonewall must hold true for all other like communities, for such would be a too broad assumption, but it is quite probable that similar results would be found from similarly situated areas in other sections of the nation.

The upper class migrated in greatest proportion to the cities, where opportunities for personal advancement were greater. The middle class was almost as much affected by the lure of big cities, more especially Washington, but also Baltimore. Transportation was a big factor in this migration, since few Virginia cities, with the exception of Fredericksburg which could be reached by boat, were selected as new homes by the migrants. The result was a depletion of one out of four of the upper class, one out of five of the middle class, but an increase of 12 per cent in the lower class. The original stock of each class was quite heavily depleted, but migration into the area made up for a considerable portion of the loss. The lower class claimed the greatest portion of the migrants, the upper class the least. This seems to indicate that the lower class is increasing at the expense of the upper class. One encouraging sign is that the upper class, when it does stay on the farm, remains on the soil of Stonewall District, where it is bound by ties of friendship, tradition, and land ownership. The lower class quite generally stays on farms, but often moves from one farm to another. Where families are large there is a manifest tendency toward cityward migration. The landowning class sends more than its share of migrants

to cities; the tenant family members will more often move to farms in other parts of the county or state.

From these facts one conclusion stands out inescapably. Stonewall District is losing much of its better population. A new population, recruited from the lower classes, is arising. What effect this situation will have on the future of Stonewall is problematical. One thing is fairly certain—unless the process is soon halted the quality of Stonewall's population will not be up to its present standards. The lower class is becoming more and more a landowning class at the expense of the upper class. Further, the lower class is much more rapidly replenishing itself, and must continue to expand its land holdings if it is to survive.

The variance between the findings of this study and those of similar studies made of areas of different geographical and social backgrounds merely confirms the view that environmental influences largely determine the qualitative character of migration and its effect upon the residual rural population. If, as a national trend, the upper class and the middle class are leaving rural areas remote from industry and cities to migrate where personal advantages are to be found, namely in the cities, and are leaving the lower class to reproduce the rural population, it is not difficult to see the disastrous consequences upon both our future rural and also our future urban populations.

Notes

THE XAVERIAN MOVEMENT

If the task of reconstructing society were offered one tomorrow, how would he perform it? Would he follow the same plan that has made reconstruction necessary? It is not likely.

The necessity of intelligent reconstruction is evident. The probability of such reconstruction materializing, while not so obvious, is yet apparent to the student. And the intelligence required for the task may be found by him where it is—dormant in the common man. The ideal of peace, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may be drawn a little nearer realization by the simple plan of ceasing to pay lip-service to democracy and beginning to pay honor to democrats instead. In other words, man, the rational being, the proud possessor of intelligence and will, must be stimulated to exercise these peculiar faculties. He must be induced to cease this silly business of allowing a few smart individuals to rule by default.

Driven by necessity, it is possible for man to achieve one of his greatest triumphs. The common man will become great by doing great things. It can't be done? An attitude of doubt would be preferable to an air of dogmatic negation. For the simple truth is that to a surprisingly great extent it is being done.

It is being done by the people of eastern Nova Scotia, 200,000 souls of Scotch, French, Irish, and English extraction, settled in an area of 20,000 square miles. For the most part this district is agricultural, but dotted with numberless bays and harbors and set off by a steel and coal area where 17,000 workers wrestle for their daily bread.

Five years ago this wrestling took place in the bread line. That line has not completely disappeared, but a new one is taking its place. It is a line of 12,000 men awaiting their turn to deposit weekly savings in 70 banks of their own creation.

The cause of this bread line that has begun to dwindle was the problem that confronted the men of Antigonish. It is essentially the same as that which challenges men everywhere. It is simply that rugged individualism had made ragged individuals of us all. The industrial revolution emptied our farms and filled our tenements, and in Nova Scotia as elsewhere mine and factory whistles had not yet become foghorns for adventurous rural youth. Then came also the feeling of unrest that followed the World War. Disquietude and disillusionment accompanied the Armistice. Dangerous social theories were being advocated by active agencies. The men of Antigonish had to act or see their people perish. They preferred to act.

These men, with their diocesan college, St. Francis Xavier, felt it was a question of education. They realized that God gave the earth and the fullness thereof for all men and that He gave men an intellect with which to exploit

these for their needs. That intellect could and would be developed. That was their first objective. The French revolutionists had a somewhat similar idea—that nobility might not be confined to the nobles after all. They gave humanity a thrill and a vision. A few explored the idea, but the majority continued to live on the scraps from banquet halls. The common people had not the opportunity to participate as real human beings. Now, however, adult education supplies that opportunity. It enables man to prepare to draw in the slack when it offers, so that when the great pull comes he has an even chance in that tug-of-war where the prize is his freedom—economic, social, and political freedom.

The mighty shall indeed rise from their seats, but not to command.

Can man, of himself, do it? Fascist and Communist say, "No." Others have more faith in man, and in God.

The Xaverian plan is slow and unspectacular as compared with the flash and fanfare of the ultraradical philosophies. It is, however, more effective. Reason and science are shy things. They take flight in an environment of ballyhoo and bombing. The history of human progress testifies that the best things are worked out silently and deftly. Crowbars are not used in watch repairing or eggs hatched in a blast furnace. Only such instruments as can be controlled and manipulated with ease and safety are employed by men of reason. Brute force is an irrational and unscientific implement in the readjustment of human affairs. Its users render themselves helpless before uncontrollable forces. Equally inane are the proponents of dictatorship. Does a doctor cure his patients by dieting himself?

What is more, divine dictators, political and economic, are worth just as much as divine kings. They exist only because it is the easy and imperfect way of doing things, and the easy and imperfect way is usually the first method attempted by human beings. But "Let George do it," is the overture to grim tragedy. For lack of responsibility leads to chaos, and now that reconstruction is to be undertaken, this principle, with its lack of principle, ought not to have any place in the program. *Laisser-aller* and its soul mate, *laissez-faire*, have begot a brood of bastard, superservice men with no one to serve.

That was the situation which confronted eastern Nova Scotia and, as already indicated, it was felt that education would improve it. But how were the people to become educated? Money and men were too scarce to carry on the commonly adopted procedure of sending lecturers into the field at regular intervals. That was fortunate. It resulted in the discovery of the small study-group technique, or rather the co-discovery, since Sweden has also employed it. It has since spread throughout the North American continent and is familiar to all adult educationists. Hundreds of such small, congenial study groups were organized and provided with pamphlets, books, mimeographed sheets, study outlines, and a biweekly publication. The Complete Works of Shakespeare in One Volume and the libretto of Faust were not included.

First things come first. So these men tackled the situation at that point which is obviously the most logical starting place. Pedagogically it is sound to say that the educator goes where the learner is. So these educators went where the people

were—on the road to the poorhouse. It was not difficult to ascertain their state. The chaotic condition of the world had thrown their economic status into full view. Upon that the teachers focused their attention. No adult educator, if he is scientific, can dodge the economic issue. It is fundamental. If education means the development of human possibilities, man must be free to develop them. The slave is master of neither body nor soul. He cannot acquire the equipment that will permit him to function to his fullest capacity. Adult education may be regarded as a means toward that end. But it has to be coterminous with active life.

They led their groups to think about economic questions, realizing that the common people like to see their thinking issue in action, in action that will bring among other things an economic return. And in this respect all men are common. It is a right and natural desire. Thus the soul is given a chance to expand, to explore the whole realm of human possibilities, to grow great in the discovery of material and spiritual treasures. Such education and action stand in the same way to the social structure as the foundation does to the beautiful building. It isn't the most beautiful part, but without it there just isn't any permanent structure—or superstructure.

The men of Antigonish faced a concrete situation. Their laboratory was ideal for the experiment. The human relationships were simple and the essentials easily perceived. They were not faced with the many complex problems and details that confront the man who tries to analyze the compound metropolis. Secondly, the necessity for a solution was great. It was life or a slow, certain death for their people. In the third place, they were not too heavily overridden by Big Business. In addition to these was the fact that the economic value of group action had already been demonstrated in their midst by the British Canadian Co-operative Society. Twenty-eight men, with an initial capital of \$343.00, opened a little store in 1907. By 1929 they had expanded their business to the point where they owned the parent store in Sydney Mines, four branch stores, a bakery, a milk pasteurizing plant, a tailoring establishment, and had a business turnover that year of \$1,730,000.

In a short time the newly organized study clubs brought results. Action followed study and created the desire for more study. Farmers, fishermen, miners, steelworkers, and lumbermen organized their own co-operative banks where they might easily obtain needed credit at a just rate of interest; their own co-operative stores where a voice in the business as well as fair prices and quality were assured them and the savings thus made returned to themselves; their own lobster factories, sawmills, and various other community industries. Nor was activity confined to the men. Their wives and daughters readily took their place in similar discussion groups and as readily found their place in co-operative enterprise.

Then came Shakespeare. Yes, he is to be found already in the little community libraries that are growing up in the various districts. True, he isn't as popular as Stuart Chase or Herbert Agar but he is there. And disbelieve it if you will, the fact is recorded that two young miners, with the wisdom bred of

want, walked eight miles on a cold winter night to borrow books from one of these People's Libraries. Their enlightened and enlightening comment was, "We are intellectually starved."

The trick is done. The sight of men and women gathering by the hundreds at regional conferences and displaying that enthusiasm which is born of success and renewed hope is most encouraging to the founders. The fact that other universities are adopting the same plan for their constituencies and that progressive governments are setting into action the same sort of dynamo is cause for hope of even greater things.

There are in the common man unexplored capabilities and energies which, if released and allowed to operate, can accomplish more than the few supermen ever dreamed of. The mighty atom is the common man. The Xaverian Movement strives to explore this vast store of possibilities, to help the common people be as smart as the few have been. Isn't that the ideal of which all Americans boast? What American is not proud of his people? If so, who would not like to see them do difficult things, to accomplish the impossible? If that ideal for the common people of the Western World is not held, then good-bye democracy.

Men must, for the present, however, work as groups, or at least as individuals in a group. As a lone individual the average man has about as much chance as a worm before a steam roller. He must band with his fellows and obtain ownership and control of property. Universal ownership is the *conditio sine qua non* of responsibility and democracy. To mind your own business you must own your own business. And if three or four Americans have the right to own their own business in common, why shouldn't three or four thousand? The idea is in harmony with the great American ideal of giving every man a fair chance to realize his possibilities, is it not?

Such co-operative business is, moreover, the training field for democratic citizenship. Here men and women are given a chance to try themselves out in difficult things, to run a store or a bank before attempting to run a nation. And because the nation's business will be owned by the many instead of the few, the nation's laws will be for the democrats and not for the demigods.

It will be well to face the issue before being forced to foot the bill. No longer ought the common man be presented with a ticket for an European tour and then refused a taxi to the dock. If men are to enjoy democracy they must be permitted to use the means necessary to obtain it. The modern vehicle which carries the common man to the point where he may embark upon the great journey of exploration into those foreign lands of spiritual and material greatness is adult education and consumers' co-operation.

We must not miss the boat!

St. Francis Xavier University

PETER A. NEARING

UNDERGRADUATE RURAL RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

It has been well demonstrated at the University of Virginia that college students of undergraduate rank, with careful supervision and instruction, can do

worth-while social research, and at the same time derive incalculable benefits from such an experience.

When Dr. Wilson Gee came to the University of Virginia in 1923 from the University of South Carolina, where he had taught a laboratory college course in "Rural Social Science" since 1919, he immediately inaugurated a laboratory research course in "Rural Social Economics" to study the economic and social developments, problems, and conditions of Virginia counties.¹ From this course has come a series of 19 economic and social surveys of Virginia counties, published as bulletins of the University,² and several surveys in varying stages of completion.

From an allied course, offered to students of the University's Summer School, has come a series of county geography supplements, 16 of which have been published by the school boards of the respective counties, and used as supplementary texts in public school courses pertaining to civic problems or studies of the home county.

After several years of experience with the possibilities and limitations of a research course for college sophomores, juniors, and seniors, we at Virginia have reached the conclusion that undergraduate rural research has decided worth-while results. From the standpoint of education, the course is pedagogically sound; and from the standpoint of the completed surveys, it is not only the basis of a valuable contribution to the literature of the state, but as well, the basis of a type of University extension to the people of the state's widely scattered localities, who are in need of facts and interpretations as a basis for social planning and county development. This is particularly true in such a state as Virginia, where for 300 years the county has been the major unit of local government, and where historical and social antecedents have developed a consciousness of *county* that doubtless is beyond comparison with the more newly developed regions of the United States.

Often questions arise about one's county, the answers to which are unknown to the vast majority of its citizens except in the form of opinions. This is only natural. Without a readily available and authoritative source of information, the average person has a vague sense of belonging to a place, but rarely an intellectual knowledge of the place, its people, and their surroundings; he feels much,

¹ The counties of Virginia are the state's major units of local government. They number exactly 100, range in size from 25 to 1,012 square miles, and range in population from 3,562 to 61,424. Their average area is 401.2 square miles, or 257,968 acres, and their average population is 17,189, or 42.8 persons per square mile. These figures do not include the area and population of the 24 cities of Virginia, which are politically independent of the counties, and which have a combined area of 139 square miles and a combined population of 702,956.

The first Virginia counties, or shires, as they were originally called after their English prototypes, were established in 1634, and the last county to be organized was formed in 1880.

² Two additional surveys made as theses for the master's degree have been published in this series, making a total of 21 surveys published to date.

but remains superficially familiar with the past, present, and probable status of the area in which he resides.

Inasmuch as the county surveys so far prepared by students of the University of Virginia, and published and distributed by its Extension Division have provided a basis of fact to mitigate the superficial familiarity of the average person with his county, they have been most cordially received and highly praised. For example, the late Philip Alexander Bruce, Virginia historian, writing under date of September 28, 1929, said:

Your department is doing a great work in having these monographs prepared. When the whole number are completed it will be easy to write a social and economic history of Virginia from their contents alone.

A local business man writing in regard to a survey of his county, under date of January 30, 1935, remarked:

To anyone interested enough to try to know something of the county in which he lives, this work is invaluable. You deserve much praise for a work that will be of lasting benefit and will be valuable in years to come as well as now.

The late Armistead C. Gordon, an able attorney, student of Virginia history, and resident of the Shenandoah Valley, commenting upon a survey of his county, under date of February 10, 1928, said in part:

It seems to me, from the study I have made of it, to be painstaking, accurate, extensive in its scope, and a very valuable contribution to the economic and social history of the State, and one to which any future local historian of the county must have recourse in writing about one of the most important sections of the Commonwealth. . . .

The book makes me feel proud that the University of Virginia is turning out scholars and students capable of such fine work. . . .

The many letters similar to the above, now on file in the School of Rural Social Economics at the University of Virginia, show not only that the alert citizens of various localities are vitally interested in research pertaining to their respective counties, but that they consider the research of the undergraduate college student highly valuable and commendable. Of course, it is not to be inferred that these correspondents believe that undergraduate students are capable of competing with highly trained and experienced research workers, and that their surveys are without flaws. Where there have been suggestions as to the improvement of subsequent surveys, almost invariably they have been mentioned and discussed.

On the basis of these suggestions, those gleaned from various types of rural research and those growing out of training and experience, the course in *Economic and Social Surveys of Virginia Counties* has been revised from time to time to make it fit more perfectly the purpose for which it was intended and the demands of a changing social organization. At present a greater emphasis than formerly is placed on the techniques of social investigation, and on guidance

and supervision. Revised outlines have been prepared for the survey procedure: first, from the standpoint of the work as a whole; and second, from the standpoint of the major topics included. Certain major topics have been eliminated or consolidated, and new ones have been added. At the same time, use is made of a wider range of basic source materials. These include such items as the data of the United States Census Bureau and other Federal departments, the annual reports of the various departments of the State Government, the acts of the State General Assembly, the basic data collected by the State Planning Board, the University of Virginia *News Letter* studies, original county records, the studies of the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, and the miscellaneous statistical tables of comparative economic and social data, documents, manuscripts, newspapers, theses, dissertations and publications, stored either in the departmental library of the School of Rural Social Economics, or in the "Virginia Room" of the University Library. To the facts obtained from these sources is added pertinent information concerning organizations, business firms, schools, towns, and neighborhoods obtained through questionnaires to selected residents of the respective counties under study; and usually this is supplemented by colorful human-interest materials gained from conversation with citizens who knew the flavor of life in the county's bygone days. When the research student is a native of the county he surveys, as is usually the case, this part of the information collected proves exceedingly interesting; and it is not unusual to find the student spending many hours of his vacation periods investigating county records and local newspaper files, or interviewing local citizens in order to obtain fuller information for the survey he is undertaking.

County surveys now in progress are being developed to contain a maximum of the following major topics: (1) history, (2) natural resources, (3) transportation facilities, (4) population trends, (5) towns and neighborhoods, (6) commerce and industry, (7) agriculture, (8) wealth, debt, and taxation (or government), (9) schools and educational trends, (10) health and welfare, (11) standards of living, (12) organizations, and (13) a summary, including a brief résumé of the findings, and a discussion of the major problems of the county and its most outstanding evidences of progress. To this is added an index to facilitate the use of the survey material. Each major topic includes numerous minor topics, or subheads, each of which is developed carefully on the basis of concrete data systematically collected, compiled, analyzed, and interpreted by the students under guidance and supervision, and edited by the instructor.

The major topic, "Natural Resources," for example, includes a discussion of the location, area, and topography of the county in question, as well as accounts of its climate, soils, native plants and animals, forests, minerals, water resources, and scenic beauty.

The topic "Population Trends" includes an analysis of population changes from the earliest census, or the first one after the formation of the county, and covers such specific items as population growth by decades, total, white, and colored; density of population per square mile of land area; population changes in magisterial districts, and in towns or villages and hamlets; population by

major classes, rural, farm, rural nonfarm, and urban, if any; population by age and sex; illiteracy trends; changes in the size of families and the marital status of the inhabitants; marriage and divorce trends, etc.

The topic "Health and Welfare" includes under the heading of "Health," an account of the general situation as to diseases and defects, principal causes of deaths; deaths and death rates, total, white and colored, births and infant mortality, and the medical and dental facilities, such as physicians and dentists in relation to population, hospital service, health organizations, and health education in the schools. Under the heading of "Welfare," it includes a history of relief-giving, containing, if possible, short accounts of the early work of overseers of the poor, present almshouse and outdoor relief, activities of such organizations as lodges, churches, and the Red Cross, and benefits from various programs of the Federal Government. These are examples of the wide range of content.

The value of this work, however, is not measured solely in terms of content. The process of collecting, compiling, analyzing, and interpreting the data which are the basis of these surveys gives the students an invaluable acquaintanceship with the economic and social conditions, problems, and trends in their respective counties and the state; and there can be no doubt but what this is basic to an understanding of the larger society, and that the training received is highly significant from the standpoints of relating education to immediate practical service, of developing community and county consciousness, and in laying the foundation for a more adequately informed, progressive, and alert citizenship.

University of Virginia

LELAND B. TATE

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis and Helen Wheeler

LAND TENURE

Just as the public is becoming keenly conscious of the importance of land tenure and its correlatives for the national welfare, scientific monographs calculated to lend enlightenment are appearing. "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation"¹ is the title of a work based upon enumeration of landlords and tenants on 646 plantations in seven Southeastern Cotton States. The report is supplemented by data gleaned from various sources.

The alarming increase of tenancy up to 1930, the burden of debt and exorbitant interest rates, the social effects of excessive devotion to cash crop farming, the soil-exhausting traits of cotton farming, starvation incomes, and other difficulties confronting the tenant in the effort to become an independent farmer are pointed out in the study. The special efforts for relief and rehabilitation of cotton tenants are also described, emphasizing the importance of support by the Federal Government in the future reconstruction of the Cotton Belt. The majority of tenants who have been on relief were judged capable of becoming self-sustaining.

Relationships between tenant and owner are informal. The actual share the tenant receives is often determined by the landlord's sense of justice. The tenant's sole recourse, in case of dissatisfaction, is that of seeking another landlord. Successful landlords tend to get the best tenants and land; and the better tenants tend to gravitate toward the more just landlords. Thus the poorest land and people are apt to come and remain together.

The near-collapse of the cotton farmer in 1931, 1932, and 1933, when the price of cotton dropped to around six cents per pound, dramatically focused the attention of the nation on the necessity of rehabilitating ruined tenants.

In the early years of the depression many landlords lost their plantations through foreclosures, and their tenants were set adrift. Still others were unable to secure the necessary funds (amounting to about \$1,350 on the average plantation) to feed their tenants and laborers, and these plantation families were also in desperate straits. Consequently, in 1933, relief rolls in the cotton areas were high in proportion to other rural areas. This burden continued to be heavy until the spring of 1934, when the program of rural rehabilitation was inaugurated with the object of removing tenants from the dole by lending them money (for fertilizer, equipment, and subsistence) which would enable them again to

¹ T. J. Woolfer, Jr., *et al.*, "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," *Research Monograph V*, Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, pp. 288.

become self-supporting on small farms. The operation of the rehabilitation program, improved prices under the A.A.A., and transfer of unemployables to local agencies reduced the relief loads in cotton counties to a very low point late in 1935.

Up to 1910 there was a slow, steady disintegration of plantations into small farms and a rise of tenants into ownership. Since 1910, however, the process of subdivision has about ceased, and tenancy is increasing at the expense of ownership at an alarming rate.

In 1910, 58 per cent of the farms in the Eastern Cotton States were operated by tenants, and by 1930 this had grown to 64 per cent. In 1935 the percentage remained about the same in cotton counties. Along with this general increase in tenancy there has been an important increase in white tenancy. The number of white tenants in seven Southeastern Cotton States increased by 150,000 from 1910 to 1930, or from 20 per cent of all male farm workers to 28 per cent.

One condition responsible for the plight of tenants, according to the report, is the exorbitant rates of interest. Landlords pay between 10 and 16 per cent on short-term credit, and tenants pay about 37 per cent for credit on subsistence advances. This drag of interest charges is one of the principal stumbling blocks in the road to independent ownership.

These unfavorable conditions caused the burden of debt to pile up. Mortgage debts increased in recent years more rapidly in the South than elsewhere. As a result foreclosures in the late 1920's and early 1930's were frequent. A large proportion of the Federal feed and seed loans were made in the Southeast. Sample studies indicate that about 10 per cent of the land in the Cotton Belt is held by mortgage companies, insurance companies, or banks. In some counties as much as 20 per cent of the land is held under foreclosure.

The one-crop system has been a precarious method of livelihood because of the boll weevil, fluctuation in foreign markets, frequent depressions in price, and increase in cotton production in new areas. That cotton is a soil-exhausting crop and intensifies erosion is suggested by the fact that 10 per cent of the lands scheduled for retirement under the first submarginal land program were cotton lands.

Population pressure is also cited as a major feature of maladjustment in the Cotton Belt. Birth rates are high as the need for family labor puts a premium on large families. Up to 1930, southern farms were exporting a quarter of a million people a year to other sections. In the South there remained more men than jobs, and plantations could get labor almost at their own terms. This pressure of population became more ominous when the demand for cotton began to shrink, and today this is contributing to the insecure position of tenants. Youth maturing on cotton farms have found increasing difficulties in entering commercial agriculture and a diminishing demand for their labor in cities.

A Resettlement Administration report² makes a notable contribution both to

² Rainer Schickel and John P. Himel, "Problems of Land Tenure in Relation to Land-Use Adjustments," *Land-Use Planning Mimeograph Publication No. 9*, Land-Use Planning Section of the Resettlement Administration, December, 1936, pp. 47.

the knowledge of the relationships existing among types of land tenure, soil erosion, and other factors related to land use and to the methods which may be employed in the analysis of such problems.

As an empirical mode of procedure, the land in the 253 Iowa and Missouri farms surveyed was divided into five topographical classifications (1-level to 5-rough) and five classes of apparent erosion (1-no erosion to 5-severe gully and sheet erosion). The study divides all farms into two topographical classes: (1) those on rolling land, with a rating of 3 or above; and (2) those on level land, with a rating lower than 3. More specifically, an attempt is made to measure quantitatively the influence of the various tenure types on three criteria which determine relative erosion and soil depletion. These three criteria are: the proportion of crop land in intertilled crops, particularly corn; the proportion in grasses and legumes; and the proportion of total farm land under permanent vegetative cover, such as pasture and timber.

So little difference in many significant particulars was found between owner-operators and tenants who were related to the owner that the two groups were combined and set off in contrast to unrelated tenants. Unrelated tenants were found to be operating under less satisfactory leasing systems and to be devoting more of their land to erosion-producing crops than the other two groups.

The authors point out that land use and degree of soil conservation are determined not by "the actual length of past occupancy of a farm by an operator, but his anticipated security of occupancy. . . ." It is found in the area covered, (parts of Page and Montgomery counties, Iowa, and Atchison County, Missouri), that between 1926 and 1935 the number of owners and related tenants decreased, while the number of sharecroppers increased.

A Montana bulletin³ attempts to depict the landownership pattern of the state. Graphically the holdings of public agencies (45 per cent of the agricultural land in the state), as well as private corporations and individuals, are presented.

Although there is a discussion of the desirable future use and the control of the land, little attention is given to the social and cultural factors which are involved in the development of the present maladjustment and which must be considered in any satisfactory solution. Only casual mention is made of the overdevelopment of local government resulting from the attempt of settlers to transplant to this arid region the schools, roads, and other services with which they had become familiar in the Middlewest.

The most complete and up-to-date graphic description of farm tenure in the United States is now available.⁴ This graphic summary is one of 10 sections of the third issue of the Graphic Summary of American Agriculture and is based on the 1930 and 1935 census reports, as well as the annual estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The changes in farm tenure and ownership

³ Roland R. Renne, "Montana Land Ownership, An Analysis of the Ownership Pattern and Its Significance in Land Use Planning," *Bulletin No. 322*, Montana State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman, June, 1936, pp. 58.

⁴ H. A. Turner and O. E. Baker, *A Graphic Summary of Farm Tenure* (Based largely on the Census of 1930 and 1935), Washington, D. C., December, 1936, pp. 52.

equities presented are not confined to 1930-35 but extend back to the decade of urban prosperity.

Notable among the findings of the analysis are the following:

1. Change from the ownership to the tenure status, as well as change from the status of tenant to that of cropper, is positively correlated with the commercialization of agriculture.
2. In 1880 there were only 180 counties in which as many as one-half the farms were tenant-operated. Practically all these were in the South. In 1935 such counties totaled 890, effectively blanketing the Cotton Belt and many of the more fertile parts of the Corn Belt.
3. The increase in tenancy was among all age groups of operators, particularly among the younger farmers. The number of farmers 25 to 35 years of age farming outside the 16 Southern States was approximately 652,000 in 1910, but only 449,000 in 1930. The proportion of tenancy among these farmers was 47 per cent in 1910 and 59 per cent in 1930.
4. In the South the percentage of tenancy remained almost unchanged on small farms between 1900 and 1930. However, the number of these farms (using the Census definition) which was already large in 1900 increased significantly as a result of the expansion in cotton acreage, thus materially affecting the proportion of tenancy on all farms in the South and in the country as a whole.
5. Equities of the farm operators of the country constituted 54 per cent of the value of all farm real estate in 1930, 50 per cent in 1910, 46 per cent in 1920, and 42 per cent in 1930.

RURAL RELIEF

Rural relief was the most popular subject of reports and bulletins received for review this quarter.

The Rural Research Section of the Works Progress Administration announces⁵ that aggregate expenditures for rural and town relief increased 14 per cent during July and August, according to the reports from 385 selected areas in 36 states. The rise in the amount of relief was accompanied by an increase of 10 per cent in the number of families aided. Expansion in rural and town relief loads between July and August was reported in 23 states.

Assistance to the social security classes increased conspicuously in relative importance since January, and by August more than 58 per cent of the total relief was for this group. In comparison, 35 per cent of the total amount was for general public assistance, six per cent for Resettlement emergency grants; and less than one per cent for private assistance. Between July and August there was a sharp increase in assistance provided through Resettlement emergency grants.

⁵ *Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas*, Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration, January-June, 1936, June-July, 1936, and July-August, 1936.

The trend in relief expenditures for January through August, 1936, in 57 selected drought counties located in nine states most heavily damaged by the drought, is specifically illustrated in the July-August report.

Attention is directed to Utah's rural youth on relief in October, 1935.⁶ This study, which is to appear in two bulletins, is based upon the Works Progress Administration and F.E.R.A. DRS-109 schedules from six counties. Graphically the following and other facts are presented:

1. Although there were proportionately more youth 16 to 24 years of age in rural Utah (17 per cent) than in rural United States as a whole (16.4 per cent), there were relatively fewer Utah rural youth (13.6 per cent) on relief than for the country as a whole.
2. Because of the prevalence of the rural village in Utah the rural youth relief problem was concentrated in towns and villages. The opposite is true for rural United States.
3. Youths living on farms were less frequently to be found on relief rolls than nonfarm youths.
4. There are relatively more females among the rural youth relief population than males.
5. Youths in the sample showed a higher marriage rate than appears for the same group in the total Utah population.
6. Among rural youth in the nonfarm vocations distress is greatest.
7. There was evidenced an excessive marriage rate among youths belonging to rural relief families, but this tendency centered in the nonfarm families.

Between June and November, 1935, the number of rural relief cases in Ohio⁷ decreased more rapidly than the number of all relief cases; in June, 23 per cent of all relief cases in the state were rural, in November, only 13 per cent were rural. About 32 per cent of the average case load in the 10 sample counties remained on the relief rolls continuously, but the number of such continuous cases was relatively smaller in good agricultural sections or where there was some nonagricultural industry, such as coal mining or pottery, tile and clay manufacturing. In June, 17.2 per cent of all heads of households on relief were farm operators; this figure increased to 19.4 per cent in November.

Of a total of 3,162 rural relief cases on December 1, 1935, 58 per cent were closed because of administrative policy, and 80 per cent of this number were accepted by a local county relief agency (a continuation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration unit with local and state funds), 7.5 per cent

⁶ Joseph A. Geddes, *et al.*, "Rural Youth on Relief in Six Utah Counties, October, 1935," *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 2*, Social Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, Utah State Department of Public Welfare, and Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, Logan, Utah, co-operating, November, 1936.

⁷ C. E. Lively and C. L. Folse, "The Trend of Rural Relief in Ten Ohio Counties, June 1 to December 1, 1935," *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 96*, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, November, 1936. pp. 22.

having gone into private employment, and 11 per cent being of unknown disposition or having had no disposition at all.

Other state reports on the rural relief⁸ population have treated the subjects of unemployable cases,⁹ of farm operators on relief,¹⁰ reasons for closing cases,¹¹ relief population trends,¹² rural youth,¹³ educational status of rural relief families,¹⁴ and rehabilitation possibilities.¹⁵

⁸ Olaf F. Larson, "With Rural Relief in Colorado," *Mimeographed Research Bulletin No. 1*, Rural Research Section, Research Division, Works Progress Administration, and Colorado State Agricultural Experiment Station, Fort Collins, Colorado, co-operating, April, 1936. Paul H. Landis, "Farmers and Villagers on Relief in Washington State, June, 1935," *Rural Relief Series No. 2*, The Department of Sociology, Washington State College, The Division of Research Statistics and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and its successors, the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, co-operating, June, 1936.

⁹ L. P. Gabbard and W. C. Holley, "Texas Unemployable Cases in the Rural and Town Relief Population, January, 1936," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, and Texas Relief Commission, co-operating, Mimeographed, May 25, 1936.

¹⁰ L. P. Gabbard and C. E. Ullrich, "The Farm Operator in the Texas Rural and Town Relief Population, October, 1935," Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, and Texas Relief Commission, co-operating, Mimeographed, August 5, 1936.

¹¹ P. S. Burgess and E. D. Tetreau, "Reasons for Closing 3,300 Rural Relief Cases in Arizona, July 1, 1935, Through December 31, 1935," Social Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Arizona, Arizona Emergency Relief Administration and Arizona State Board of Public Welfare, co-operating, Mimeographed, October, 1936.

¹² W. F. Kumlien and Geo. W. Hill, "Rural Relief Population Trends in South Dakota, October 1934-March 1935," *Mimeographed Bulletin No. 2*, South Dakota Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Rural Research, June 25, 1935.

¹³ Olaf F. Larson and John E. Wilson, "Rural Youth and Relief in Colorado," *Mimeographed Research Bulletin No. 3*, Colorado State Agricultural Experiment Station, Fort Collins, Colorado, and Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Federal Works Progress Administration, co-operating, June, 1936.

¹⁴ Charles E. Allred and Benjamin D. Raskopf, "Educational Status of Rural Relief Families in Tennessee," A Preliminary Report, *Mimeographed Report No. 22*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, Tennessee Works Progress Administration, co-operating, November 15, 1936.

¹⁵ Charles E. Allred, B. H. Luebke, M. Taylor Matthews, and Charles A. Tosch, "Rural Relief and Rehabilitation Possibilities in Houston County, Tennessee," *Mimeographed Report No. 3*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and Tennessee Welfare Commission, co-operating, December, 1935. C. E. Allred, *et al.*, "Rural Relief and Rehabilitation Possibilities in Henderson County, Tennessee," *Mimeographed Report No. 7*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, Tennessee Welfare Commission, co-operating, March 10, 1936. C. E. Allred, *et al.*, "Rural Relief and Rehabilitation Possibilities in Jefferson County, Tennessee," *Report No. 10*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, Tennessee Welfare Commission, co-operating, April 1, 1936. C. E. Allred, *et al.*, "Rural Relief and Rehabilitation Possibilities in Williamson County, Tennessee," *Mimeographed Report No. 13*, Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Federal Works Progress Administration, Tennessee Works Progress Administration, co-operating, May 20, 1936.

A Washington State report¹⁶ deals with characteristics of rural households which settled in the state of Washington between September 1, 1932, and February 1, 1936, and is based on questionnaires sent to rural school teachers. Schedules covering 30 per cent of the rural school districts in the state were returned. (School districts covering both open country and village districts in towns with less than 2,500 population were included.)

These schedules indicated the location and characteristics of 467 households which moved to Washington from other states. The author estimates that during the period covered a minimum of 1,600 families settled in rural districts in the state of Washington. Forty-six and five-tenths per cent of the immigrants studied came from drought states. Forty-five per cent of them engaged in agriculture, and 11.6 per cent were either on Works Progress Administration or were unemployed at the time the schedule was filled. Unemployment was the chief reason given for having left their previous state although drought ranked second. Thirty-eight per cent of the migrants changed their occupation upon entering Washington. Fifteen per cent of the immigrants were considered successful; 57.2 per cent, average; 15.8 per cent, unsuccessful. The remaining group was not classified.

PART-TIME FARMING

A study of the part-time farming operations of 104 Negro families living near Lexington, Kentucky,¹⁷ reports that the tracts of land cultivated averaged 2.9 acres in size. The average investment in livestock and machinery was \$22 for the 26 renters and \$37 for the 78 owners. Twenty-nine per cent of the families had cows and 89 per cent chickens. The average total income was \$399 of which \$192, or 48 per cent, came from work done off the tract. Farm receipts constituted 14 per cent of the total income; food furnished 16 per cent; and the value placed on the use of the dwelling, 17 per cent. Most of the families gave economic reasons for engaging in part-time farming.

Part-time farming increased considerably in the Coal and Iron Subregion of Alabama¹⁸ during the depression years, 1929-1934. Many workers in this area had been farming part-time for many years, but of the 204 white and 124 Negro workers surveyed, more than half had taken up part-time farming since 1928 to supplement their reduced earnings.

The survey of part-time farmers was taken in 1934, an unstable year, but fairly typical of the depression period of the iron and steel industry. Since there was considerable underemployment, white farmers were able to spend an average

¹⁶ Paul H. Landis, "Rural Immigrants to Washington State, 1932-1936," *Rural Sociology Series in Population No. 2*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station and the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, co-operating, Mimeographed.

¹⁷ Merton Oyler, W. W. Rose, and W. D. Nicholls, "Part-Time Farming by Negroes Near Lexington, Kentucky," *Bulletin No. 365*, Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Kentucky, September, 1936.

¹⁸ W. W. Troxell, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., A. D. Edwards, and R. H. Allen, "Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Coal and Iron Subregion of Alabama," *Research Bulletin J-4* (Preliminary Report), Resettlement Administration, November, 1936.

of four hours a day working on their farms, and Negro heads an average of six hours without interfering with their regular employment.

White family incomes from industrial employment in this region are estimated to have fallen 46 per cent from 1929 to 1934, from \$1,577 to \$848. Negro incomes were reduced more than one-half, since most of the Negroes were unskilled workers and were laid off first.

Of the 328 workers surveyed who were already doing part-time farming, all but seven had gardens which provided fresh vegetables for from five to eight months of each year and reduced the family grocery bills from \$5.00 to \$10 for each of the summer months. Many of the white families did some canning and storing of vegetables.

Dairy, poultry, and pork products were produced on almost half of the farms and not only increased the quality of the food supply but provided a small cash income.

A typical white part-time farmer with garden and cow produced farm products with an estimated value to the family of \$316, while a Negro part-time farmer with a poultry flock and garden produced products with a value of \$123. Considering that the farm expenses for the white farmers, exclusive of rent and taxes, averaged only \$73 and for the Negroes, \$15, the contribution of the part-time farming enterprise forms an important part of the family living. And as important as the actual money contribution is the increased value to health that such an enterprise offers.

The steel companies of this region have long encouraged the cultivation of gardens and have provided, in most cases, company-owned plots of ground near the workers' houses (often plowed by the company at a slight cost) and, in addition, seeds and fertilizer.

Part-time farming has increased in the naval-stores producing area located mainly in southeastern Georgia, northern Florida, and the southern counties of Alabama.¹⁹ During the last five years farmers have supplemented their reduced incomes by working in the forests, and regular laborers of the turpentine woods have undertaken agricultural production, principally for home consumption.

Thirty-seven commercial farmers (in the sample area, Coffee County, Alabama) worked about eight days per month from April to October (less in the winter) in the turpentine and gum forests. Earnings from this work equaled from eight to 12 cents per hour and resulted in an average of \$100 to the annual income. It is estimated that this amounted to approximately one-seventh of the income in cash and home-produced food and fuel on farms of different tenure status.

Thirty-four town and village part-time farmers who were regular employees in railroad shops provided themselves with fresh vegetables during the summer and canned a reserve for winter use. The value of the food for annual home

¹⁹ W. W. Troxell, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., A. D. Edwards, and R. H. Allen, "Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Naval Stores Subregion of Georgia and Alabama," *Research Bulletin J-5* (Preliminary Report), Resettlement Administration, Washington, D. C., November, 1936.

consumption was estimated at \$160 for these families. They received an annual cash income of \$621.

Not least important among the advantages of part-time farming in the area was the improvement in the typical laborer's very poor diet, thus aiding to solve the serious health condition attendant with pellagra, tuberculosis, and malnutrition.

Social participation in formal institutions among naval-stores employees is meager because of the necessary mobility involved in following the industry.

Of utmost importance is the regulation of forest usage for naval-stores purposes. Uneconomical exploitation through use of young trees and other economically unsound practices are shortening the future of the industry.

The conditions of life of the part-time farmers in the lumber region of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina were investigated through a sample of 208 families in Sumter County, South Carolina.²⁰ Slightly less than one-third of the 76 white part-time farmers studied were employed in woodworking factories and sawmills in Sumter, and the remainder were employed in service industries. Most of these families worked full time. About one-half of the 132 Negro part-time farmers were laborers on large commercial farms and about one-fifth were employed at unskilled jobs in lumber and woodworking industries.

Total family incomes exclusive of products of their farms averaged \$863 for the white part-time farmers; \$219 for the Negro farm laborers; and \$448 for other Negro part-time farmers.

About one-half of the white part-time farmers had small farms, usually including about five acres or less of crop land. A typical farm of this type (with $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of crop land, a cow, poultry flock, and five pigs) produced for home use food estimated to be worth \$273, and a supply of firewood. The cash expense for the farming operation was \$20 plus \$60 for rent. The other white part-time farmers had larger farms, mostly from 20 to 50 acres in size, and in the study were called commercial farms.

The typical part-time farm of the Negro agricultural laborer ranged from two to four acres in size, with a garden of about a quarter of an acre, a pig, and about 10 chickens. There was more variation in the farm size of other Negro part-time farmers.

More than half of the white and one-third of the Negro part-time farmers owned their own homes. Very few of the Negro workers in agriculture owned their dwellings.

On the average, the heads of white households had completed six grades of school. Negro agricultural part-time farmers had completed 2.8 grades while nonagricultural part-time farmers had completed 3.6 grades.

The report includes a statement of social participation and general standard of living of the families interviewed.

²⁰ W. W. Troxell, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., A. D. Edwards, and R. H. Allen, "Combined Farming-Industry¹ Employment in the Lumber Subregion of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina," *Research Bulletin J-6* (Preliminary Report), Resettlement Administration, Washington, D. C., November, 1936.

The part-time farmer, even though able to produce most of the food his family requires, must have a steady cash income. Therefore, it is extremely important for these farmers as well as for other laborers in the lumbering industry that forests be managed so as to maintain steady employment. If the exploitive practices are employed in the lumber industry, as they have been in the past, the future cannot hold a secure and stable existence for all persons now employed in it. The expansion of the pulp and paper industry may furnish employment for some persons now unemployed.

OTHER SUBJECTS

On the basis of a detailed study²¹ of the Montana public school administration, the chief weaknesses of the present organization were found to be: "(1) too many administrative units, (2) too many small, inadequate taxing units, (3) too many schools operated with extremely low pupil-teacher ratios, (4) unwieldy and inefficient accounting procedure, and (5) too much reliance placed upon local taxes with resulting unstable financial support and inequalities in tax burdens." As a solution, administration by county units is advocated, with increased financial assistance from the state and Federal governments.

From Iowa comes a study²² which attempts to find some of the relationships between land utilization and social organization. Poor land-use adjustment in the early history of the area studied was largely responsible for the lack of success of early settlers. New adjustments in type-of-farming, following the Civil War, led to completion of settlement and an era of social organization and relative prosperity lasting until the beginning of the present century. Serious attacks of plant diseases made farming unprofitable, while social organizations became formalized, and no local educational agency was equipped to solve the problems at hand. In the meantime, the development of the automobile and good roads was making other adaptations increasingly necessary.

The Agricultural Extension Service and the Agricultural Experiment Station contributed to the systematic solution of the problems of agricultural production. In the meantime, formal social groups, with the exception of church groups, had become completely disorganized. Recently church social groups have extended their activities and a number of new organizations for young people have been formed. Marketing problems remain to be solved, but producers have neither the experience in organization nor the leader-follower relationships necessary for the present success in co-operative marketing organization. In this localized area, the solution of land-use adjustment problems and production problems has not of itself led to the solution of problems connected with social organization.

²¹ Roland R. Renne, "Organization and Costs of Montana Schools, An Analysis of the System of Financing Elementary and Secondary Education with Suggested Changes," *Bulletin No. 325*, Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman, August, 1936, pp. 104.

²² Ray E. Wakeley and J. Edwin Losey, "Rural Organizations and Land Utilization on Muscatine Island, A Study of Social Adjustments," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station *Bulletin No. 352*, Ames, December, 1936, pp. 111.

During the preceding quarter the following additional reports and bulletins have been received:

- Charles E. Allred, Benjamin H. Luebke, and Jas. H. Marshall, "Trade Centers in Tennessee, 1900-1930," *Mimeographed Report No. 16*, Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Department, University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, Knoxville, July 1, 1936.
- Howard W. Beers, "Portraits of Family Life and Relationships in Typical American Culture Groups: Farm Families of Central New York," II. "Education for Family Living in Rural Areas," RS-21, Extension Service, New Jersey State College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station, Rutgers University, New Brunswick (Mimeographed).
- Fred Boyd, Merton Oyler, and W. D. Nicholls, "Factors in the Success of Rural Organizations," *Bulletin No. 364*, University of Kentucky, Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, September, 1936.
- Agnes M. Boynton and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Conservation and Rural Life," Youth Section, American Country Life Association, Mimeographed, December 1, 1936.
- R. H. Ellsworth, "Statistics of Farmers' Co-operative Business Organizations, 1920-1935," *Bulletin No. 6*, Farm Credit Administration, Co-operative Division, Washington, D. C., May, 1936.
- Chastina Gardner, "Co-operation in Agriculture," (A Selected and Annotated Bibliography With Special Reference to Marketing Purchasing and Credit), *Bulletin No. 4*, Farm Credit Administration, Co-operative Division, Washington, D. C., May, 1936.
- Wilson Gee, "A Decade of Organized Social Science Research at the University of Virginia," Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, October, 1936.
- Roy M. Green, "Membership, Financial and Operating Status of Co-operative Country Elevators in Kansas, 1931-1934," *Miscellaneous Report No. 7*, Farm Credit Administration, Co-operative Division, Washington, D. C., and Kansas State College, Manhattan, co-operating, June, 1936.
- Barnard D. Joy, "Organizations and Programs for Rural Young People," (Summary of the 1935 Annual Narrative Reports of State Extension Directors, Leaders, and Specialists, Including Many Excerpts), *Extension Service Circular 248*, Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, October, 1936.
- W. A. Rowlands and F. B. Trenk, "Rural Zoning Ordinances in Wisconsin," *Circular 281*, Extension Service of the College of Agriculture, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, July, 1936.

- "Mobility and Migration of Rural Relief Households in Six Oregon Counties,"
Station Circular of Information No. 155, Oregon Agricultural Experiment Station, Corvallis, and Federal Emergency Relief Administration, co-operating, Mimeographed, June, 1936.
- "Directory of Teachers Giving Courses in Rural Sociology and Rural Life,"
United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Mimeographed, Washington, D. C., October 1, 1936.

Book Reviews

Migration and Economic Opportunity. By Carter Goodrich and associates.
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936. Pp. xvii, 763. \$5.00.

This book represents the final report of a study of population redistribution initiated by the Social Science Research Council, financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, and conducted by Mr. Goodrich and associates under the auspices of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. The book, which contains summaries of previously published monographs, represents the work of many authors. Those mentioned, in addition to Mr. Goodrich, are Bushrod Allin, G. W. Thornthwaite, Hermann K. Brunck, Frederic C. Tryon, Daniel B. Creamer, Rupert B. Vance, and Marion Hayes. The contributions of these authors have been well co-ordinated, however, so that a unified book has resulted.

The problem set for this inquiry was the determination of the shifts in population, if any, which would contribute to the more effective utilization of our human and material resources. The analysis is set forth in two parts: Part I contains a discussion of the need for migration in terms of the regional contrasts in economic status, conditions in the regions of lowest economic status (i.e., the Southern Appalachians, the Old Cotton Belt, the Great Plains, and the Lake States Cutover Areas), the changing distribution of natural resources and of industrial location, and the changing demand for manpower. Part II presents the subject of migration control. The history of American migration and the experience of Russia, Germany, and Great Britain with migratory movements are reviewed. A critique of American experience and a discussion of the significance of the findings for a population policy complete the book.

It is impossible to set forth even the major findings of this book within the scope of this present review, but it may be said that the authors find that the areas of low economic status appear to be overpopulated, that the rates of natural increase are large, and that considerable emigration from these areas is to be desired. The number suggested is in the neighborhood of three and one-half million persons. The authors believe that, in general, economic opportunity is to be found in the North and West and in the cities rather than in the rural districts. Rural zoning and retirement of submarginal land are approved, as also is part-time farming in industrial areas. The lack of knowledge of the migratory process is deplored and the need of positive direction of migration and resettlement, as well as negative control, is urged. The book closes with the statement that "it should be a cardinal point of social policy to encourage mobility and to give it surer purpose and direction."

The reviewer feels that this is a significant volume, though it is not quite what its title makes it appear to be. It might well be renamed, "Population Change and Lack of Economic Opportunity." For, in lieu of actual data on migration, the authors used population change in the counties of the United States, 1920-

1930, as a percentage of the national average. Because of the occurrence of marked differentials in natural increase among the counties, this method produced very different results from those which would have accrued from the use of migration data. The relation of migration to economic status is, therefore, undetermined.

If space permitted, one might also question the use of an empirical, weighted index of communicative factors as an index of plane of living without sufficient effort to establish the intercorrelations of these factors with other significant measures of living status.

After locating the areas of low economic status and finding that they are also areas of high natural increase, attention is centered upon the lack of opportunity in these areas and the desirability of emigration from them. No direct attack is made upon the problem of where these migrants should go, though it must be said that the book paves the way for the consideration of this problem. However, it should be recognized that emigration from these seedbeds of American population is not in itself, a satisfactory solution for the problem of overpopulation in those areas. Future public policy must also deal with the questions as to whether these areas are to produce an increasing proportion of our future citizens, or whether steps must be taken to insure lower rates of natural increase therein.

The book should become familiar to all who are interested in the general problems of the condition of the population and the utilization of manpower.

Ohio State University

C. E. LIVELY

Migrant Asia. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. Rome: Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione. Series III, Vol. 1, 1936. (With an Introduction by Corrado Gini on "The Problem of the International Distribution of Population and Raw Materials.") Pp. xlv, 310. 30 Lire (about \$1.50).

This is the first volume by the Italian Population Committee dealing with the International Distribution of Population and Raw Materials. As pointed out by Gini, better titles might be *Asiatic Migration* or *The Pressure of Population as a Factor in International Equilibrium* or *The Demographic Basis of the Coming World Conflict*. As a work it is a careful summary of natural resources in Asia as contrasted with those of Africa, Australia, and the Americas, and an impassioned plea for the opening of these regions for settlement by the Asiatic peasant. As Gini remarked in the foreword, the author

demands for the Asiatics freedom to immigrate into all the countries now precluded to them by white control. It is difficult to conceive a more fully documented and a more striking presentation of the Eastern viewpoint. It is possible not to agree with it, but it is impossible to deny its importance. For it represents the viewpoint of one-half of mankind against the civilization which dominates the other half.

The thesis is that South and East Asia contain 900,000,000 Asiatics, or half the human race, concentrated in a small region with a density of 180 per square

mile, as contrasted with smaller populations in Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, United States, and South America, where densities range from two to 37 per square mile. These Asiatic countries support more than one person for every acre, on a diet consisting of more than 99 per cent vegetables, as contrasted with a diet in the United States consisting of two-fifths animal proteins and 10 per cent of free sugar alone. It is possible to do this by double and triple cropping of every acre, by eating the crops directly without feeding them to animals, and by living on diets of less than 2,500 calories as contrasted 3,500 or more among Western peoples. In this respect, the brown and yellow peoples are aided by a lower basal metabolic rate (6 per cent for Japan, 8 per cent for China, and 13 per cent for India) than that of the meat-eating Westerner. Nevertheless, the population is reaching the Malthusian limit and famines stalk threateningly over the land. According to the author, the solution lies in international agreements to open relatively unsettled continents to Oriental migration. The Oriental is well equipped for this because of his knowledge of careful intensive agriculture which the Westerner does not have and because he would help eliminate the lack of occupational balance in Western civilization (the proportion of farmers to urbanites) which the author indicates as a fundamental factor in unemployment, apparent overpopulation, and the great industrial crisis of the West (see p. 251).

The reviewer does not know of any other work as authoritative as this on the combined problems of population density, agricultural intensity, migration, and standards of living in Asia. Its agrarian analysis makes it most valuable to the rural sociologist. Nevertheless, certain criticisms may be made. In the first place, international "gifts," except from the idealistic United States of America, are never more than a cover to get something more valuable. Consequently, if Mukerjee thinks Western societies are going to open their doors to Orientals (with the possible exception that the British Empire can and may open Africa to the Hindu), he is mistaken. Things just aren't done that way. If, on the other hand, he thinks an aggressive militant nation like Japan is going to wait for the lands of the Pacific to be given to her, he is also mistaken. Japan as yet shows no signs of the debilitation of spirit generally associated with the *anomie* of industrialism. When and if she settles the problem of a disciplined China and gets the Russian bear barricaded off in the center of Siberia, she is going to have more of the Pacific lands and only God, or bigger and more successful navies, can keep her from it. Furthermore, the author does not clarify several problems which seem to me to be of importance. Burma and Ceylon, both under Indian jurisdiction, are relatively unpopulated. If the Indian is going to break forth, how does it happen that he has not already filled up these territories which are under his own jurisdiction. Furthermore, Borneo, the Malay States, the Shan States, and Siam are at India's borders and these are also relatively unpopulated. Some of these are open to the Hindu today, and all of them have been opened up until recently, and yet the Hindu has not filled them up. Within the Chinese empire, regions in the hills and in the southwest (Yunnan for instance) are relatively unpopulated and have a good deal of unused soil. Why

have the Chinese not spread out over these regions? The same problem applies to Japan, only a few hundred thousand of whom have gone into Manchuria, as contrasted with more than 30 million Chinese. The northern and southern islands of the Japanese group, although they are unpopulated and have a good deal of land, have not attracted Japanese migrants other than a few traders. The author notes this occasionally (see p. 156 *et passim*) but never explains it.

The author, like a good many idealists, seems to think that international good feeling and the League of Nations will solve this problem according to the "rights of man." I will agree that they should be so settled (and I should like to see them handled by co-operative agreements) but I am convinced that they will not be handled that way. This idealism shows itself in his tendency to make sociological theories to fit his preconceived notions. He repeatedly presents invalid ideas as sound, which, if they were, would make his suggested solution to the problem of overpopulation in Asia work without any difficulty. He maintains that

as the society of nations develops, an individual nation shows greater willingness to hand over migration problems to international control or mutual conference and agreement, which alone can insure the victory of scientific thought over race prejudice or narrow nationalism.

This invalid doctrine of social evolution is wishful thinking in harmony with his doctrine of "trusteeship" which is a plan to do away with "the old system of economic exploitation," and supplant it with "an equilibrium of races and regions in world economy" (p. 84). He contends, in various places, that inter-regional migration leads to racial understanding and co-operation and "will knit together different peoples by bonds of mutual economic service and moralize interracial economic intercourse where greed has become the first law" (p. 241 *et passim*).

On the other hand, when the author is speaking of other problems, he is much more objective and realistic. Illustrations are his contention that industrial civilization (such as in the West at the present time) "is in fact too unstable to last long" (p. 252), and his analysis (p. 261 *et passim*) of the stabilizing influence of peasantry in a society.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Preface to Peasantry. By Arthur Raper. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926. Pp. xiii, 423. \$3.50.

The great Black Belt which stretches from Virginia to Texas through the heart of the Old South is the area of the South's richest soil and its poorest people. It is at once the most "Democratic" and least democratic part of the South.

Dr. Raper has made a careful study of life and work in two counties (Macon and Green counties of Georgia) which are fairly representative of the Black Belt of the Old South. The study has the additional advantage of being able to compare materials collected about the same people at two different periods, one before and one following the crisis of 1929-30.

Like those of other serious students of cotton tenancy, Dr. Raper's materials illustrate the inevitable vicious circle of plantation economy: the landlord exploits the tenant, the tenant exploits the soil, the exhausted soil finally breaks the landlord. Thousands of acres revert to loan companies and the tenants sink to lower and lower levels of impoverishment and insecurity. All this is reflected by weak institutions, high crime rates, and general social insecurity.

Under pressure of general dilapidation, the sons of plantation owners and tenants alike have migrated to urban places to find new occupations. This has divested farm life of the best elements of its dominant leadership and the most energetic of its workmen. Mass migration, already underway, was enhanced by the devastation of the boll weevil.

Its physical foundation exhausted, its economic organization thoroughly disrupted, the plantation has hung on, bulwarked by powerful social, political, and theoretical sanctions, inherited from slavery, which fortify and rationalize the assumption that the Negro must forever remain "servile, dependent and landless." Since, however, the landless whites must compete with landless blacks for tenant farms, "there seems little possibility that the landless whites can rise without a corresponding rise of the landless Negro."

The author finishes his study with the disquieting and thoroughly pessimistic conclusion that for the plantation tenant there is little hope, either in rejuvenation or complete collapse of the plantation economy.

Out of the decadence and debasement consequent to plantation collapse has emerged a "new type of American farmer." These are the independent renters and small owners operating farms on poor land with crude implements and obsolete agricultural technique. They are "almost as poor as the share croppers, . . . almost as independent as the plantation owners." This class is what Dr. Raper characterizes as the beginnings of peasantry in America. The collapse of the plantation is the *Preface to Peasantry*. The only remedy offered is the general one of a constructive land use policy which would enable "the landless farmers to attain ownership and self-direction on an adequate plane."

Carefully documented and skillfully narrated, the book is an important contribution to understanding of the cotton South and its disturbing problems. It should be of great value and interest to social scientists, statesmen, and laymen alike.

Fisk University

GILES A. HUBERT

Cash Relief. By Joanna C. Colcord. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1936. Pp. 263.

This volume is one of a series of Emergency Relief Studies published by the Russell Sage Foundation. It is divided into four parts. Part I traces the methods of giving relief during the early 1930's, and indicates the steps by which, during 1934 and 1935, the use of cash relief became widespread among emergency relief administrations. Part II includes nearly half of the book and consists of a descriptive account of the experience of agencies in nine different cities before

and after the change to cash relief. The materials for this section were gathered by the staff of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation through field visits to these nine cities during the summer and fall of 1935. Part III consists of a summary by topics of the findings in the nine cities, together with comments and recommendations. Part IV brings together the available materials bearing upon the comparative costs of relief in cash and in kind. An Appendix occupies 42 pages and contains materials from the various city records.

The author defines "Cash Relief" as

. . . the payment of direct or home relief. It does not relate to cash wages in return for work performed on relief work projects; but is restricted to mean cash advanced for subsistence to families and single persons living in their own or rented quarters, in return for which they are not required to perform work. It is further defined to mean a system under which at least the food item in the family budget is covered by a cash grant. The practice of giving a small amount of money for incidentals, and the rest of the relief "in kind" does not constitute cash relief in the terms of this discussion (p. 14).

By this definition, the author avoids the whole problem of work relief, rehabilitation, and other substitutes for direct relief.

The thesis of the book contends that carefully supervised cash relief offers many advantages over "relief in kind." It tends to conserve family self-respect and independence to a much greater degree, can be administered much more efficiently, and probably is more economical in the long run. The last mentioned point is admittedly a conviction not yet fully substantiated by evidence.

The usual arguments against cash relief are summarized and compared with those in its favor. Within the restricted limits of the definition, the thesis seems adequately supported by data.

Connecticut State College

N. L. WHETTEN

The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer. By Thomas Monroe Campbell. Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936. Pp. xiv, 170. \$2.00.

The publication of this book is particularly timely in view of the present emphasis on rural rehabilitation and the need for a wider dissemination of practical knowledge among those, "who are farthest down the economic scale and whose most urgent need is instruction in the commonplace things of life."

Its interest and value are enhanced by the presentation, in Part I, of an autobiographical sketch of the author whose life as a boy in Georgia reflects the conditions which the Movable School is undertaking to correct. Graduating from Tuskegee Institute the author became the first Negro Extension Agent, operating the first movable school in the United States, a development which began at Tuskegee in 1906. Part II of the book describes the beginnings of the "school on wheels," its growth and expansion, and cites illustrations of its

achievements. A final chapter is devoted to the Prospects of Rural Life among Negroes. Throughout the book the author pays tribute to the wisdom of Booker T. Washington as a leader in Negro education and particularly as the progenitor of the Movable School, which grew out of Dr. Washington's earlier educational practices at Tuskegee.

The Movable School has progressed through three stages: the Jesup Wagon (1906), mule drawn with meager equipment and limited range of service; the Knapp Agricultural Truck (1918); and finally in 1923, when the movable school idea had definitely passed beyond the experimental stage, the Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels with a staff of three, including a nurse, and carrying a stock of farm implements and home conveniences such as the average farmer is able to purchase or construct and operate. Practical demonstrations for both house and farm, lasting from one to three days, are taken to local farmsteads and attended by neighboring farmers and their wives. The genius of this technique is that in going to those who have most need it serves a group who are rarely, if ever, effectively reached by the conventional methods.

Finally, it should be said that the book is interestingly written and that its physical make-up is a tribute to the high type of work done at Tuskegee Institute, whose students in printing and bookbinding produced the entire work.

Louisiana State University

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER

Western Range Lands. Senate Document No. 199, 74th Congress. 2d. Session, 1936. Pp. xvi, 620.

This document prepared largely by members of the staff of the Forest Service, U. S. D. A., in response to Senate Resolution 289, is a comprehensive treatment of the problems connected with the use of range resources in the West, and the public policies and lines of action necessary to cope with those problems.

During the relatively brief period of intensive use of the range—little more than half a century—depletion has become universal. The grazing capacity has steadily declined until today it is only about half as great as it was 50 years ago. In common with our other classes of land, the range has suffered from exploitative use, and from wild speculation. Private fortunes have been piled up in boom periods only to be wiped out in periods of depression. Because they were for so long a period open for free public use, millions of acres of the range have been abused more severely than any private land. Individuals impelled by competition for the available forage, were driven by self-interest to keep their cattle and sheep upon the range as early and as long as there was a vestige of feed, and far beyond the date which good husbandry dictated. Yet the individuals themselves were powerless to do other than try to get as much of the feed for their own herds as they possibly could.

Many thousands of rural people throughout the Western States depend for their well-being upon the maintenance of the forage resources, the proper management of wild life, development of recreation possibilities, and the pro-

tection of watersheds, all of which are aspects of range management. The time is apparently at hand, when we can expect public agencies to be clothed with the necessary authority and personnel to safeguard the public interest in this great natural resource, and not only prevent further decline in its productive capacity, but restore it approximately to its virgin condition. This will require time and public co-operation. It will require something more; namely, the co-ordination of Federal and state agencies engaged in administration of the program. It is to be hoped that the pending reorganization plan of the President will settle once and for all the question as to which department of government (Agriculture or Interior) is to administer the grazing lands. Today, both of them have a hand in it.

Utah Agricultural Experiment Station

LOWRY NELSON

Orientamenti e sviluppi della politica economica attraverso il tempo. By Lionello Cioli. Con introduzione di Corrado Gini. Roma: Istituto di Statistica della R. Università di Roma, 1933. Lire 50.

Cioli's volume, an outgrowth of a course in Economic Policy and Statistics offered by Professor Gini at the University of Rome, constitutes the first systematic attempt to provide a synthesizing view of governmental action in economic matters during successive historical periods. The very wide scope of the work is amply shown by a list of the various states whose economic policies are traced: (1) Ancient Egypt; (2) Babylonia and Assyria; (3) Phoenicia; (4) Persia; (5) Sparta; (6) Athens; (7) the Hellenistic monarchies; (8) Carthage; (9) Rome; (10) the Byzantine Empire; (11) Medieval Europe; (12) the Italian republics; (13) Imperial China and ancient Japan; (14) Mexico and Peru (prior to the Spanish Conquest); (15) the "colonizing states" (Portugal, Spain, and Holland); and (16) the European states during (a) the mercantilist period, (b) the free-trade period, (c) the protectionist period, (d) the World War and post-War periods, (e) the last world crisis.

As one would expect, there is found to exist a substantial relation between the various socio-economic structures and governmental policies. Thus the requirement of enormous public works for purposes of irrigation and the need for integrating the vast agricultural undertakings of ancient Egypt (especially prior to its period of commercial development), led inevitably to a highly centralized control of production and consumption, to a collectivistic economy. Similarly, in other states where such centralization seemed manifestly necessary for the fullest exploitation of economic opportunities, e.g., in the later Roman Empire, in Imperial China during the reign of Wang Mang and centuries later of Wang an Shih (1068-1100) in the Inca Empire, state socialism was introduced on a large scale.

One of the primary advantages inherent in a work of this kind is the realization it affords that the formal economic structures are not only limited in number but are, in fact, frequently recurrent, thus providing a perspective which is often lost sight of. On the other hand, despite its very definite value as a

compendium, this volume is spread rather thin and should be supplemented by a more thoroughgoing study which would fill in many important and accessible details. To say nothing of source materials, there are many authoritative secondary treatments which provide a basis for such amplification. It is difficult to see why, for example, Myres, Petrie, and Childe were not consulted in respect to Egypt; Vasilev for the Byzantine Empire, G. M. Calhoun for Greece; Rostovtseff, Westermann, and Tenny Frank for Rome; J. W. Thompson for the Middle Ages. But in view of the pioneer nature of this work and its substantial value in its present form, caviling must give way to positive appreciation.

Largely upon the basis of Cioli's materials, Professor Gini seeks, in his lengthy introduction, to ascertain whether there are uniformities in the field of economic policy. He classifies policies into five major forms: of expression (corresponding to the desires of the majority or even of the totality of the population); of protection (when state intervention is independent of the desires of most citizens, owing to their ignorance of which measures are for their own advantage or to a disequilibrium between the size of the different classes of their population and their political power; in its most characteristic form of "paternalism"); of conciliation (between the interests of individuals and of the collectivity); of liberalism (minimal state control over determinate aspects of the economic system); of regulation (desired by the population because of the advantages deriving to them not as individuals but as *socii* and hence presupposing consensus and solidarity). Abstracting from certain disturbing factors, Gini detects a tendency for the economic policy of nations to follow a definite pattern of change: from paternalism to liberalism, to conciliation, expression, and regulation. He finds further a definite regularity in intrastate economic policies which depends upon the qualities of the population, periods of inertia or progress, and the "youth or old age" of the nation. Policies pertaining to international trade are regularly related to the size of the nation, the quality and degree of specialization of production, and the stage of economic evolution of the nation. As an initial attempt to discover regularities in this field, this essay should serve to stimulate further investigation aimed to check the validity of the findings and perhaps to extend them.

Finally, this work should be of considerable interest for those pursuing studies in *Wissenssoziologie*, for those who are engaged in ferreting out the sociological bases of the determination of thought (e.g., economic theories). The materials in this volume furnish at least a point of departure for an empirical investigation of this kind.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

Elements of Farm Management. By John A. Hopkins. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. Pp. XVII, 390. \$2.20.

This book is one of the few to appear in recent years in the field of farm management. Its purpose, as indicated in the preface, is to "set forth some of the basic principles of production economics in a simple and realistic manner."

It appears, however, that the discussions on technical aspects of Corn Belt agriculture are stressed much more than basic economic principles of farm organization and management. The content is much nearer the level of classes in vocational agriculture and seems to be definitely too general for advanced undergraduate college students. Exception may be made to this generalization in the case of the chapters dealing with the combination of enterprises.

The chapters are grouped into eight divisions as follows: I, General Considerations; II, Organizing the Farm, Basic Principles; III, The Crop System; IV, The Livestock System; V, Economizing Labor and Power; VI, Summary of the Budget; VII, Current Operation of the Farm; VIII, External Relationships of the Farm Business. It is somewhat surprising that such topics as size of business, rates of production, and enterprise balance fail to appear as chapter titles. Each chapter is opened by a few pertinent questions which are made the center of the ensuing discussion.

The presentation is largely narrative and general, rather than controversial and specific. Illustrations are used freely to point out certain aspects of the subject matter, rather than for comparative purposes. The data cited are restricted to a very few types of farming. Numerous supporting references are included at the close of each chapter. These contain most of the standard works on farm management and production economics and a large number of bulletins of the state experiment stations and the United States Department of Agriculture.

The content falls disappointingly short of what is so urgently needed for college courses in farm organization and management. Teachers in this field would welcome a text that assembled material on research methods and techniques, used in the study of farm management problems, even to the point of including the interpretation of the factual data that are obtained in research. While considerable space has been given to budgets and their use, it is probable that other methods of obtaining data would be much more significant for students.

A thoroughgoing treatment on the formulation of the principles underlying farm organization, particularly those applicable for the extremes of the data would add greatly to the field of study. The lack of emphasis upon the human element, both as manager and as laborer, and upon the fundamental fact that farming is a combined task of providing both direct and indirect means of living in varying degrees of balance makes one feel that some very significant points are ignored.

The treatment of prices and costs and the least-cost analysis are hardly carried far enough to add anything new to their use in farm management.

Perhaps one is expecting too much in hoping for a text in farm management that minimizes technical agriculture at the expense of a classification and enumeration of the underlying principles involved. Clearly, the author has not attempted such a task in this book. The enterprise approach impresses the reviewer as leading away from rather than toward the formulation of basic principles.

The Transient Unemployed. By John N. Webb, Washington: Division of Research and Statistics, Works Progress Administration, 1936. Pp. 132.

One of the dramatic tragedies of depression is the fate of those persons who take to the road in hope and despair, seeking in other parts the livelihood and security they cannot obtain at home. Dr. Webb, of the Research Division of WPA, has grasped the opportunity afforded by records of the Federal Transient Service to give us a detailed analysis and characterization of this group. His study is thorough, workmanlike, and illuminating.

The transient population reached by the Transient Relief Program at any one time between 1933 and 1935 attained a maximum of about 200,000 unattached persons and 50,000 family groups, or approximately 350,000 persons. The total number of people receiving assistance at one time or another from transient bureaus was probably between 700,000 and one million persons. Transients are produced principally because severe depression makes it impossible to obtain a livelihood at home. Hoping usually for employment—or sometimes for higher relief allotments—elsewhere, many persons leave home. Penniless, they soon find it necessary to seek assistance in the form of shelter, meals, clothing, etc. "Because communities have always considered the claims of their unemployed residents as superior to those of nonresidents, the transient population became an unwanted and excluded group in the general unemployed population." In other words, the prejudices or necessities of states and localities, crystallized into settlement laws, have compelled federal financial aid if the distress of the transients is to be adequately relieved. "Transients" are not to be confused with "migrants," who follow occupations, such as seasonal work in agriculture, which require more or less rhythmical movement. The distinction should be maintained although some transients become migrants, notably southwestern drought refugees in California, and some migrants become transients, i.e. nonresident applicants for relief. The "resident homeless," too, are not true transients, although they are without permanent dwellings and often migrate in search of work, while maintaining a legal residence in some locality.

Basing his study upon transients in 13 cities well dispersed throughout the country, Dr. Webb finds that the great majority were native American whites. Foreign-born whites constituted only about one-twentieth, and Negroes one-tenth of the monthly registrations. The proportion of unattached women did not exceed three per cent in any month, although approximately 15 per cent of the heads of family groups were women. The transients were young, but not an "army of boys." The greatest concentration of unattached transients were between 20 and 35 years of age, but in no month did those under 20 years exceed one-fifth of the total. Approximately two-thirds of the transients had a grade-school education, or better.

"The proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the transient relief population was higher than the proportion of such workers in the general, or in the resident relief, population." "Ability and expressed willingness to work were reported for about 95 per cent of the unattached persons and 90 per cent of family heads."

Dr. Webb concludes that "the migration of a considerable part of the transient relief population appears to have been a waste of effort"; it offered escape from inactivity to the more active and restless among the unemployed. About 80 per cent of the unattached persons and 70 per cent of family heads come from urban centers. For the most part, the opportunity for reemployment of transients is greatest in the very areas which they left; the drought refugees from west of the Mississippi, most of whom fled further west, constitute an exception.

Dr. Webb states significantly that "there seems to be little logic in attempting to facilitate the return of transients to places of previous residence until, and unless, there is an opportunity for them to resume gainful employment." By implication, he shows the futility of settlement laws and "bum blockades" as solutions of what is essentially a national economic problem. "Except for the fact that they were nonresidents, there seems little reason for considering transients as a distinct and separate group in the total relief problem." "The dissolution of the transient population will proceed only as rapidly as business and industry can provide the employment essential to stability." In this respect the transients differ fundamentally from the migrants, for the latter follow the crops and other seasonal employment in ceaseless migration through good times as through bad.

University of California

PAUL S. TAYLOR

Saggi di demografia. By Corrado Gini. Rome: Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione, 1934. Pp. 757.

This is a collection of 19 papers by Professor Gini, which have either been previously published or presented at scientific conferences. Together they comprise a rich store of statistical materials and techniques pertaining to every phase of demography. Only some of these studies, notably that on the "Eugenic and Dysgenic Effects of the War," have come to the attention of most American students in this field, although in several instances they include data and analyses which are not available elsewhere.

In one of his essays, Gini elaborates a new procedure, of more general applicability than those currently in use, for determining the frequency with which births derive from marriages contracted in the same year and from those in each of preceding years. He discovers further that the monthly variations in the number of marriages actually have a quite negligible influence on the variation of births nine to ten months later.

An elaborate study based on data for 12 nations and five cities not only finds a decline (during approximately the last 50 years) of matrimonial fecundity according to the age of the mother, but adds that this decline, through time, is the more marked the older the age of the mother. Marriages classified according to the age of the wife at marriage likewise show, through time, a more or less regular diminution in the number of children for all age-classes, but least, however, for the youngest class. Similar results are obtained when the

data are classified according to the age of the husband at marriage. Gini suggests that this age differential in the rate of decline of the birth rate is due to an "increase of the gradual exhaustion of woman's natural capacity for procreation. Such exhaustion seems to constitute a peculiarity of the human species in contrast to the species which live in a state of nature. Hence, the fecundity of the female does not become notably reduced until the older age-groups." A more plausible explanation, also taken into account by Gini, but which could not be thoroughly checked because of inadequate data, is that brides in the youngest age-groups tend, in the course of time, to derive more frequently from the lower social classes, who characteristically have higher birth rates. If such changes in the class composition of the youngest age-groups have actually occurred, they would probably account for these results in large part. Another consideration which might be introduced is that increasingly those women who marry late are persons who have pursued their own "career" and as a consequence, are less willing than younger wives to have large families. Children would curtail their activities after marriage. This is related to what Gini has termed elsewhere the control of "psychical subsistence."

In 1928, the Italian Central Institute of Statistics collected demographic data for a million and a half Italian families with seven or more children. Gini concludes, contrary to neo-Malthusianism, that the number of children is not a *decisive* factor in the rate of infant mortality. It might be suggested, however, that although this factor is not decisive (and granting that the returns on infant mortality were more complete for the large families included in this study than for those covered in the general census), the data show that in 20 of 34 provinces, the probability of death for children under five years of age was greater in large than in small families. This discrepancy is not solely attributable to differences in occupational composition, as Gini himself indicates. He shows that it is due largely to differences in the economic and social standard of living. In any event, the data show that, although large families have a higher child mortality, this is limited to the period of infancy, since the mortality rate for the 5 to 35-year age-group remains practically constant for families with from seven to 20 children.

Using these same data, it was possible to ascertain the differential marriage rates of social classes. The maximum percentage of marriage was found in the agricultural class (78.6 per cent of those attaining the age of 35 are married) and the minimum among professional persons (58 per cent). The range of differences in marriage rates by class was 16 per cent for males and 26.5 per cent for females. Sibling-rank is found to be a factor in matrimonial selection, with a decreasing probability of marriage as sibling rank decreases (i.e., less for second-born than for first, *etc.*).

One of the most valuable compilations is found in the paper on "Size and Movements of Population through Time." Forty-two tables contain statistical material for the size, marriage, birth and death rates, natural increase, and total increase of the populations of the six continents for as long a period as the information is available. Of no less interest are the accounts of the researches

conducted by the various demographic expeditions (to Tripolitania, Palestine, Mexico) of the Italian Committee for the Study of Population Problems, which has carried on pioneer demographic and biological investigations among isolated peoples.

The student of population can scarcely afford to overlook the pathfinding, exacting researches contained in this volume.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

News Notes and Announcements

American Sociological Society:—The annual meetings of the American Sociological Society were held December 28-30 at the Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Illinois. The Section on Rural Sociology held two program meetings. It also met with the American Farm Economic Association at a joint luncheon session.

Among the items of business attended to at the business session of the Section on December 30 are the following.

(1) The decision to continue the quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, with Lowry Nelson as Editor, T. Lynn Smith as Managing Editor, John H. Kolb, C. E. Lively, Dwight Sanderson, and Carle C. Zimmerman as Associate Editors. Dean Fred C. Frey of Louisiana State University agreed that his institution would underwrite the venture for one more year.

(2) A special committee, consisting of Dwight Sanderson (Chairman), John H. Kolb, Carl C. Taylor, B. O. Williams, and O. D. Duncan, was named to consider measures and seek ways and means for perfecting a more satisfactory organization of rural sociologists.

(3) The following were elected officers of the Section for the year 1937:

Chairman—George von Tungehn.

Vice-Chairman—Robert A. Polson.

Secretary-Treasurer—T. Lynn Smith.

Members of the Executive Committee—R. C. Smith, Paul H. Landis.

Louisiana State University:—Professor Dwight Sanderson of Cornell University and Professor Edmund deS. Brunner of Columbia University visited the Louisiana State University during February. Professor Sanderson conducted two seminars for graduate students in the social sciences. He also addressed the staff of the Agricultural Experiment Station, presenting a discussion of the subject matter and history of rural sociology. Professor Brunner gave a public address on "Recent Rural Social Changes." He also spent two days in conferences with the staff of the Agricultural Extension Division.

Population Association of America:—The first number of *Population Index*, a guide to current demographic materials for students, research workers, and teachers, appeared in January. The *Index* is published quarterly by the School of Public Affairs, Princeton University, and the Population Association of America. It continues the Association's bibliography, *Population Literature*. The current number contains two entirely new sections, Current Items and Statistics, in addition to a bibliography covering more than 400 recent books and articles. Current Items is devoted to notes on matters of special interest to students of population, such as announcements or reports of meetings and comments on new developments. The Statistics section presents population and vital statistics for a large number of counties as well as special data for the United States. The

Index goes to all members of the Population Association. Others wishing to receive it may write to the Office of Population Research, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

President's Special Committee on Farm Tenancy:—Appointed in November, 1936, this committee, consisting of about 40 persons representative of various sections of the country and various occupational interests, completed its work in a final meeting held at Washington, February 10 and 11, 1937. The report was submitted to Congress by the President on February 16.

The appointment of the committee is historically important in that it represents for the first time, official recognition of tenancy as a problem in this country. We have been lulled into complacency by a figure of speech—the agricultural ladder—while farmers have been steadily losing the ownership of the land they till. The committee recognizes security therefore, as a major objective to be sought in rural life in America. While Americans treasure greatly, it seems, the right to use, abuse, and dispose of land at will, we must recognize that a stable civilization cannot be built on the shifting sands of speculation, soil wastage, and human instability. The committee recommends therefore that a Farm Security Administration be set up in the Department of Agriculture, with authority to buy land and sell or lease to tenants or other distressed rural groups. A trial lease period not to exceed five years, would precede the execution of a sale contract.

The purchaser would have 40 years to pay for his farm, but may pay for it and get title any time after 20 years if he desires. Title would in no case be given before the end of 20 years. This is intended to forestall speculation. Moreover, it is recommended that the Government purchase the equities of farmers who wish to sell.

Short-term loans for production purposes would also be available if the Committee recommendations are followed; and provisions would be made for the purchase of from two to five million acres of "submarginal" land a year until upwards of 100 million acres had been retired from agricultural use. Provision would also be made for a rehabilitation program for farm laborers. It is also recommended that the states enact legislation which will improve landlord-tenant relations through improvement in terms of leases, looking toward the protection of the interests of all concerned, and the conservation of soil resources.

The report is to be in four parts, the first section dealing with main findings and recommendations; the second part being a technical discussion of the tenant situation; the third a photographic supplement; and an appendix of statistical tables.

The report has been prepared by a Technical Committee consisting of the following: L. C. Gray, chairman; W. W. Alexander, Resettlement Administration; A. G. Black, chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; John D. Black, Harvard University; E. G. Nourse, Brookings Institution; M. W. Thatcher,

The Farmers Union; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; and Lowry Nelson, Utah Agricultural Experiment Station. The report will be published in the near future.

Southern Sociological Society:—The annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society will be held April 2-3, 1937, at the Tutweiler Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, according to an announcement by Wilson Gee, president of the society. The program of the section on rural sociology is as follows:

3:30-5:30 P.M. SECTION ON RURAL SOCIOLOGY. T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, presiding.

Farmers' Movements in the South, Carl C. Taylor, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture.

Discussion by:

E. H. Lott, Louisiana State University.

C. E. Allred, University of Tennessee.

Recent Trends in the Farm Population of the Southern States, Conrad Taeuber, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Discussion by:

Harold Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University.

J. Herman Johnson, Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

The Influence of Intra-State Regional Characteristics upon Population Growth, Leland B. Tate, University of Virginia.

Discussion by:

J. F. Evans, Mississippi State College.

Giles A. Hubert, Fisk University.

Rural sociologists will also be interested in the programs of many of the other sections. The following are among the papers to be presented:

"Present Status and Trends of White Families in the South," Bernice Milborn Moore, University of North Carolina.

"Present Status and Trends of Negro Families in the South," Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University.

"Incomes and Standards of Living of Southern Mountain Families," J. A. Satterfield, Tennessee Valley Authority.

"Some Problems of Adjustment of Race and Class in the South," Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.

"Certain Aspects of Race and Farm Tenure in the South," Edgar A. Schuler, Resettlement Administration (on leave from Louisiana State University).

"Gullies and What They Mean," Arthur Raper, Southern Interracial Commission.

University of Wisconsin:—Professor John H. Kolb, chairman of the department of rural sociology, who for the past year devoted part of his time directing the activities of the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare, is now back on full-time status at the University.

Rural Sociology



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The Story of My Drift into Rural Sociology

Charles Josiah Galpin



I. SCRAPS FROM MY LOG BOOK

BEFORE COLLEGE DAYS

MY FOUR GRANDPARENTS, Galpin, Eastman, Look, Tower—not to consider stocks further back—were respectively French, Welsh, English, English. Through the Look family, I had cousinhood with Marshall Field, the storekeeper; through the Eastmans, with George Eastman, the kodak maker; through the Towers, with Charlemagne Tower, the one-time U. S. Ambassador successively to Spain, to Russia, and to Germany. My acquaintance with these cousins came late in middle life, otherwise my pattern of desire might have been warped to millioning. As it was, however, a falling barometer swept me into a far different zone.

I was born in the village of Hamilton, New York, the seat of Colgate University, while my father was finishing his last year in the Divinity School.

My father, son of a Virginia farmer, my mother, daughter of a New York farmer, were destined to live their lives in rural parishes and to cast in their lot with farm people. All my uncles and aunts, save one, were farmers. So our visiting of relatives led always to some farm. When four years old, I started my schooling in Van Buren County, Michigan. Twenty miles away in the same county, Liberty Hyde Bailey was going to school at the same time. A little farther east in Lapeer County, Kenyon L. Butterfield was getting ready for school.

While a rural milieu was my native habitat, religious constraint was my daily companion—religion interpreted in the home as active obligation to others, the egocentric and altruistic being ever in severe contrast. I was a very shy lad; always, therefore, I now think, a reflective observer rather than a dashing participator; and withal, inclined to be serious minded. At eight years old, I *advised* my father to buy a cow for the family, and not a leather carriage top at \$40, as he was proposing to do.

He bought the top! (My advice had to get used to having the door shut in its face.)

From Michigan we moved back to New York, to an open-country parish, 12 miles south of Syracuse. There I finished my "grades" in a "little red school house," walking two miles back and forth carrying a dinner pail. In June, 1877, my father went to Colgate University to attend the fifteenth anniversary of his college class. At this reunion, a wonderful thing happened for me. The class of 1862 voted to send me through Colgate Academy and Colgate University, paying my expenses—just because I was the "class boy," the first child born to a member of the class. Father returned home in glee and reported that Charles was to go to college, and in the fall father drove me ("horse and buggy days") to Hamilton, where for four years I was my own boss, under no supervision, but holding tight the thought day and night that I must make good for the class of 1862. Graduating as "valedictorian," with special honors in the classics and mathematics, I entered Colgate University at 17.

COLLEGE DAYS

Colgate was rural in its setting among the hills and decidedly rural in its faculty and student make-up. A few lads from New York City and Brooklyn were just getting a toe-hold in college custom-making. I developed special interest in geology and astronomy. With hammer and chisel, I hiked many a mile along old stone fences and in the quarries. The theories of evolution began to impress me. I looked wonderingly at Saturn and its rings. Athletics claimed a good deal of my time. I was a natural in football and baseball. In fact, I was pitcher on the University team, and was one of the first there to develop the "curve." Co-operation among members of the team was a fad with me. Among the courses of study, I held no antipathies, nor did I develop any special aptitudes. Science, letters, history, art, all made an appeal. From the religious life of the University I kept pretty much aloof, in decided contrast with the general trend. I did my part as a member of the D. K. E. Fraternity, but after all, I fear, I was only a conventional frat man. Being the youngest of my class, I had the advantage and disadvantage of this complex. Two long illnesses in my Sophomore and Senior years lost me my scholarship rank, and reduced me to fourth place at graduation, a fact which "burned me up" a good deal as I thought of my father's classmates. At Commencement time, however,

I won the Lewis award for the best oration. I have always hoped that the judges were not "influenced" by the applause of the class of 1862, present in force, who seemed to clap their hands into pin cushions after I got through speaking on "Loyalty to Selfhood." There was no sociology, as such, in the curriculum then. I expected to take up law with some good lawyer, but, as a stepladder to the law, I decided to do teaching in order to gain some ready money.

EARLY TEACHING PERIOD

I accepted the first position to teach that came along, science and mathematics in Union Academy, Belleville, New York. Three years in this rural secondary school passed quickly. At twenty-three I married Miss Zoe Wickwire at Hamilton, New York, who has made our home and cheered me up and on for 50 years now. Then followed three years as professor of history in Kalamazoo College, Michigan, where I learned to go back to the sources of historical opinion and dogmatic statement. By this time law had lost its lure. Education spread its charms before me, and at a salary of \$1,500 a year and house, I returned to Union Academy as head master, a position I held for the next 10 years.

The Academy was situated in a small hamlet, just a spot of trade in among the farms of a great dairy country. The students were virtually all sons and daughters of farmers, whose grandparents had 60 years before founded this school in a newly settled county, modeled after the New England type. I have never run across a school in the United States more like a Scandinavian folk school than this Academy. During this 16-year period of teaching, by force of necessity I lost much of my timidity in the presence of people, but fortunately retained a habit of close observation of what was taking place around me, and a spirit of inquiry as to what lay behind public events and public opinion. The school I administered was the real nerve center of the farm community, and the people themselves, rooted in education by choice, were uniquely socialized; and quite unconsciously I fell into step. I was obliged to think and act on matters of community policy touching community behavior. It was here that I first learned about the potential scientific character of agriculture, and the importance to farmers and farming of a scientific point of view. So convinced was I of this truth that I took steps to establish in the Academy in the year 1901 a department of agriculture, the first in the United States in a school of the high school

grade, so far as I have been able to learn. I felt as schoolman and headmaster a social and economic urge to have the principles of farming taught to the boys and girls who were sure to go back to the land. This instruction would be a means of reducing discrimination against them in after life. The agricultural background of a scientific character for rural sociology was sketched into my own life pattern while I lived in this unique community. The farming I had seen in childhood was traditional. Here I saw understanding at work in soils and with plants and animals, just as I had seen chemical reactions in the University laboratory, and I became an enthusiast for agriculture as a scientific occupation.

GRADUATE DAYS AT HARVARD

When 30 years old, I gained leave of absence from the Academy and took one year of graduate study at Harvard under William James, Hugo Münsterberg, Josiah Royce, and George Palmer in the department of philosophy. I wanted to take Santayana's esthetics but the scheduled time conflicted. My principal thesis was with James—a critical analysis of Haeckel's *Creation*, which gave me a journey through the available literature of the day on evolution in English, French, and German. I became deeply interested in the relation of biology to psychology, and was very much impressed by Münsterberg's interpretation of science, both physical and psychic, as having decided limits at the borderland between facts and values. Royce (supported by Baldwin) gave me an insight into the social character and implications of the process of thinking. My religious traditionalism was strongly reinforced on the intellectual side by Royce, Münsterberg, and Palmer. Palmer's ethical theory was highly charged with sociological content. I chose my subjects of study and my teachers with a purely cultural motive, as having collateral value to an educator.

FIRST TRIP ABROAD

In the summer of 1896, when I was 32, I made a walking trip to England, Scotland, Wales, and France with two of my rural students in the Academy. We got out of the European cities as soon as possible, to saunter through the mellow countrysides and little villages. Oxford and Cambridge captivated us. The differences between English, Scotch, Welsh, and French people attracted us, and made us constantly exclaim. (It took later visits to Europe to rid me of the differential eye, and give

me power and desire to remark the similarities.) A new sense of the reality of race characteristics became a permanent possession, as we realized that an experience is needed as an interpreter of the library.

AT CLARK UNIVERSITY

In the summer of 1898, hoping to bolster up my knowledge of childhood and youth, and wishing a new aid to the educational process I was engaged in, I took courses at Clark University in psychology and anthropology, but especially in the study of the child and the adolescent with G. Stanley Hall, then in his prime. These courses helped me to bring the rays of my experience and previous understanding of human life into focus upon actual people groping their way somewhat blindly in society.

A PERIOD OF UNREST

Immediately after attending Clark University, some physical disturbance happened to me. Was it a lack of calcium in the blood, as the doctors said; was it too much mental activity, as others ventured; was it an inheritance of some fragile bodily function; what was it? I have never been able to satisfy myself with an answer. But the fact was that insomnia got hold of me and sat on my shoulders like the Old Man of the Sea. I could not sleep. This lack of rest almost laid me on the shelf for six years. I struggled with my work in the Academy, but finally had to give up in 1901, and I went in quest of sleep as determinedly as if it were a search for the Holy Grail. In this time of unrest my wife was a quiet force of spiritual strength. Her faith held me up and kept hope alive in me.

During this period, I bought 40 acres of cut-over, pine-stump land in the sand wastes (Skims, I have called it) of Michigan. I lived in the open, farming with very primitive tools (but with some attempt at scientific process) among a submarginal folk who, in spite of my great distress, engaged my serious observation. All the while, knocking about as I did to keep from drifting into the Sargasso Sea of lost and abandoned souls, I sloughed off my academic cultism, and became just a hale fellow with all sorts of persons, all spheres of life, all methods of making a living. I did cling, I remember, to one fetish of former days. I would wear a white collar, even though it were a rubber one. And so it was that among my fellow farmers of the sands, I was called the "Collar Man." Many of my preconceived ideas of standardizing everybody by a single test of intelligence or education went by the

board without a trace. I began to take people at par as I found them. When sleep came again, and I put on the harness of occupation, I shunned teaching, to keep the leather off the old galls.

IN THE MILK BUSINESS

A brother of mine, a chemist in New York City, was financially interested with Bowne, the cod liver oil emulsion man, and Huyler, the candy man, in a new process milk concern in Delavan, Walworth County, Wisconsin, for the primary purpose of making milk powder for Huyler's candy, and cold process condensed milk for Bowne's ice cream. My brother persuaded me to undertake supervision of the building of the milk plant under blue print direction from New York. I hired men; I made contracts. I received \$6,000 a month from New York and disbursed it on a payroll and for materials. I rode the country over talking farmers into the fashion new to them of bringing us their whole milk. So I spent a transition year, putting up and equipping a milk products factory, and setting the machinery in motion. I found in Chicago a man to take daily our surplus by-products of cream, butter, and milk. After storing up for higher price 10,000 pounds of butter, I perceived that a milk products technician was required rather than a retired schoolmaster. So I took one more leap in the dark, and landed at Madison, Wisconsin.

UNIVERSITY CHURCH WORK

Another brother of mine was at that time, 1905, pastor of a local church in Madison. He suggested that as a step back to teaching again, I undertake a role at that time quite new at a State University. I should, as an expression of religion and the church, seek to befriend students at the University of Wisconsin through personal acquaintance, often highly confidential in character. Acting on the wisdom of an old guide of mine in the Adirondacks, who used to say, "The time to shoot a deer is when you see it, don't wait to see it better," I agreed to try the job. So I was for seven years what came to be called a "university pastor." From this religious job, I suppose, I have for 30 years been dubbed "Reverend," in spite of my denials and embarrassed attempts to live down an appellation I could not possibly live up to. The job was so new I had to create the procedure. Quite naturally I drifted into being specially helpful to the pathologic personalities and to those suddenly confronted by crises. I found myself mixing horse sense with what has come to be known as psychiatry.

Some day I hope to tell out loud a few remarkable stories of rehabilitation of university students, such as the case of the freshman from California who thought college was a night-club; of the young gold miner from the Black Hills, whom I set shoveling coal in a coal yard for cash to pay board and room, but who decided in the spring that he preferred a "W" to a Ph.D. and asked me to get him a place to work in the early hours of the morning so that he could row afternoons on Lake Mendota with the University crew; or that of the sophomore girl, who put up to me the question whether to stay on in school or go home to Racine and take her grandfather of 90 to Florida, to prevent him from carrying out a threat to disinherit her father; or the most unusual case of the graduate student, whose father had become bankrupt in a Utica, New York, store, who couldn't sleep until he should have paid back the several thousand dollars to his father's 50 creditors, from a small inheritance left by his mother, and for whom I corresponded personally during six months and settled the whole debt for \$712; etc., etc.

I came to know the country church which was familiar to me as a fact, now as a rural social problem; for many of these boys and girls had left the little church back home, and had come to the University without any substitute for home religious nurture.

It was while I was in this job, that I met and became acquainted with Dr. H. C. Taylor, agricultural economist for the University of Wisconsin. He was just publishing his text on agricultural economics. We played handball together in the University gym. We went on long hikes, hunted over many a mile of woodland and marsh together. Naturally we talked much about farming and rural life. Taylor was greatly interested in my "Skims" life, neighbors, and farming. I was keen on the new science of farm economics.

ACQUAINTANCE WITH H. C. TAYLOR

Dr. Taylor's conversations about agriculture and country life brought into my thinking an organic set of problems, quite new to me, which lighted up and set in order the prevailing manifoldness of farm life which I knew—a routine of tasks which, while it had brought to me much delight, had always been saturated with mysterious troubles. Thereupon all my previous experience with farm life, with farm people, with villages, towns and cities was repolarized. Meaning and value came into my rather motley impressions and ideas of farming; and

Dr. Taylor on his part, seemed interested at the recital of my experiences and naïve observations. This friendly exchange of thoughts on rural life and work with a pioneer instructor in the economics of farming proved to be a turning point in my drifting career.

The Effect of Recent Public Policies on the Future Population Prospect

O. E. Baker

BEFORE considering the effect of recent public policies on the population prospect, let us note very briefly the effects of certain earlier policies.¹ The Homestead Act, for example, and the legislation which preceded it, exerted undoubtedly a profound influence upon population growth. This democratic system of land settlement made the frontier a broad zone moving westward, for the most part, as settlement progressed. Within this zone the birth rate was the highest in the United States (Figure 1). Had the aristocratic system that was established on the coastal portions of Virginia and the Carolinas been adopted instead, the increase of population probably would have been much slower, judging from the fact that the Scotch-Irish, Germans, and Quakers from Pennsylvania swept down the valley of Virginia and spread out upon the Piedmont of that state and the Carolinas before the settlements along the coast had advanced even the relatively short distance across the Coastal Plain to the Piedmont region.

The former immigration policy of the nation also promoted a rapid increase of population. These immigrants came largely from rural Europe, brought with them the tradition of large families, and were mostly young married people, or of marriageable age.

The change that has occurred in immigration policy exemplifies the change that has occurred in the attitude of the people toward population growth. Only a few decades ago more farmers were wanted, despite the fact that the proportion of the gainfully employed engaged in agriculture was twice as high as it is now, more workers were wanted in the factories, and more business men were welcomed in nearly every

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¹ This paper was presented as an address before the Section of Rural Sociology, American Sociological Society, Chicago, December 28, 1936.

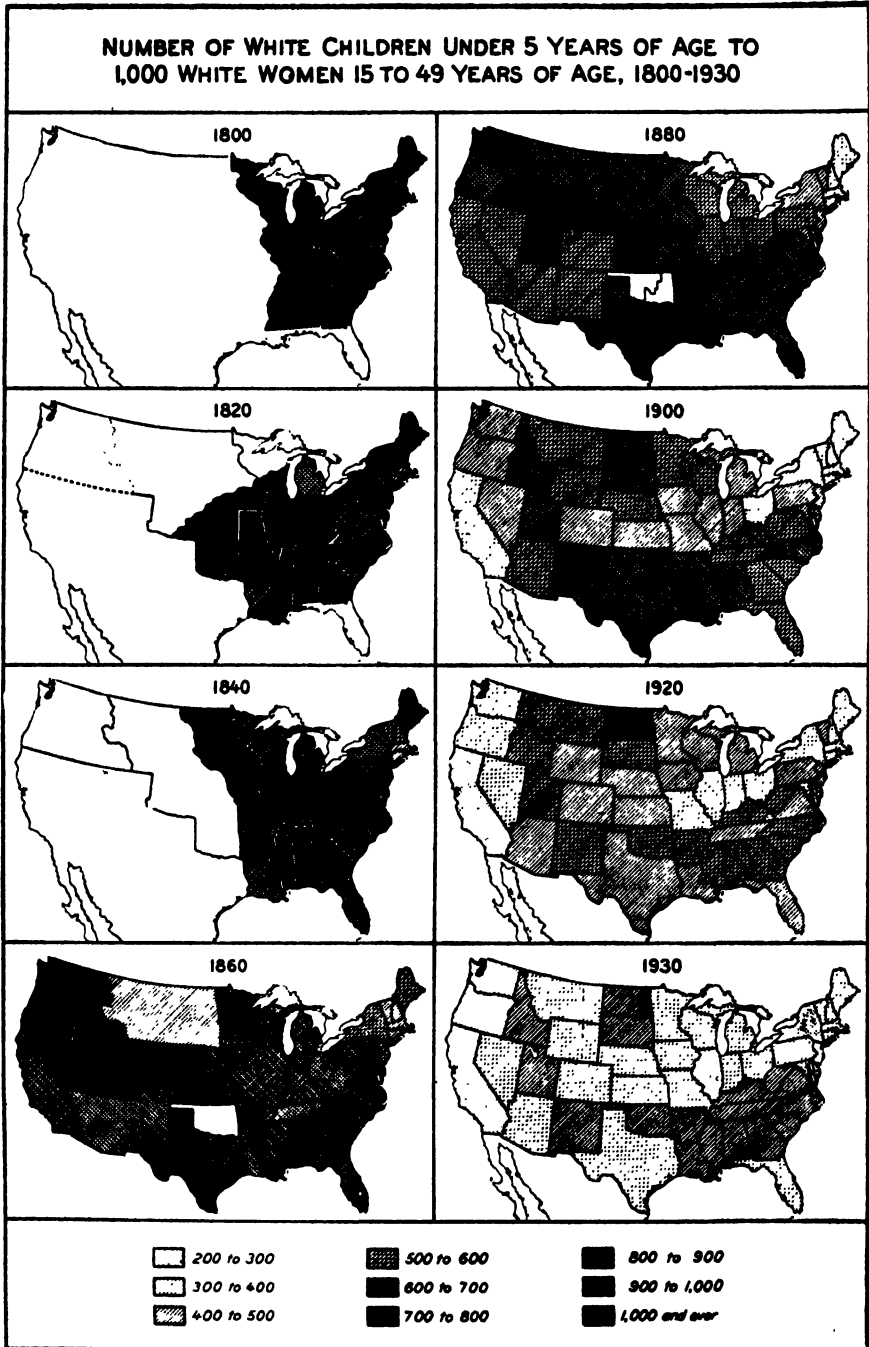


FIGURE 1. The decline in the birth rate (as measured by the ratio of children to women) started in New England as early as 1800 and has spread West and South during the past century and a third with the progress of industrialization and urbanization of the people.

community. The prevailing spirit was that of optimism, the natural resources were considered almost unlimited, and the immigrant, whether from a foreign country or another state, was cordially received in practically every community. There was plenty for everyone and everyone was welcome to help exploit the resources and promote the development of the district or town.

How altered is the attitude today! There are too many farmers, too many carpenters, too many bricklayers, too many factory workers, or applicants for such work, too many merchants and middlemen, and too many lawyers. In the cities there are so many doctors that some cannot make a living, despite the fact that millions of people greatly need medical attention. The declining birth rate suggests also that millions of people think there are too many babies. It seems to me that an economic and social system that results in the development of such an attitude by the people has become seriously defective—indeed, if this attitude persists, I cannot see how the system can survive..

It appears timely, therefore, to consider not only what effects recent public policies may have had on population trends, but also, if I may enlarge the scope of the subject, what further policies or programs are indicated as likely to retard the decline in population, which now seems probable will set in one to two decades hence.

THE RELIEF PROGRAM

Probably the most important policy of the administration, from the point of view of influence on population, has been that of relieving distress, mostly among the unemployed. It has been contended that this public aid tends to diminish the sense of responsibility among the recipients and results in a higher birth rate among these people than that which existed prior to the granting of relief. The first study that touched on this question was made by Sydenstricker, of the Milbank Memorial Fund, and Perrott, of the Public Health Service, the survey including 8,000 families in eight cities.² They summarized their findings relative to relief as follows:

We were able to make a further tabulation, . . . of families in four cities with less than \$1,200 income in 1932 from the point of view of the receipt or non-receipt of relief. The birth rate (per 1,000 women 15-44 years of age) in families which were receiving relief, in 1932 was 210 as against 137 in families

² Edgar Sydenstricker and G. St. J. Perrott, "Sickness, Unemployment and Differential Fertility," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XII (1934), 7, 8.

which were not receiving relief. Thus, the average annual birth rate in families on relief was 53 per cent higher than in those not on relief, even in this low-income class. Doubtless families with more children, especially infants, were singled out by welfare agencies for greater attention than smaller families, or families without infants, but the fact remains that the higher birth rate in these poor families is directly related to the necessity for public and private charity.

Dr. Notestein of the Milbank Foundation notes in a later paper that,³

Data which have become available since the publication of the original article, show that the average birth rate of those on relief in 1932 was the same for the two-year period 1931-32 as for 1929-30, while that for the non-relief group with incomes below \$1,200 dropped about 12 per cent. Both the decline in the rates of the low-income non-relief group, and its absence in the dependent group may well have been due to the greater willingness on the part of the authorities to accept families with young babies.

It was not clear in this study whether the higher birth rate, during the depression, of families receiving relief was because of the relief, or whether these families were on relief because they had large families. Professor S. A. Stouffer, of the University of Wisconsin, threw more light on this question by comparing confinements of 5,520 mothers in Milwaukee, who applied for relief between January 1, 1930, and March 31, 1933, with a selected sample of the same size of nonrelief families. This comparison revealed a birth rate after October 1, 1930, per 1,000 months' exposure, fully 40 per cent greater in the relief families. The cases were classified into clerical, skilled, and unskilled or semi-skilled workers, with subclassification into Catholic and non-Catholic, and in each of the six groups the difference was notable.⁴ This study did not compare birth rates for the relief families before and after acceptance of relief, and thus also failed to indicate whether relief increased the birth rate.

Such a comparison was made, in part, in a small study by Mr. Audy of Loyola University. The more important data are summarized by Dr. Notestein as follows:⁵

Audy's study undertakes a comparison of the fertility of relief families before and after first dependency. The most interesting part of the data relates to 662 families which were receiving relief in December, 1934, from the main office

³ Frank W. Notestein, "The Fertility of Populations Supported by Public Relief," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XIV (1936), 39.

⁴ Samuel A. Stouffer, "Fertility of Families on Relief," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXIX (1934), 296.

⁵ Notestein, *op. cit.*, p. 42, footnote.

of the Cook County, Illinois, Bureau of Public Welfare. Limiting the comparison to similar periods of married life, Audy finds that in most of the groups fertility was greater before than during dependency. In their present form the data are not wholly convincing. Most of the dependency experience is quite recent, while much of the predependency period occurred a good while ago, some even before 1910. When the comparison is limited to the most recent experience, the rates are higher during dependency than before for every marriage period but one. It is possible that the results might have been different if the experience immediately preceding and immediately following first dependency had been discarded.

Notestein makes use of the New York City statistics on marriages, first and subsequent births, classified by areas characterized by poor, medium, and well-to-do persons, and finds that the rise in the birth rate in 1934 was greatest in first births in the well-to-do areas, while the decline in birth rates of the preceding years continued in the poorer areas. He states:⁶

The conclusion seems inescapable that in New York City it was the well-to-do and those in comfortable circumstances, rather than the poor, who increased their fertility in 1934. This is quite the opposite of the result one would expect if dependency increased fertility.

In summary [he continues] it appears that those who have been viewing with alarm the increased fertility brought on by dependency have probably been exercising themselves over something that did not happen. The direct studies indicate that relief families were more fertile than non-relief families before dependency as well as during it.

Professor Hamilton, of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, formerly of the North Carolina Station, in a recent survey of portions of Avery County in the mountains of North Carolina, found that the birth rate was falling more rapidly among families on relief in this rural county than among those not on relief.⁷ A more recent study by Professor Hamilton, which included 1,700 families in five counties of North Carolina, indicates that the marriage rate during the years prior to 1927 of persons on relief in 1934 was higher than that of those not on relief, but that since then and especially during 1932, 1933, and 1934, the marriage rate among the nonrelief population rose rapidly while that of the relief population fell slightly. This higher marriage rate among the nonrelief population fully offsets the higher birth rate

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷ Unpublished manuscript.

per married woman in the relief population.⁸ In a poor rural county of northern Louisiana, having more than half of the population on relief, a survey in charge of Professor Smith, of Louisiana State University, revealed a rapid decline in the birth rate.⁹

These studies, though inconclusive, suggest strongly that the widespread relief extended by the Federal, State, and local governments, during the depression has not raised the birth rate of those on relief. Undoubtedly, however, it has reduced the death rate, and to this extent contributed to the increase of population.

There is another aspect of the relief program of significance to students of population which has received scant attention. The manner of administration of relief has tended to hold people where they are. In the Mountain South, for example, there are many counties in which one-third to two-thirds of all families have been on relief during much of the time since 1933. Had there been no relief most of these people, of necessity, would have migrated. Many of them undoubtedly would have migrated to the cities, and in the cities in all likelihood they would have procreated fewer children during the course of their lives (Figure 2). The rehabilitation work of the Resettlement Administration has likewise tended to hold several hundred thousand families on farms, and promote a normal family life.

THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM

On the other hand, the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has facilitated, if not induced, the migration from the farms of many tenants and croppers in the South. This movement was well started apparently before the Agricultural Adjustment program became effective, but the crop-acreage control has probably accelerated and prolonged the migration.

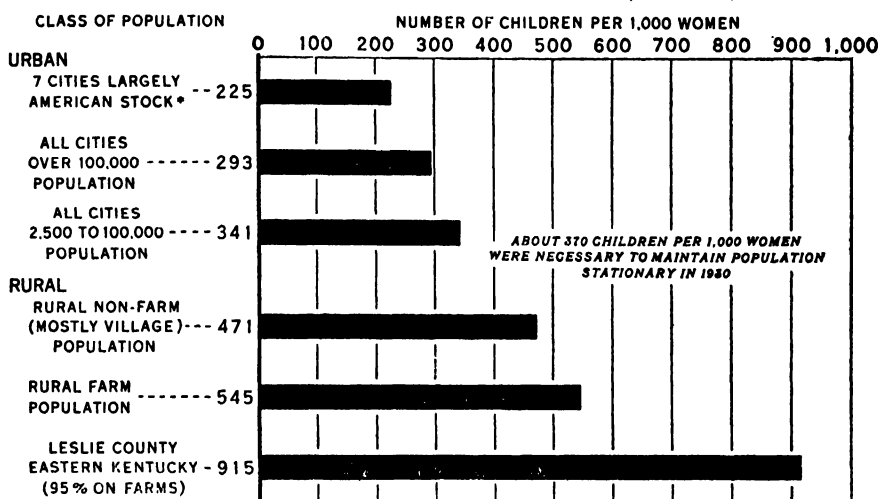
Where these migrants have gone is not fully clear. The 1935 Census of Agriculture revealed a decrease in farm population in many counties in the South. The decrease was notable in the Negro cotton-cropper districts of the Yazoo Delta of Mississippi and in some of the tobacco-cropper districts of eastern North Carolina (Figure 3). There were 70,000 fewer Negro tenants, including croppers, in the South in 1935

⁸ C. Horace Hamilton, "The Marriage Rate in Rural North Carolina," *Rural Sociology*, 1 (1936), 452-471.

⁹ T. Lynn Smith and Martha Ray Fry, "The Population of a Selected Cut-Over Area in Louisiana," *Bulletin No. 268*, Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Baton Rouge, 1936.

than in 1930, but much of this decrease is doubtless attributable to conversion into wage hands. The number of white tenants, croppers included, increased 110,000, and the number of white owner-farmers increased more than 150,000. The increase in white tenants and croppers was heavy along the northern and western margins of the Cotton Belt, and the increase of white owner-farmers was greatest in the mountains.¹⁰

**NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN
15 TO 45 YEARS OF AGE IN UNITED STATES, APRIL 1, 1930**



* PORTLAND (OREGON), SAN FRANCISCO, LOS ANGELES, KANSAS CITY, ST. LOUIS, NASHVILLE, AND ATLANTA

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 25167

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 2. About 370 children under five years of age per 1,000 women 15 to 45 years of age (child-bearing age) are required to maintain population stationary at the 1930 expectation of life in the United States of nearly 62 years. In 1930 the seven cities largely of American stock, represented in the top bar of the graph, lacked, therefore, about 40 per cent of having enough children to maintain their population permanently stationary without accessions from outside, and all cities of over 100,000 population had a deficit of nearly 20 per cent, while the smaller cities had a deficit of about seven per cent. On the other hand, the rural nonfarm (mostly village and suburban) population had a surplus of over 25 per cent, and the farm population a surplus of nearly 50 per cent. In 1932 urban deficit and rural surplus about balanced.

In the Great Plains Region, despite the severe drought of 1934, as well as the wheat and corn curtailment program, the decline in farm population was small, and in some counties increases occurred. The stability of rural population in the Great Plains Region is remarkable. In Kansas and Nebraska, for example, it has changed only a few thou-

¹⁰ Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, "The Influence of the A.A.A. Cotton Program upon the Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer," *Rural Sociology*, I, (1936), 483-535.

sand during 40 years. The net migration has balanced the natural increase. However, since 1935 a decline in population has undoubtedly occurred in the drier portions of the Plains, owing to the recurrence of severe drought in 1936, the dust storms, and the exhaustion of capital. The migration would have been much greater had not aid been extended by the Relief and Resettlement Administrations.

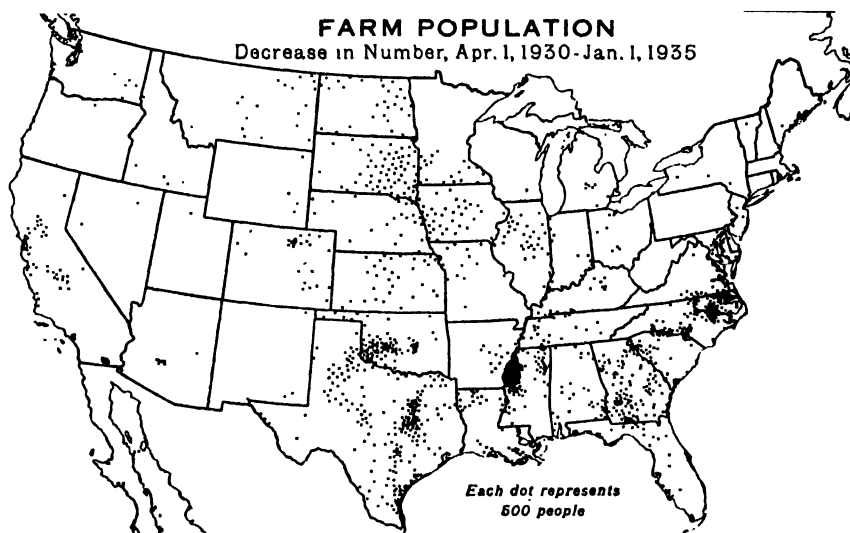


FIGURE 3. The decrease in farm population occurred mostly in the "cropper" districts of the Cotton Belt, in the Corn Belt, and in the Wheat regions. In these regions crop farming (corn and hogs in the Corn Belt) is characteristic of the agriculture, and in the Cotton and Corn Belts tenancy also. Negro tenants, including croppers, in the cotton and tobacco areas of the South declined approximately 70,000 between 1930 and 1935. Many of these Negro tenants are virtually laborers who are advanced their living expenses during the crop-making season by their landlords and receive their wages at harvest time as a share of the crop. Many white tenants in the South are also in this category. It appears that the low farm income, the credit stringency which made it difficult for landlords to advance supplies to their tenants, and the acreage reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, all operated in such a manner as to reduce the number of Negro tenants. Many of them were simply lowered in status from tenants to day laborers. Others moved to the villages and cities of the South, and are working on government relief projects.

THE INCREASE IN FARM POPULATION, 1930-35

In the Mountain South and the industrial Northeast on the other hand, there was a great increase in farm population (Figure 4). In some of the counties the increase exceeded 50 per cent in the five years. Part of this increase in the Southern Appalachians is attributable to the return of mountain people from the northern cities, owing to unem-

ployment, and part to the backing up of youth on the farms who under predepression conditions would have gone to the cities. In the Northern Appalachians, that is, New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and part of Ohio, also in Michigan, this increase is almost wholly accounted for by the evacuation from the cities of a portion of the unemployed seeking shelter in some abandoned farm house, or a newly built shack. Practically 2,000,000 people in the United States were living on farms January 1, 1935, who were not living on farms five years before. These were merely the survivors of the back-to-the-land movement. The numbers were greatest around the industrial cities of the Northeast and elsewhere, in the Southern Appalachian Mountains and upper Piedmont, and in the valleys of the Pacific States (Figure 5).

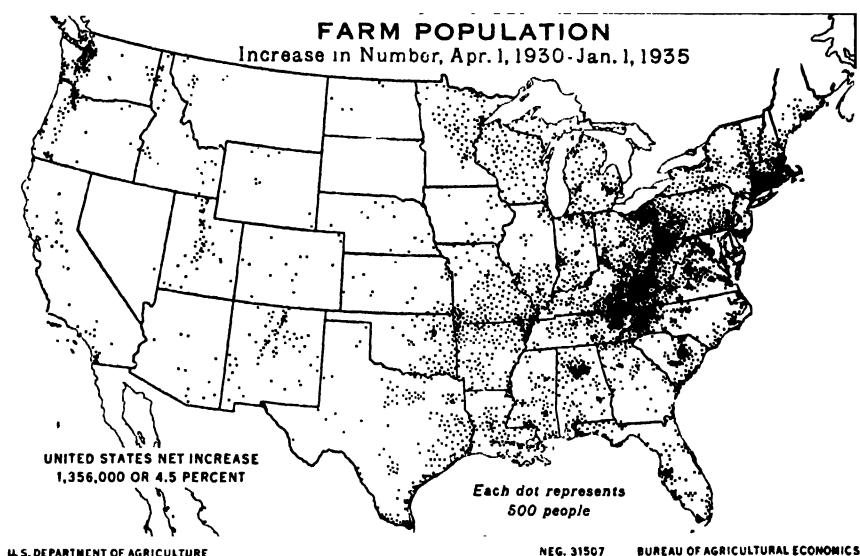


FIGURE 4. The increase in farm population during the depression years was greatest in the Appalachian Mountain Region, extending from New England to northeastern Ohio and northern Alabama. In the southern portion of this region the birth rate is high, migration from the farms had been heavy prior to the depression, and many of these migrants were forced by unemployment and lack of capital to return "home" early in the depression, seeking shelter and sustenance. In this Southern Appalachian Region the increase was the result both of this "back-to-the-land" movement, and of the "backing up on the land" of many youth. In the Northern Appalachians, a manufacturing region, the birth rate is lower and a larger proportion of the increase in farm population is attributable to the "back-to-the-land" movement. It will be noted that an increase in farm population also occurred in the Great Lakes States, excluding the prairie portion of Minnesota, in the Ozarks of Missouri and Arkansas, in the valleys of New Mexico and Utah, and on the North Pacific Coast.

It is not clear whether recent public policies have had any net effect upon the birth rate or rural-urban migration. The programs of the

Relief Administration and the Resettlement Administration have tended to hold rural people in rural territory, and the submarginal land purchase program has moved very few as yet.¹¹ On the other hand, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program has tended toward migration, but probably not to a marked extent. All three programs, however, by providing a more adequate income, have tended to reduce the death rate, and thus increase population slightly. The work of the Public Health Service in co-operating with county boards of health deserves commendation in this connection.¹²

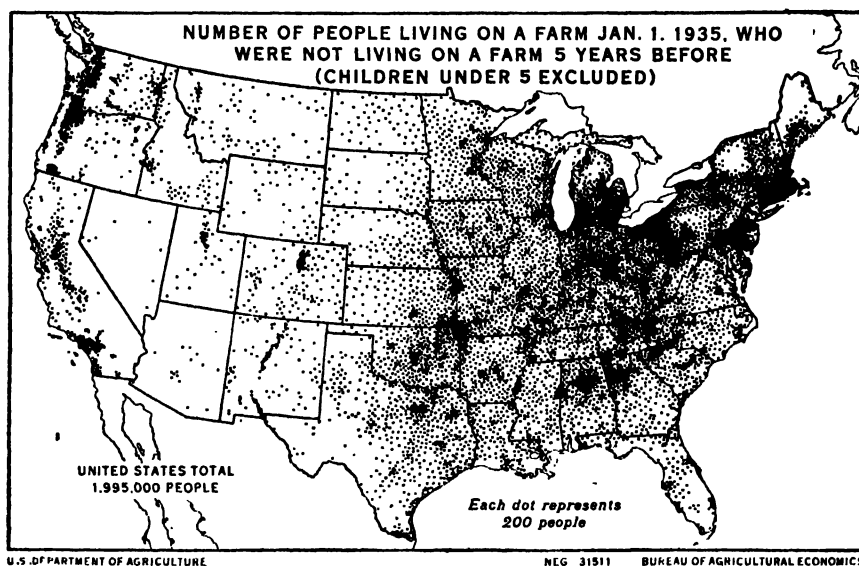


FIGURE 5. The location of the people living on farms in 1935 who were not living on farms five years before is similar to that of the increase in farm population. But the density of this "back-to-the-land" population is greater in the manufacturing belt of western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, and southern Michigan, also around Philadelphia, on the Piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia, around many cities in the central West and Southwest, and in the Pacific Coast States. It is significant that the number of these people who were not living on farms five years before exceeded the increase in the farm population in most of the Corn Belt and of the Great Plains Region, also in New York, in all of the Cotton Belt States, except Arkansas, and in the Pacific Coast States. Apparently the migration from farms in these states exceeded the natural increase in the farm population.

In order to complete the picture, it should be noted that the number of persons who left farms during the depression and had not returned

¹¹ Nearly 10,000,000 acres have been purchased, but only about 13,000 families have been moved as yet and about 8,600 remain to be moved. Of those moved, only 250 have been relocated on Resettlement projects; but of those to be moved, it is expected that about 3,240 will be relocated on such projects.

¹² The United States Public Health Service is now aiding more than 500 counties in the maintenance of a full-time medical officer, a clerk, and a public health nurse. In many counties a bacteriologist, two or more nurses, and a sanitary inspector are employed.

by January 1, 1935, was large in the Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt, the Great Plains, the Lakes States—all regions of commercial agriculture—but small in the Appalachian Mountain Region, all the way from Tennessee to Maine (Figure 6). However, the natural increase of the farm population, apparently, exceeded the gross migration of people, mostly youth, from the farms in most Southern States, including the Southern mountains (Figure 7). On the other hand, in the Corn Belt and north to Canada and west to the Pacific Coast, the gross migration from the farms exceeded the natural increase.

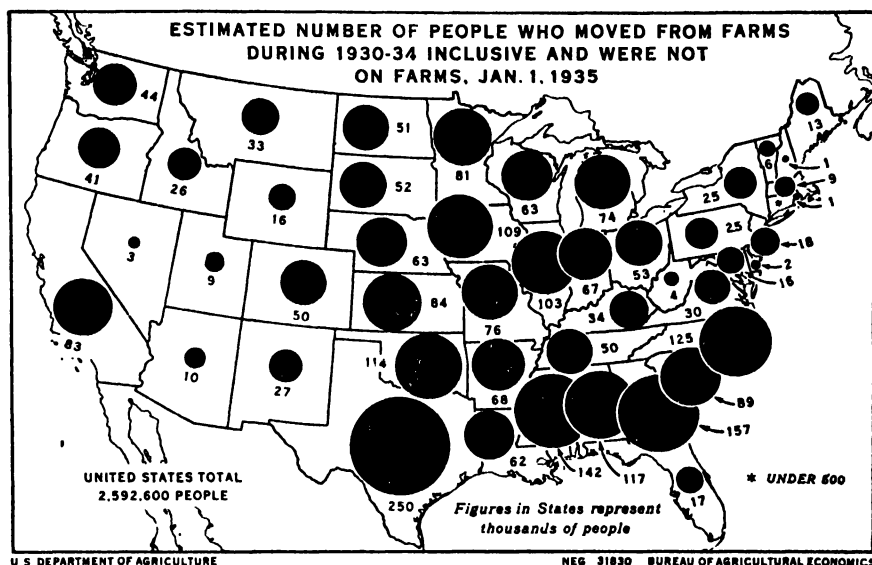


FIGURE 6. The number of people who left farms during the years 1930-34 and had not returned by January 1, 1935, is estimated at nearly 2,600,000 in the nation as a whole. About half of this migration was from the South. As compared with the natural increase, migration from farms was smaller in the South than in the North and West. Perhaps the more meager education, in general, of farm youth in the South retarded their movement to the cities, when a large proportion of the unskilled laborers has been unemployed during the economic depression. Data from Conrad Taeuber, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

As a consequence of these various factors there was, apparently, a net migration from farms in the Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt from Illinois west, and the Wheat regions, and a net migration to farms in the manufacturing belt of the Northeast, down the mountains to Tennessee, in the Ozarks of Missouri and in the North Pacific Coast (Figure 8). Only in 1932, however, did the migration to farms exceed the migration from farms in the United States as a whole, according to the revised estimates of Dr. Conrad Taeuber, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. For the five years, 1930-34, the net migration from farms, was,

apparently, about one-fifth of that during the preceding five years of urban prosperity.

After allowance of 200,000 is made for those persons classified as farm population in 1935 but not so classified in 1930 (families having a garden in 1935, perhaps keeping a cow, or some chickens, and thus producing over \$250 worth of products, and other places not classified as farms in 1930, but deserving to be), it appears that the farm population increased about 1,600,000 between January 1, 1930, and January 1, 1935. This is about five per cent. The increase in the total population of the nation was about 4,430,000, around 3.5 per cent. For the nonfarm population the increase was about three per cent.

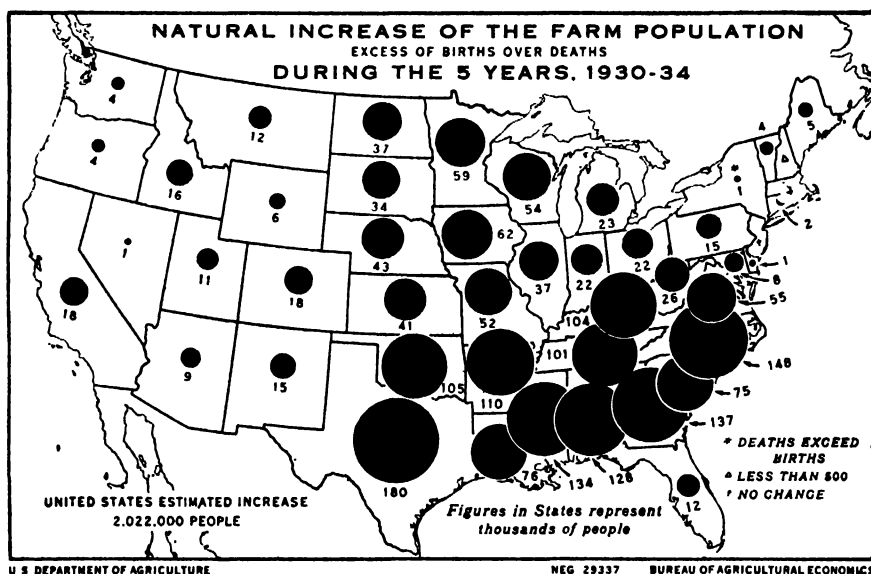


FIGURE 7. More than two-thirds of the natural increase in the farm population during the years 1930-34 occurred in the South, and less than one-third in the North and West. But the average value of farms in the South, including cropper holdings, is only a little over one-third of that in the North and West. The burden of feeding, clothing, and educating the farm children must be heavier in the South, or the standards of living and education must be lower, or both conditions must exist. But, as a consequence of this sacrifice, the citizens of the future are coming in increasing proportion from the farms of the South. Data from Conrad Taeuber, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

In summation, millions of youth, despite the depression, left the farms, hopeful, courageous, and in the fullness of strength. The cost to the farming people of feeding, clothing, and educating these youths could not have been less than \$2,000 per person, and many of them will later inherit land, and receive rent from a tenant, or interest on the mortgage given by the purchaser. Simultaneously, other millions of

unemployed, older, often burdened with a family, sometimes broken in health and courage, returned to the land seeking shelter and sustenance with relatives or friends, or in some abandoned farmhouse or shack. Wealth was transferred to the cities while poverty was intensified in the rural regions.

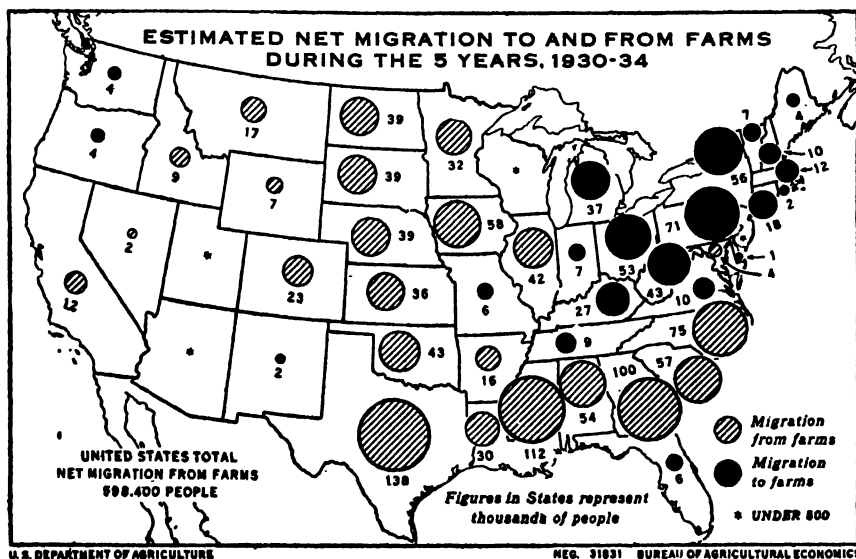


FIGURE 8. From Tennessee and Michigan to Virginia and Maine, but excluding Maryland, that is, much of the manufacturing belt and a little beyond, migration to farms during the depression years 1930-34, exceeded that from farms. These are states characterized also by dairying and general farming, and in the Appalachian Mountains by self-sufficing and part-time farms. There was a net migration to farms also in Florida, New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington, but the numbers were small. In the rest of the states, notably the Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt, and the Wheat Belt, regions of commercial agriculture and high proportions of tenancy in most parts, there is indicated a surprisingly large net migration from farms during the depression. Data from Conrad Taeuber, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

THE AGRICULTURAL DILEMMA

American agriculture faces a dilemma. Migration from the farms means a heavy transfer of wealth to the cities. For the decade 1920-29, the 6,300,000 net migration represented a cost to the farming people of not less than \$14,000,000,000; and, in addition, probably \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 was transferred in the settlement of farm estates. Nor is this all; some \$8,000,000,000 was paid by farmers to nonfarmers as interest during the decade, and some \$10,000,000,000 as rent, according to estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Part of these payments was doubtless the result of prior migration. In all, \$35,000,000,000, more or less, was transferred by the farm to the

nonfarm population during that decade in these four ways. This is about one-third of the gross value of the agricultural production during the same years.

Temporarily, this migration increases the nonfarm population and the commercial consumption of farm products. But, owing to the lower birth rates in the cities, it tends to hasten the approach of a declining national population, which will have serious consequences for agriculture.

However, if the farm youth had not migrated there would have been more workers on farms and a smaller production per worker. Other factors remaining equal, there would have been a lower standard of living. The problems that are arising because of the failure of urban people to reproduce the race will be difficult to solve—indeed, there may be no solution.

GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES AND POPULATION GROWTH

The recently enacted Federal Security Act, with its provision for old-age pensions for a large proportion of urban wage-earners, and for co-operation by the states in unemployment insurance, is looked to with hope by some persons as tending to raise the birth rate, and by others with fear lest it interfere with the economic adjustment of the labor supply. If any influence on population growth is exerted by this legislation, it would seem to be a tendency to lower the birth rate, because farm labor is not eligible to either unemployment insurance or old-age pensions, and is likely to be attracted to those urban occupations in which such insurance can be obtained. In other words, the law seems likely to encourage migration from the farms, where the birth rate is relatively high, to the cities, where it is low. Moreover, after unemployment insurance is obtained in an included occupation, the person insured is likely to consider the loss of such insurance should he contemplate returning to farming. The law seems likely to retard migration of middle-aged and old people from the cities, until they retire. But on the whole, the effect of the law on the birth rate may be slight.

It is believed by some persons that the sense of economic security afforded by the provision of relief, by the Social Security Act, and by other governmental agencies will be reflected in an increased willingness to assume the responsibilities of parenthood. It is too early to venture even an opinion as to the effect of these laws on such personal decisions. However, it may be noted that in England and Germany

provision for old age and illness did not prevent a rapid decline in the birth rate prior to 1933, and the rise since has certainly been due principally, if not wholly, to other factors.

Among these factors family allowances deserve notice. Allowances to parents of numerous children were tried in the ancient Roman world by Julius Caesar and by many of his successors, and in the modern world allowances are given to families under certain conditions in Germany, France, Italy, and several other countries. In France the system of family allowances has existed for a long time, but the families affected were so few and the amounts allowed so small that the effect was negligible for many years. To quote from the recent paper by Thompson and Whelpton:¹³

Gradually the system has been extended through the development of both public and private funds until it now embraces approximately four million workers and subsidizes the larger families to the extent of about \$290,000,000 annually. It is being extended steadily to include larger numbers and the subsidy for additional children beyond two or three is being increased. If present plans are carried through, a large part of the families in France will soon be eligible for public or private assistance in the rearing of the third and all subsequent children.

What effect these family allowances have had on the birth rate in France is uncertain. An examination of Table I shows that the decline in the birth rate has been less in France since the World War than in most of the other countries treated, but it is impossible to say whether or not the family allowance system has had anything to do with holding the rate more stable there than elsewhere. It may be that in France, as in the United States, the relatively large families of the foreign-born immigrant women (Belgian, Polish, Spanish, and Italian) have kept the birth rate from falling as fast as it would otherwise have fallen; it may be that there is some natural tendency for the birth rate to become stable at about the present French rate; or it may be that French patriotism is sufficiently strong to prevent the cutting of the birth rate farther as long as Germany is increasing in numbers. No one can tell at the present time which, if any, of these factors is the more important, or what rôle each plays. Certainly, up to now, family allowances have not prevented the French birth rate from declining, albeit more slowly than in most of the other European nations.

In Italy laws against contraceptive devices and abortion, tax reduction for married men with large families, and, more recently, family allowances for certain groups of government employees and industrial and commercial workers, have not prevented a decline in the birth rate,

¹³ Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, "Population Policies of European Countries," *The Annals of Am. Acad. of Polit. and Social Science*, 186 (1936), 2-3.

perhaps owing to the smallness of the payments. Real gains, however, have been made in reducing the death rate, particularly infant mortality.

In Germany the unprecedented increase in births since 1933 is probably transitory. In Berlin the increase was about 50 per cent between 1933 and 1934, but in the rural districts only 10 to 20 per cent. The city of Berlin pays 30 marks a month as godfather to help support the third and each subsequent child during the first year, then 20 marks monthly up to the age of 14, under certain conditions, and the German Government loans 1,000 marks to newly married couples, a loan which is cancellable at the rate of 250 marks for each birth.¹⁴ However, Professor Whelpton concludes, I believe correctly, that the reduction in abortions in Germany under the Nazi regime, particularly in the cities, is the principal factor accounting for the increase in births.¹⁵ Nearly all careful students of the subject expect the decline in the birth rate to be resumed in Germany, as well as in other countries within the European sphere of civilization. And in no country is there an indication as yet that the bottom has been reached. In Austria it was about 13 per 1,000 population in 1935, as compared with 23 in 1920 and 33 about

TABLE I

CRUDE BIRTH RATES OF SELECTED COUNTRIES, BY YEARS, 1920 TO 1935

<i>Year</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>England and Wales</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Sweden</i>	<i>Canada</i>	<i>United States</i>
1935	13.2	14.7	15.7	18.9	23.1	13.8	....	16.8
1934	13.5	14.8	16.1	18.0	23.2	13.7	20.4	17.1
1933	14.3	14.4	16.3	14.7	23.5	13.7	20.9	16.6
1932	15.2	15.3	17.3	15.1	23.8	14.5	22.5	17.4
1931	15.9	15.8	17.4	16.0	24.9	14.8	23.2	18.0
1930	16.8	16.3	18.0	17.5	26.7	15.4	23.9	18.9
1929	16.7	16.3	17.7	18.0	25.6	15.2	23.5	18.9
1928	17.5	16.7	18.3	18.6	26.6	16.0	24.1	19.8
1927	17.8	16.6	18.2	18.4	27.4	16.1	24.3	20.6
1926	19.1	17.8	18.8	19.6	27.7	16.8	24.7	20.7
1925	20.5	18.3	19.0	20.8	28.3	17.6	25.6	21.5
1924	21.6	18.8	18.7	20.6	29.0	18.1	26.5	22.4
1923	22.4	19.7	19.1	21.2	30.0	18.9	26.1	22.2
1922	23.1	20.4	19.3	23.0	30.7	19.6	25.1	22.3
1921	23.2	22.4	20.7	25.8	30.3	21.5	26.4	24.2
1920	22.7	25.5	21.4	25.9	31.9	23.6	26.6	23.7

¹⁴ Marriage loans numbered 141,559 in 1933; 224,619 in 1934; and 156,788 in 1935. Reduction of loans was granted for 13,610 cases in 1933; 129,961 in 1934; and 155,060 in 1935.

¹⁵ It is estimated, according to Whelpton, that for 15 years after the World War abortions in Germany averaged 600,000 to 800,000 annually. This is fully 50 per cent of the number of births. In Berlin abortions became almost as numerous as births.

1880. The trend has been similar in most European countries, but Austria had the lowest birth rate of all in 1935.

The preceding table compares the birth rates in several continental European countries since 1920 with those in England and Wales, Canada, and the United States. During the 15 years the decline has been 42 per cent in Austria, 27 per cent in France, 28 per cent in Italy, 27 per cent in Germany, and 41 per cent in Sweden, in which countries governmental efforts have been made to retard the decline in the birth rate; as compared with 42 per cent in England and Wales, about 24 per cent in Canada, and 29 per cent in the United States, where no legislation with this objective has been enacted.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

The conditions of living and the philosophy of life associated with our modern urban economic system tend toward extinction of the families of the middle class particularly; and as agriculture becomes commercialized the farming people are being affected also. The urban economic system weakens the family as an institution. The traditions and sanctions that have been built up during the ages to support the family as the fundamental institution of society tend to wither away in the glare and tumult associated with the rationalization and mechanization of the modern city. The efforts of the government to retard this process may hasten it instead, for it is difficult to increase the functions of great overall institutions, like the government, without at the same time decreasing the functions of the smaller institutions, like the family. It is possible that the church is the institution that could give most help, but its strength is being impaired by the same forces that are impairing the strength of the family.

Not enough children are being born in the nation at present to maintain its population permanently stationary. In our large cities today, (those over 100,000 population) 10 adults are raising about seven children. Should the birth rate fall no farther, these seven would raise five children, and these five about three and one-half. Population would decline in a century to about one-third the present number, were there no accessions from the outside. In the farm population, 10 adults are now raising about 14 children. Again assuming a stationary rate of reproduction, these 14 would raise nearly 20 children and these 20 about 27. In a century population would increase over two-and-a-half fold, if there were no migration. Doubtless the birth rate will continue

to decline, rural as well as urban; but whether the rural birth rate will decline more rapidly than the urban only the future can reveal—in the past the urban decline has been the more rapid. One thousand farm people seem likely to have four to eight times as many descendants, a century hence, as 1,000 city people, depending primarily on the extent of future migration from the farms to the cities.

In any case, it appears that the people of the future will come in increasing proportions from the rural areas, particularly the rural South, where more than half the farm population resides, and where the birth rate is higher, in general, than in the North and West. Now, these southern rural people are mostly poor, and their educational facilities are often meager. In the past many, if not most, of the migrants from the South have become unskilled or semi-skilled laborers in the cities. If the demand for such labor is declining, with progress in mechanization, as appears to be the case, what will the southern youth find to do in the future? Many, doubtless, will find work in the cities, but more than heretofore, I anticipate, will become hired men and later tenants on northern farms, where farms are being vacated by the death of the farmer at an accelerating rate, and more than heretofore will remain in the South. The residue seems likely to join the ranks of the unemployed. The task of educating these southern youths is a national as well as a local problem. But the more advanced the education, the more rapidly is this remaining fertile stock likely to die out, if present ideas persist.

I see little likelihood that public policies can solve the emerging problem of a declining population in either its quantitative or qualitative aspects. A few years ago I looked forward with some hope to the decentralization of industry, but unless such decentralization is carried clear down to the home, it appears that it might hasten rather than retard the decline in births. I still see some hope in part-time farming, as in southern New England, where the rural birth rate has been well maintained, far above the reproduction level, for a third of a century.

We must face the fact that so long as prosperity persists, it is very likely that an increasing proportion of the national population will live in cities. Without a change in the ideals and philosophy of life of city people, there is practically no hope of avoiding a rapidly declining population. A declining population means an aging population, concentration of wealth, at least under our present laws of inheritance, and other undesirable conditions.

I see little hope of a change in the urban philosophy of life except through a religious or nationalistic revival. The urban philosophy has become Epicurean, and in my opinion it is likely to remain so until even greater suffering than that during the recent economic depression compels people to reconsider their assumptions as to what is worthwhile. The reproduction of the race involves sacrifice on the part of the parents for the sake of the children, sacrifice of the present for the sake of the future, sacrifice sometimes of the wishes of the individual for the welfare of the nation. The declining birth rate has a psychological basis, and any attempt to stay this decline, in my opinion, must reside in a change in the attitudes of the people themselves.

DISCUSSION

The facts of Dr. Baker's paper to the effect that a declining national population is in prospect are convincing. That governmental policy may be hastening the coming of a declining population seems possible also, but the implications of decline given by Dr. Baker drive one to such a pessimistic outlook that I, for one, find myself trying to rationalize more optimistic alternatives.

Perhaps we would be safe in saying that everything the government is doing to raise the standard of living of rural peoples—the work of the Rural Electrification Administration, Resettlement Administration, and the Tennessee Valley Authority—all these activities, to the extent that they reach their objectives, will reflect in a lowered birth rate.

As Dr. Baker suggests, the low urban birth rate is a product of the "rationalization and mechanization" of the modern city. The transfer of these patterns to rural society will lead to the same results in the rural family.

The negative aspect of this conclusion is: the rural birth rate has been high because rural standards of living have been low, when measured by mechanization, competition for status, and luxuries. To hope for a continued high birth rate in rural communities is to hope for a continued low standard of living, as measured by the values of a mechanistic age. I take it, from the latter part of the paper, that he is questioning these values—"epicurean standards" he calls them—which place other satisfactions in life above that of bearing and caring for children. The hope, then, lies in a conversion to a more stoic philosophy which can be brought about only by greater sacrifice and suffering.

This picture brings to my mind the experience of the Hebrews down in Egypt, where life had become so burdensome because of toil and suffering that the only joy in life was the exercise of biological functions. They multiplied so fast that Pharaoh feared they would soon outnumber the Egyptians.

If a degraded, uncultured, unmechanized, sacrificing, primitive, peasant-like, rural population is the price we must pay for a growing national population, and no doubt that is the price we will have to pay and the price we have been paying in part in the past, then let us hope for a declining national population, for the price is too great.

In the face of an almost certain decline in national population, I find it difficult to accept the interpretation of many that a falling population means national decay. It will create problems, but our neo-Malthusian friends would no doubt point out to us the imperfections of our present agriculture and national culture that have arisen in the face of a youthful, energetic, growing population.

The price we would have to pay for a growing population under modern conditions might cost us more than scaling agriculture and industry to a smaller population. At least this latter approach to the problem is worth serious consideration.

The idea of an undue proportion of the natural increase of the future coming from the poorer elements of the rural South raises an important problem in population quality which may be as important as the question of numbers.

The problem of population quality may be tied up in part with rural relief also. There is some danger, with the development of permanent relief agencies to replace emergency relief agencies, that a new type of social stratification will develop in rural communities. The new stratification may be on the basis of self-sufficiency and dependency. If a rural pauper class does develop, we can be fairly sure that they will become the most fertile group in rural society. (The long-time effect of relief on fertility would probably be different from the effect of the first relief experience.) We would virtually have, then, in rural society what we have now in urban society—a fecund lower class, with relatively sterile middle and upper classes.

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An Analysis of Social Processes and the Obstacles to Agricultural Progress in Mexico

Manuel Gamio

IN MEXICO, agricultural production does not progress on a parallel with that in other countries. For example, in the United States the fruit industry of California, the cotton production of the cotton belt, the wheat crops of the Middle West, all have been improving simultaneously in quantity and quality. Aside from conditions of soil fertility, this is due to the fact that all of the social groups which make up the American rural population have evolved not only from the agricultural viewpoint, but also from the standpoint of all the characteristics of civilization. In other words, their progress has been integral.

On the other hand, the scale of agriculture in Mexico is very extensive and extremely varied, beginning with the retarded stages such as that found among the *Seris*, who as yet do not cultivate at all. Higher up are found the *Lacandones*, and other indigenous nomadic families, who continue to cultivate the soil with the same primitive and defective methods that their ancestors employed prior to the Conquest. There are many other rural people, principally Indians and *Mestizos*, who persist in applying to their agriculture the antiquated systems and implements of Colonial origin; and there is one group, not very large, that employs the more advanced methods which were introduced in the nineteenth century but which obviously are very much out of date. Finally, we find an insignificant minority which exploits the soil by taking advantage of modern equipment, effective machinery, and scientific systems of cultivation, so that the production which they obtain from the land is superior in every sense to that of the previously mentioned groups. It is expedient, therefore, that an attempt be made to improve agricultural

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production, both quantitatively and qualitatively, among these retarded social groups until it reaches proportions analogous to those which are found among the progressive minority.

An attempt has been made to remedy this state of affairs by measures which have been considered most direct and effective. These consisted of granting to the peasants land, water, implements, modern machinery, choice seed, fertilizer, agricultural instructions, etc.; but, unfortunately, the results obtained have not corresponded in general terms with the generous intentions. This can be demonstrated by examining the deficient agricultural production, the low standards of living, and the inferior cultural level which are found among the peasants in the regions where these large sums of money and energy were spent unfruitfully.

As a typical example we shall mention the region of the *Valle del Mezquital* which we investigated carefully three years ago. Until the latter part of the past century this valley was arid and unproductive throughout almost its entire area, so that living conditions were very difficult for the peasants, who were characterized principally by defective biological development, extreme cultural retardation, and poverty.

Subsequently the black waters from the City of Mexico were taken out towards the *Valle del Mezquital* and were used to irrigate one zone in this area. Since then this area has been called the "irrigated zone" and is very productive in contrast with the rest of the region which has remained a non-tillable "arid zone." The grant of lands was extensive in the valley, naturally benefiting the inhabitants of the irrigated zone since the lands which they received were productive, while those received by the peasants of the arid zone were not agriculturally profitable. Finally, a great deal of money was spent on agricultural instruction, given to the rural population through the school of *Mexe*. In order that it might be truly useful, it was given exclusively to the inhabitants of the irrigated zone, since the instruction was applicable only to the latter and not to the arid zone.

The contrast, then, between the benefits and the assistance received by the peasants of the two zones could not have been greater. Those of the irrigated zone had lands, water, adequate agricultural instruction, and even agricultural implements and good seed, while those of the arid zone remained with the same quality of inferior and unproductive lands which, although increased in area by the grant, could not be useful. Now *after 30 years or more since irrigation was begun, the neighbors of the two zones exhibit, in general, the same conditions of*

biological deficiency, inferior cultural level, and low material standards of living as those encountered there previously. The high rate of mortality, principally of infants, has persisted. The basic foods continue to consist of corn, *chile*, and *pulque*. Unhealthful and uncomfortable dwellings, insufficient clothing for such a rigorous local climate, defective systems of cultivation, inadequate industrial implements, and primitive domestic utensils are still prevalent. It is sufficient to indicate that, in the aforementioned investigation carried on in the irrigated region of the Mezquital, we found 44 per cent of the objects (on which the development of their material living is based) are of the same type as those used by the ancestors of these people prior to the Conquest, 43 per cent are of the colonial type, and only 13 per cent are of the modern or most efficient type. This will suffice concerning the material characteristics.

The intellectual equipment of these people is as anachronistic and inadequate for carrying on a normal existence as it has been for centuries. Most of these countrymen think that nothing can cure them better than the old primitive remedies, or the magical ceremonies of witches and medicine men. With a fatalistic outlook, they systematically attribute any adversities to supernatural interventions and to bad luck rather than to deficiencies within themselves or to the social environment in which they live. All of this tends to weaken and even to nullify their efforts and initiative. Like their primitive ancestors they still attribute little value to life, since they often risk it for futile causes, as can be demonstrated by penal statistics, principally of homicide, and by statistics of injuries. The woman continues enslaved, a victim of mistreatment and excessive work; the interpretation of natural phenomena is very variable and entirely conventional, ignoring the scientific principles which explain their causes and effects.

Returning to the theme of agricultural progress in the irrigated region of the Mezquital, in reality it appears to be insignificant when one takes into account the fact that the peasants received lands, water, implements, and agricultural instruction. This failure is due to the fact that agricultural backwardness *is not the only deficiency* which is found among the masses of our rural population. *Almost all of the characteristics of their material and intellectual life are retarded*, as was indicated above, so that the attempt to modernize and develop one isolated characteristic, while the others remain undeveloped, is Utopian and impossible of realization. The uncivilized peasant, to whom has been granted modern

implements and advice concerning efficient methods of cultivation and the use of productive fertilizer, will let the metallic plough rust because of the belief that it "chills the soil." Instead he will turn to the old Egyptian type of plough. He will not use fertilizer because he hopes to obtain a better harvest by resorting to the pious supplications and even magical exorcisms of witches. The modern system of cultivation does not please him because it is different from the imperfect and very ancient knowledge which has been handed down to him by his fathers and grandfathers. What can be done in other respects if the criterion by which he governs all, or nearly all, his activities is the same or analogous to that which has characterized his ancestors for several centuries? *If all the deficient material and intellectual characteristics* of culture or civilization just cited are found simultaneously in the stage of evolution of these peasants, if they coincide in their inferiority, if they are interdependent in that some act is a function of the others and vice versa, how is it possible *for only one of them*, in this case the one relating to *agricultural productivity*, to be *transformed* as if by magic into *an advanced state* corresponding to the *most modern stages* of cultural evolution? Such a thing is impossible, and the moment this isolated characteristic is modernized, its existence and function will become artificial and of short duration. Indeed, the coexistence, the interdependence, and the harmonic unity of the inferior characteristics which continue to make up the cultural equipment of the individual or the social group under consideration, will resist this modernization and, we might say, will attract the disappearing characteristic from the high level on which an attempt was made to place it, will conflict with it, and will change it again into an inferior characteristic.

Therefore, in order to develop the capacity for agricultural production among our retarded rural population, it is indispensable that we develop simultaneously the other characteristics which constitute the cultural equipment, a task which is not so easy to perform as it may at first appear. In the first place, it is necessary to identify those characteristics and ascertain their degree of evolutionary inferiority in the heterogeneous groups which compose the rural population. We must find out whether they are of an indigenous character and of pre-Hispanic origin, of an Occidental type and of colonial origin, or a result of substitution or of fusion. We must ascertain, above all, which are *useful* to the life of the peasant, which are only *slightly useful*, and which are *injurious*. Then the useful ones may be retained, the slightly useful ones may be

improved and modernized, and the useless or injurious ones may be put aside and substituted by others of modern civilization which have demonstrated their utility and efficiency.

This process of substitution and cultural improvement, which should be done gradually and not abruptly, *requires, as a prerequisite to any action, the socio-economic study of the rural group under consideration.* From such a study of causal relationships one may devise effective measures, the intelligent implantation of which will enable the rural group in question to develop the various aspects of material and intellectual life and not solely the agricultural one. Since it is impossible to undertake such a study among all the rural groups of Mexico at the same time and to institute the corresponding measures of socio-economic improvement, it will be necessary to initiate the work by selecting a representative group. This sample preferably should be in the Central, the Southern, or in the Southwestern part of the Republic, because in these regions the material and intellectual standard of living is inferior to that observed in the North.

In conclusion, it may be said that the considerations thus far expressed form a part of the vast project of national agricultural improvement which occupies the attention of the President of the Republic, General Lázaro Cárdenas, the Secretaries of State, The National University of Mexico, and the National Commission of Irrigation in charge of the engineer Francisco Vasquez del Mercado, intelligent collaborator of General Cardenas.

Streams of Internal Migration

A Further Exploration with Swedish Data

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

IN a recent article,¹ the problem of differentiating streams of internal migration was approached in terms of the economic structure of the communities of migration origin and destination. A tentative classification of communities was suggested, the criterion being the relative complexity of the material environment: purely agricultural communities were assumed to be least complex, rural industrial communities more complex, towns and cities most complex. Migrants drawn from a less complex to a more complex community group were defined as *progressive*, those from a more complex to a less complex group as *regressive*, those from communities classified as of the same order of complexity, *interchange*.

In the article cited, migration statistics for the whole of Sweden were analyzed from 1895 to 1930 in order to evaluate the proportions assumed by total migration streams to and from each community group and to obtain a perspective in evaluating net migration gain or loss. This analysis demonstrated the extensiveness of streams of internal migrants to and from these various classes of communities, as compared with the net migration gain or loss of any class. Because of the nature of the data however (in-migrants identified in terms only of community of destination, out-migrants in terms only of community of origin), it did not lead to a precise determination of the nature and extent of the several complementing and opposing streams but was necessarily limited to a determination of the combined effect of several streams.

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¹ Dorothy S. Thomas, "Internal Migrations in Sweden: A Note on Their Extensiveness as Compared with Net Migration Gain or Loss," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII (1936), 345-357.

For example, in-migrants to agricultural communities represented both regressive and interchange streams, out-migrants both progressive and interchange, etc. The present paper goes somewhat further into the problem and attempts a more precise determination of the nature of migration streams.

Eleven Swedish communities were selected in a county² (Västmanlands län) lying to the west of Stockholm County and far enough away³ from the city of Stockholm to avoid any disturbing metropolitan or suburban influences upon the migrations. Six of these 11 communities were agricultural, four were rural industrial, and one was the largest town in the county.⁴ Three of the agricultural communities⁵ were relatively inaccessible to industrial communities and towns, i.e., their immediate surroundings were agricultural; the other three⁶ were more accessible, all of them lying on the outskirts of rural industrial communities and one of them bordering a small town. Two of the rural industrial communities were dominated by the iron industry,⁷ one by the stone industry,⁸ and the fourth⁹ comprised a wide variety of small

² Västmanlands County was selected partly for convenience, partly for the following reasons: It has had a very high rate of internal migration and a very low rate of emigration, compared with the rest of Sweden but exhibits no other marked deviations from the Swedish norms. Birth rates and death rates were "average," when allowance was made for the age distribution. The proportion of agricultural population was close to the average for all of Sweden, property and wages were slightly higher than the average, the proportion on relief varied from average in 1895 to somewhat above average in 1930. Industry was diversified and important, but not predominant. Transportation facilities per inhabitant were above average, but not among the highest in Sweden.

It must be obvious that no selection of 11 communities out of a possible 2,500 could give a reasonable sample and that no claims of representativeness can be made. This study should be viewed as an exploratory study, the results of which cannot be generalized without further evidence.

³ A distance of 100 kilometers or more from Stockholm.

⁴ The Myrdal classification of rural communities into three types at three different dates, 1904, 1914, and 1924, was used with modifications as described in this analysis. In Myrdal's original classification, all rural communities were classified as purely agricultural, rural "mixed" communities, and rural industrial communities. The criteria used in this classification depended on economic indices and were independent of demographic factors. One criterion was the relative taxation value of agricultural and "other" property. Agricultural communities were defined on this basis as those in which the value of "other" property did not exceed 15 per cent, mixed communities 15-35 per cent and industrial communities 35 per cent or more. The first crude classification was modified on the basis of other relevant data concerning the economic development and status of the communities.

⁵ Frösthult, Simtuna, and Torstuna.

⁶ Kungs Barkarö, Torpa, and Altuna.

⁷ Skultuna and Svedvi.

⁸ Väster Lövsta.

⁹ Kung Karl.

industrial enterprises. The town, Västerås, one of the most important in Sweden, is the center of the electric industry (ASEA) and of the Swedish metal industry, and plays an important rôle in the marketing and distribution of agricultural produce. It is also a cathedral and school town of prominence.

The records of all migrants leaving each of these 11 communities for another Swedish community or entering each of these 11 communities from another Swedish community were abstracted from the parish registers for every year from 1895 to 1930. In this paper, the data for the first 10 years of the period (1895-1904) and the last 10 years (1921-30) only are analyzed. The intervening years were excluded in order to simplify the presentation of the data: the 10 prewar years (1905-14) showed no marked deviations from the preceding decade, but the six war and postwar years (1915-20) reflected the great economic and social disturbances caused by the blockade, with its concomitant food and housing shortage. The two periods under consideration are roughly comparable in respect to the phases of the business cycle; both had two years of depression, about six years of rather marked prosperity, and two years of revival or recession.

As indicated above, the various streams of migration can be isolated if both the origin and destination of the migrants are known. In order to manipulate these data in terms of the environmental structure of the points of origin and destination, the communities concerned must be classified into reasonably homogeneous groups. In this analysis, the 11 communities were thrown into four groups as follows: (1) the three relatively inaccessible agricultural communities, (2) the three more accessible agricultural communities, (3) the four rural industrial communities, and (4) the town.

The migrants from each of these groups were classified according to the community of destination as follows: (1) to agricultural communities, (2) to rural industrial (or mixed) communities, (3) to towns (excluding Stockholm), (4) to Stockholm, the metropolis. Migrants to each of these community groups were similarly classified according to the community of origin.

The total migration stream of any community group was considered to be the sum of the in- and out-migrants. The components of these total streams were defined as follows:

Progressive Streams: Out-migrants from either of the agricultural groups to rural industry, to towns, or to Stockholm; from the rural in-

dustrial group to towns or to Stockholm; from the town to Stockholm; and *in-migrants* to the rural industrial group from agriculture; and to the town from agriculture or rural industry.

*Regressive Streams:*¹⁰ *Out-migrants* from the rural industrial group to agriculture; from the town to agriculture or rural industry; *in-migrants* to either of the agricultural groups from rural industry, towns, or Stockholm; to the rural industrial group from towns or Stockholm; to the town from Stockholm.

Interchange Streams: *Out-migrants* from either of the agricultural groups to agriculture, from the rural industrial group to rural industry, and from the town to towns; and *in-migrants* to either of the agricultural groups from agriculture, to the rural industrial group from rural industry, and to the town from towns.

Each of these classes of migrants was then subclassified according to the distance spanned in the migration. This was done not only because of the probability of a strong process of selection in the more distant streams (which will be analyzed at a later stage of this investigation, but not in the present paper), but also because of the desirability of isolating the very short streams of migration, in which the immediate surroundings of any community will necessarily determine the type of stream. A further reason for the isolation of very short streams was to minimize a technical imperfection in the data, owing to the allocation of migrants to administrative areas varying in size. It is obvious that the smaller the community, the greater the chance for migration beyond its boundaries, other things being equal, and that many migrants from or to a small community would not have been defined as migrants, but simply as intracommunity "movers" if the administrative area had been extended. The distance of migration was, therefore, measured on a map, "as the crow flies," by determining the distance between the center¹¹ of each of the communities studied from the center of each community to or from which a migration occurred. The distance measurements were made in 10 kilometer zones up to 50 kilometers, and thereafter in 50 kilometer zones. Because the surroundings of each of these communities were satisfactorily equalized, from the standpoint of the diversification of population in the communities in all zones except the first, and

¹⁰ The expression "regressive streams" is used rather than "return streams" because there is, in the data used here, no evidence that, e.g., the migrants from towns to agriculture are the same persons who previously migrated from agriculture to towns.

¹¹ Actually, the church (the locus of population registration) which is marked on the map for each community, was taken arbitrarily, and for convenience, as the center.

TABLE I

PROGRESSIVE, INTERCHANGE, AND REGRESSIVE STREAMS AS PERCENTAGES OF
TOTAL MIGRATION STREAMS EXTENDING VARIOUS DISTANCES

(TOTAL MIGRATION STREAMS FOR EACH PERIOD AND
DISTANCE=IN-MIGRANTS+OUT-MIGRANTS) *

	Three Agricultural Communities "Inaccessible"		Three Agricultural Communities "Accessible"		Four Rural Industrial Communities		One Town	
	1895- 1904	1921- 1930	1895- 1904	1921- 1930	1895- 1904	1921- 1930	1895- 1904	1921- 1930
Streams extending all distances								
Progressive								
Rural industry ← agriculture.....	7.4	9.7	20.6	20.4	26.0	19.9	.....	.....
Town ← agriculture.....	5.8	4.7	7.7	7.5	.....	.....	21.8	9.1
Stockholm ← agriculture.....	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
Town ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10.7	9.8	22.1	24.4
Stockholm ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.3	4.2	.....	.....
Stockholm ← town.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.2	10.3
Interchange In.....	36.1	35.2	26.1	22.9	14.8	20.0	12.0	11.0
Out.....	40.2	36.9	23.7	22.5	15.1	18.3	10.3	11.0
Regressive								
Rural industry → agriculture.....	5.5	8.1	16.3	18.1	20.6	17.8	.....	.....
Town → agriculture.....	2.4	3.1	3.4	5.8	.....	.....	8.5	6.8
Stockholm → agriculture.....	.9	.7	.5	1.1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Town → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7.6	7.8	12.4	22.5
Stockholm → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.9	2.2	.....	.....
Stockholm → town.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.7	4.9
All streams, all distances.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Per cent "all streams").....	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Streams extending less than 10 km.								
Progressive								
Rural industry ← agriculture.....	.....	.....	31.1	32.9	37.7	31.4	.....	.....
Town ← agriculture.....	.....	.....	3.6	2.6	.....	.....	37.2	10.5
Town ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29.9	42.1
Interchange In.....	47.9	50.4	22.9	19.2	17.7	23.3	.....	.....
Out.....	52.1	49.6	20.4	20.0	18.7	18.6	.....	.....
Regressive								
Rural industry → agriculture.....	.....	.....	20.7	22.7	25.9	26.7	.....	.....
Town → agriculture.....	.....	.....	1.3	2.6	.....	.....	13.7	7.2
Town → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19.2	40.2
All streams less than 10 km.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Per cent "all streams").....	(30.5)	(26.6)	(30.4)	(29.6)	(21.7)	(22.3)	(15.1)	(20.9)
Streams extending 10-50 km.								
Progressive								
Rural industry ← agriculture.....	8.3	9.9	15.8	13.8	27.7	21.9	.....	.....
Town ← agriculture.....	8.6	6.5	10.0	10.2	.....	.....	31.5	19.2
Town ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14.7	13.8	22.2	23.0
Interchange In.....	34.6	33.6	29.2	27.5	11.7	18.0	13.6	12.9
Out.....	39.4	36.0	27.3	27.4	11.9	16.4	10.3	11.6
Regressive								
Rural industry → agriculture.....	6.1	9.8	13.6	14.0	24.1	19.5	.....	.....
Town → agriculture.....	3.0	4.2	4.1	7.1	.....	.....	11.1	13.4
Town → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.9	10.4	11.3	19.9
All streams 10-50 km.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Per cent "all streams").....	(59.0)	(62.0)	(59.4)	(56.7)	(55.7)	(51.3)	(43.5)	(25.8)

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

	<i>Three Agricultural Communities "Inaccessible"</i>		<i>Three Agricultural Communities "Accessible"</i>		<i>Four Rural Industrial Communities</i>		<i>One Town</i>	
	1895- 1904	1921- 1930	1895- 1904	1921- 1930	1895- 1904	1921- 1930	1895- 1904	1921- 1930
Streams extending 50 km. or over								
Progressive								
Rural industry ← agriculture.....	23.2	30.9	17.3	20.8	10.6	6.3	.....	.....
Town ← agriculture.....	6.6	6.3	5.6	6.7	.....	.....	6.0	3.6
Stockholm ← agriculture.....	16.5	14.2	16.9	12.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Town ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.2	10.4	19.3	18.1
Stockholm ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14.6	15.9	.....	.....
Stockholm ← town.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19.9	19.3
Interchange In.....	10.7	8.2	17.9	11.7	19.8	20.8	14.6	14.5
Out.....	10.6	12.1	13.0	8.0	19.6	22.1	13.9	15.1
Regressive								
Rural industry → agriculture.....	18.5	17.6	18.8	25.3	6.9	7.0	.....	.....
Town → agriculture.....	5.8	4.2	5.5	6.9	.....	.....	3.8	3.3
Stockholm → agriculture.....	8.1	6.5	5.0	8.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Town → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.0	9.3	11.1	16.9
Stockholm → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.3	8.2	.....	.....
Stockholm → town.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.4	9.2
All streams 50 km. or over.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Per cent "all streams").....	(10.5)	(11.5)	(10.2)	(13.5)	(22.6)	(26.4)	(41.4)	(53.3)
Streams extending at least 10 km.								
Progressive								
Rural industry ← agriculture.....	10.6	13.2	16.0	15.2	22.7	16.5	.....	.....
Town ← agriculture.....	8.3	6.5	9.4	9.5	.....	.....	19.0	8.7
Stockholm ← agriculture.....	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Town ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13.7	12.7	20.8	19.8
Stockholm ← rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.2	5.4	.....	.....
Stockholm ← town.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.7	13.0
Interchange In.....	31.0	29.6	27.5	24.4	14.0	19.0	14.1	14.0
Out.....	35.0	32.3	25.2	23.7	14.1	18.3	12.1	13.9
Regressive								
Rural industry → agriculture.....	7.9	11.0	14.4	16.1	19.2	15.3	.....	.....
Town → agriculture.....	3.5	4.2	4.3	7.1	.....	.....	7.5	6.6
Stockholm → agriculture.....	1.2	1.0	.7	1.6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Town → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.7	10.0	11.2	17.8
Stockholm → rural industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.4	2.8	.....	.....
Stockholm → town.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.6	6.2
All streams extending at least 10 km.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Per cent "all streams").....	(69.5)	(73.4)	(69.6)	(70.4)	(78.3)	(77.7)	(84.9)	(79.1)

*The base for the percentages in each column for each distance can be found in the corresponding total column for the corresponding distance in Table II, e. g., for "all distances," column 1, the base is 9677; for "less than 10 km.," 2954, etc.

since the data thinned out rapidly for distances over 50 kilometers, only three distance zones are used in this analysis, viz., less than 10 kilometers, 10-50 kilometers, and 50 kilometers or over.

Table I shows the relative strength of the various migration streams. The arrangement of this table permits varying the definition of "migrant" and "migration stream" in terms of distance and community

type. The short streams mean quite different things for the several community groups. The very extensive migration streams between the inaccessible agricultural communities and adjacent agricultural communities usually involve a change of job, but not of occupation for the migrant. This change of place of work, may, however, involve a break with his community of previous residence, and in the case of an out-migrant, the new community may represent an environment more accessible to industry and towns. The short migration streams to and from the accessible group are quite different in character from those of the inaccessible group. There is always a possibility that an accessible agricultural community will develop into a residential suburb of the nearby industrial communities and towns. Thus, short migrations may involve no change of job and little or no break with the community of former residence. This same situation is, of course, true for the near migrations for both the industrial group and the town. Such a migration will have more in common with "pendelwanderung" than with "binnenwanderung."

The distance of migration has a quite different aspect, depending on whether the points of origin and destination are greatly similar or greatly dissimilar. A short or only moderately long migration from an agricultural community to a town may well represent a more definite break and a more complicated process of assimilation than a very long migration between a large town and the metropolis. This latter point was raised in the official Swedish investigation of emigration to the United States¹² in regard to the greater ease of assimilation of peasant emigrants from Sweden to the rural districts in America than of persons from country districts in Sweden migrating into Stockholm or Gothenburg.

In regard to the comparison of the earlier period with the later, a point which should be kept in mind is that changes in migratory behavior may have been caused by what van den Broeck calls "migration of the environment itself," that is the "profound and sometimes sudden environmental changes which may take place in a single locality."¹³ Some agricultural communities have had their resources depleted; others have been invaded by industry and become rural mixed or rural industrial; towns have sprung up, become stabilized, extended their bound-

¹² Sweden: *Emigrationsutvreringen Betänkande* (Stockholm, 1910), pp. 884 ff.

¹³ Cited by Henry Fairfield Osborn in "Paleontological Evidences of Adaptive Radiation," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXIX (1910), 77.

aries, and others have declined, during the period under consideration. Furthermore, transportation facilities have been greatly extended. These and other changes have undoubtedly affected the "push and pull" towards migration.

Turning to a consideration of the details of Table I, the various streams to and from the inaccessible agricultural group, when undifferentiated by the distance of migration, show a great preponderance of interchange migration, amounting to about three-quarters of the total. There was somewhat less interchange for the accessible group, i.e., around one-half of the total, somewhat more than one-quarter of the total for the rural industrial group, and somewhat less than one-quarter of the total for the town. The remainder of each total was, by definition, either progressive or regressive. It is clear that, as far as these communities are concerned, there was no overwhelming progressivity in the migration streams taken as a whole; only for the town in the earlier period did the progressive streams account for as much as one-half of the total migration. The strongest regressive movements, almost one-third of the total, were found for the rural industrial groups (predominantly an out-migration to agriculture), and the town in the later period (predominantly an out-migration to rural industry).

The specific streams gain more significance when distance is held constant. The shortest migrations (less than 10 kilometers) are determined by the surroundings and are not comparable, because of inequalities of opportunity, from one community group to another. The intermediate migrations (10-50 kilometers) show a greater similarity for the two agricultural groups than was apparent in the comparison for "all distances," but the accessible group still leads in the proportion of progressive and regressive moves as contrasted with the persistent predominance of interchange moves in the inaccessible group.

In the longest migrations (50 kilometers or over) these tendencies are reversed for the rural communities. For the earlier period there is only about 20 per cent interchange for the inaccessible agricultural group and 30 per cent for the accessible and consequently predominant progressive and regressive streams for both these groups. The rural industrial group, however, has no less than 40 per cent interchange in the far moves, compared with less than 25 per cent in the intermediate moves. The town maintains a fairly constant proportion (around 25 per cent), with important differences in specific streams to be noted later. During the earlier period the far migrations represent only about

one-tenth of the total streams of both groups of agricultural communities, less than one-quarter for the rural industrial, and two-fifths for the town. In the later period, the proportions for all the rural groups show but slight increases. For towns these streams represent well over one-half of the total streams.

The most satisfactory picture of the various migration streams from the standpoint of representativeness¹⁴ and equalization of surroundings, is shown in the last section of the table, where the very short streams are excluded from consideration, and all streams extending at least 10 kilometers are taken into account. In the first period the interchange streams dominate in the agricultural migrations, to the extent of two-thirds of all migrations for the inaccessible groups, and over one-half for the accessible, and account for over one-fourth of the migrations in the rural industrial group and the town. In the later period there is slightly less interchange proportionately for both agricultural groups, very slightly more for the town, and significantly more for the rural industrial group. These tendencies are undoubtedly affected by the "migrations of the environment itself." The Stockholm↔agriculture migrations play an insignificant rôle, and the Stockholm↔rural industry but slightly more important, whereas the town↔Stockholm migration represents a very extensive stream. The most striking trend is indicated in the whole migration pattern of the town. During the earlier period, 50 per cent of the migration stream was progressive, the relative weights (on the basis of each hundred such migrants) of each type of progression being 38 in from agriculture, 42 in from rural industry and 20 out to Stockholm. During the later period, only 41.5 per cent of all migrations were progressive, and the comparable weights were 21 in from agriculture, 48 in from rural industry, and 31 out to Stockholm. The falling off in the progressive proportion was due largely to an increase in one type of regressive migration, i.e., out-migration to rural industrial communities. Again the migration of the environment has undoubtedly played an important rôle. The great industrial expansion of the town itself has slowed up, industries have sprung up in near-lying agricultural areas, and Stockholm with its enormous expansion during this period¹⁵ has exerted a powerful pull.

Up to this point, no consideration has been given to the balance or

¹⁴ From 70-75 per cent of the agricultural streams are represented, about 80 per cent of the rural industrial, and 79-85 per cent of the town.

¹⁵ See Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

imbalance of the cross currents in the migration streams. Each progressive stream has its counterpart in a regressive stream, e.g., in-migrants to the rural industrial group from agricultural communities are progressive, and out-migrants from the same group to agricultural communities are regressive; out-migrants from the town to Stockholm are progressive, in-migrants to the town from Stockholm are regressive, etc.

According to the assumptions on which this analysis is based, the progressive current of each progressive-regressive stream should, in general, overbalance the regressive.¹⁶ It would also be expected that currents between communities of greatly dissimilar types would show a greater imbalance than currents between communities of more similar types, and that these differences would vary in relation to the distance spanned in the migration. Furthermore, if the several groups of communities are reasonably homogeneous, interchange migration streams should approximate a balance between in-migrants and out-migrants.

These aspects of the problem are approached in Table II. The difference between the progressive and regressive currents composing a specified stream is expressed as a percentage of the sum of the currents. If there were a complete balance, i.e., if the progressive and regressive currents compensated each other perfectly, this percentage would equal zero. If there were complete imbalance—all progression, with no compensating regression, or all regression with no compensating progression—this percentage would equal 100. The algebraic signs indicate whether the community group lost or gained migrants.

The first section of the table indicates the streams undifferentiated as to distance. The findings, in general, substantiate the assumptions: in-migrants to both groups of agricultural communities were defined as regressive if the community of origin was a rural industrial community, a town or Stockholm, and conversely out-migrants were progressive. In the period 1895-1904, the progressive outward streams overbalanced the regressive inward streams to the extent of 15 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively, for contacts with rural industrial communities; 41 per cent and 39 per cent with towns; and 34 per cent and 54 per cent with Stockholm. For the rural industrial groups, where in-migrants were defined as progressive from agriculture, but regressive from towns and Stockholm, the imbalance favored the in-migrants in

¹⁶ This assumption would, of course, hold only so long as there is some expansion—or possibility of expansion—in industrialization and urbanization, as is true in Sweden at the present time.

TABLE II

MIGRATION STREAMS BETWEEN SPECIFIED COMMUNITY GROUPS AND OTHER COMMUNITIES,
BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY AND DISTANCE OF MIGRATION

(TOTAL=NUMBER OF MIGRANTS IN EACH STREAM, I.E., IN+OUT; NET=IN-OUT; PER CENT= $\frac{\text{IN}-\text{OUT}}{\text{IN}+\text{OUT}} \times 100$)*

	Three Agricultural Communities "Inaccessible"						Three Agricultural Communities "Accessible"					
	1895-1904			1921-1930			1895-1904			1921-1930		
	Total	No.	Per cent	Total	No.	Per cent	Total	No.	Per cent	Total	No.	Per cent
Streams extending all distances												
Progressive ↔ regressive												
Rural industry ↔ agriculture	1247	-181	-14.5	1531	-139	-9.1	2918	-342	-11.7	2570	-156	-6.1
Town ↔ agriculture	788	-326	-41.4	674	-146	-21.7	869	-337	-38.8	880	-114	-13.0
Stockholm ↔ agriculture	251	-85	-33.9	205	-77	-37.6	175	-95	-54.3	186	-38	-20.4
Town ↔ rural industry												
Stockholm ↔ rural industry												
Stockholm ↔ town												
Interchange	7391	-399	-5.4	6215	-147	-2.4	3943	+189	+4.8	3030	+20	+ .7
All streams, all distances	9677	-991	-10.2	8625	-509	-5.9	7905	-585	-7.4	6666	-288	-4.3
Streams extending less than 10 km.												
Progressive ↔ regressive												
Rural industry ↔ agriculture							1245	-251	-20.2	1099	-201	-18.3
Town ↔ agriculture							120	-56	-46.7	102	0	0
Town ↔ rural industry												
Interchange	2954	-126	-4.3	2292	+20	+ .9	1042	+62	+6.0	773	-15	-1.9
All streams, less than 10 km.	2954	-126	-4.3	2292	+20	+ .9	2407	-245	-10.2	1974	-216	-10.9

TABLE II (CONTINUED)

	Four Rural Industrial Communities						One Town				
	1895-1904			1921-1930			1895-1904			1921-1930	
	Total	Net		Total	Net		Total	Net		Total	Net
		No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent		
Streams extending all distances											
Progressive \longleftrightarrow regressive											
Rural industry \longleftrightarrow agriculture	10595	+1215	+11.5	6955	+385	+5.5	6618	+2922	+44.2	5368	+796 +14.8
Town \longleftrightarrow agriculture											
Stockholm \longleftrightarrow agriculture											
Town \longleftrightarrow rural industry	4155	-711	-17.1	3253	-385	-11.8	7561	+2127	+28.1	15934	+644 +4.0
Stockholm \longleftrightarrow rural industry	1177	-323	-27.4	1171	-375	-32.0					
Stockholm \longleftrightarrow town											
Interchange	6803	-63	-.9	7070	+290	+4.1	2832	-770	-27.2	5150	-1836 -35.7
All streams, all distances	22730	+118	+.5	18449	-85	-.5	21878	+4658	+21.3	33938	+14 +.2
											-1.1
Streams extending less than 10 km.											
Progressive \longleftrightarrow regressive											
Rural industry \longleftrightarrow agriculture	3132	+578	+18.5	2386	+192	+8.1	1683	+777	+46.2	1257	+231 +18.4
Town \longleftrightarrow agriculture							1620	+354	+21.9	5833	+131 +2.3
Town \longleftrightarrow rural industry											
Interchange	1794	-48	-2.7	1722	+196	+11.4					
All streams, less than 10 km.	4926	+530	+10.8	4108	+388	+9.4	3303	+1131	+34.2	7090	+362 +5.1
Streams extending 10-50 km.											
Progressive \longleftrightarrow regressive											
Rural industry \longleftrightarrow agriculture	6565	+451	+6.9	3921	+223	+5.7	4052	+1944	+48.0	2856	+502 +17.6
Town \longleftrightarrow agriculture							3180	+1034	+32.5	3747	+273 +7.3
Town \longleftrightarrow rural industry	3121	-601	-19.3	2295	-331	-14.4	2280	+318	+14.0	2136	+116 +5.4
Interchange	2987	-27	-.9	3263	+155	+4.8	9512	+3296	+34.7	8739	+891 +10.2
All streams, 10-50 km.	12673	-177	-1.4	9479	+47	+.5					

TABLE II (CONTINUED)

the first case to the extent of 11.5 per cent; in the last two cases, out-migrants to the extent of 17 per cent and 27 per cent, respectively. For the town, where in-migrants from both agricultural and rural industrial communities were defined as progressive and where out-migrants were progressive only if their destination was Stockholm, the ins overbalanced the outs by 44 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively, in the first two cases, and the out-imbalance in the last amounted to 27 per cent.

Not only did the progressive streams always predominate over the regressive, but, in general, the greater the difference in the types of communities the greater the imbalance: there was greatest compensation between rural industry and agriculture and least between agriculture and towns or Stockholm, greater between rural industry and towns than between rural industry and Stockholm, and about the same between the town and rural industry and the town and Stockholm.

The interchange streams, on the other hand, did not, as was assumed, show an approximation to perfect balance except in the case of the rural industrial group. The imbalance, however, was less than for any of the progressive-regressive streams. The inaccessible agricultural communities lost to other agricultural communities, the accessible group gained from other agricultural communities, and the town gained from other towns. This situation undoubtedly reflects an oversimplification in the classification. The four-fold grouping of communities of origin and destination does not produce homogeneity: there are more and less attractive agricultural communities, as suggested by the subgrouping "accessible" and "inaccessible," but this represents only one aspect of the situation. There are expanding, stationary, and declining towns and industrial communities. Obviously, if more data were at hand, further subclassification should be attempted—but it is scarcely worthwhile for the limited numbers involved in the analysis of these 11 communities.

The period from 1921-30 also conforms to the expected pattern, but a general tendency towards a narrowing of the margin between progressive and regressive currents can be observed, the only significant reversal of this tendency being the slightly increasing imbalance between the town and Stockholm. When distance is held constant, the following tendencies are observed:

(1) For the very near streams (less than 10 kilometers) there are in the earlier period surprisingly great imbalances for all community groups except the inaccessible agricultural communities (for which the

only migration possibility was interchange). This situation was especially striking for the contacts of the accessible agricultural group with the adjacent town (47 per cent noncompensation) and for the town with its adjacent agricultural communities (46 per cent noncompensation). It should be pointed out that two separate samplings are involved in this comparison, i.e., the town lying adjacent to the agricultural communities is not Västerås, and the agricultural communities adjacent to Västerås are not the "accessible" agricultural group shown in the table. In the later period, the losses of the accessible group to its adjacent town were completely eliminated, and the gains of Västerås from its adjacent agricultural communities were greatly reduced.

(2) For the intermediate streams (10-50 kilometers) the imbalance for both agricultural groups in relation to towns was between 40 and 50 per cent (48 per cent for the inaccessible, 42 per cent for the accessible) and for the town in relation to its nearby agricultural communities also 48 per cent. The town had a 33 per cent imbalance with rural industrial communities, but the rural industrial groups showed only a 19 per cent imbalance with towns. The later period again shows a marked reduction in the margins for all groups except the rural industrial. The accessible agricultural group showed certain peculiarities for intermediate migrations: imbalance in regard to rural industry in the regressive direction, and even more considerable imbalance in the interchange currents, resulting in gains, in both periods. In the later period, the inaccessible group also showed a considerable imbalance in the interchange currents, resulting, however, in losses.

(3) For the far streams (50 kilometers or over) the greatest imbalance was shown, for all groups, with Stockholm; in the first period, 34 per cent for the inaccessible agricultural group, 54 per cent for the accessible agricultural group, and 27 per cent for both the rural industrial and towns. This margin increased significantly in the second period for the town, slightly for the rural industrial group, and scarcely significantly for the inaccessible agricultural group, but fell off markedly for the accessible agricultural group.

(4) When the very short streams are excluded, and all other streams examined, the following general pattern emerges for the first period:¹⁷

Imbalance 50 per cent or more:

Accessible agricultural group ↔ Stockholm (-54.3 ± 3.8) .

¹⁷ To aid in ranking the various streams, the standard deviation of each percentage is shown. See footnote, Table II for description of symbols.

Imbalance 40-50 per cent

Town↔agricultural communities ($+43.5 \pm .7$)Inaccessible agricultural group↔towns (-41.4 ± 1.8)

Imbalance 30-40 per cent

Accessible agricultural group↔towns (-37.5 ± 1.8)Inaccessible agricultural group↔Stockholm (-33.9 ± 3.0)

Imbalance 20-30 per cent

Town↔rural industry ($+29.8 \pm .6$)Town↔Stockholm ($-27.2 \pm .8$)Rural industrial group↔Stockholm (-27.4 ± 1.3)

Imbalance 10-20 per cent

Rural industrial group↔towns ($-17.1 \pm .6$)Inaccessible agricultural group↔industry (-14.5 ± 1.0)

Imbalance, less than 10 per cent (to balance)

Rural industrial group↔agriculture ($+8.5 \pm .3$)Town↔towns ($+7.8 \pm .4$)Inaccessible agricultural group↔agriculture ($-6.2 \pm .4$)Accessible agricultural group↔rural industry ($-5.4 \pm .6$)Accessible agricultural group↔agriculture ($+4.4 \pm .4$)Rural industrial group↔rural industry ($-.3 \pm .1$)

The pattern for the later period is as follows:

Imbalance 30-40 per cent

Town↔Stockholm ($-35.7 \pm .7$)Inaccessible agricultural group↔Stockholm (-37.6 ± 3.4)Rural industrial group↔Stockholm (-32.0 ± 1.4)

Imbalance 20-30 per cent

Inaccessible agricultural group↔towns (-21.7 ± 1.6)Accessible agricultural group↔Stockholm (-20.4 ± 3.0)

Imbalance 10-20 per cent

Accessible agricultural group↔towns (-14.7 ± 1.3)Town↔agriculture ($+13.7 \pm .5$)Rural industrial group↔towns ($-11.8 \pm .6$)

Imbalance less than 10 per cent (to balance)

Inaccessible agricultural group↔rural industry ($-9.1 \pm .7$)Town↔rural industry ($+5.1 \pm .2$)Inaccessible agricultural group↔agriculture ($-4.3 \pm .3$)Rural industrial group↔agriculture ($+4.2 \pm .3$)Accessible agricultural group↔rural industry ($+3.1 \pm .4$)Rural industrial group↔rural industry ($+1.8 \pm .2$)Accessible agricultural group↔agriculture ($+1.6 \pm .3$)Town↔towns ($+.2 \pm .05$)

These patterns conform fairly well with the assumptions made in this analysis: the cross-currents show the least compensation (greatest imbalance) in migration streams between communities most dissimilar in

type, more compensation (less imbalance) in those between communities more similar in type, finally approaching a balance between communities of the same general type. Many of the margins have narrowed over time, but the general pattern has persisted. The deviations which occur may with some confidence be attributed more to defects in the classification and limitations in the group of communities analyzed than to an erroneous statement of the problem.

To summarize: an attempt has been made to disentangle the various cross-currents in the streams of internal migration by classifying migrants according to the types of communities of origin and destination and by taking into account the distance spanned in the migrations. The main streams have been defined as progressive, regressive, or interchange in terms of the relative degree of industrialization and urbanization of the communities of origin and destination, agricultural communities being assumed to be the least complex from this standpoint, the metropolis the most complex, with rural industrial communities and towns occupying intermediate positions. The relative strength of each stream has been indicated, holding distance constant, and the compensating tendencies of cross-currents investigated. The resulting migration pattern has shown a definite tendency towards greater imbalance (noncompensation) in cross-currents as the communities of origin and destination become most dissimilar, and conversely, a tendency for the cross-currents to approach a state of balance as the communities of origin and destination become more similar. In general, the margins between the cross-currents have diminished over time, but the pattern has persisted.

Some of the limitations of this analysis have been pointed out, especially in regard to the oversimplification of the classification of communities of origin and destination. One further point should be pointed out—anticipating the results of an analysis now in progress—and that is that the present analysis neglects to differentiate the streams of migration in terms of the classes of persons comprising these streams. Sex, age, and family-status are important variables, both from the viewpoint of distance and of type of migration. When these are allowed for, the analysis will attain greater sociological significance.

APPENDIX

This paper has not been concerned with the relation between the number of migrants and population, but rather with a comparison of the proportions assumed by the different streams of migrants. In order

to bring this paper in line with the one recently published in *The American Journal of Sociology*, however, and to indicate the extent of the total streams of internal migration in relation to the population of the four community groups studied, the following table is presented; showing annual averages for each 10-year period. The two groups of

	<i>In-Migrants</i>	<i>Out-Migrants</i>	<i>Net</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Rates per 1000 Population</i>		
					<i>In-Migrants</i>	<i>Out-Migrants</i>	<i>Net</i>
Three Agricultural Communities "Inaccessible"							
1895-1904.....	434	533	-99	4518	96.1	118.0	-21.9
1921-1930.....	406	457	-51	4041	100.4	113.0	-12.6
Three Agricultural Communities "Accessible"							
1895-1904.....	366	424	-58	2986	122.6	142.2	-19.6
1921-1930.....	319	348	-29	2682	118.9	129.6	-10.7
Four Rural Industrial Communities							
1895-1904.....	1142	1130	+12	11051	103.4	102.3	+ 1.1
1921-1930.....	918	927	- 9	12778	71.9	72.5	- .6
One Town							
1895-1904.....	1327	861	+466	11179	118.7	77.0	+41.7
1921-1930.....	1678	1716	-38	26291	63.8	65.3	- 1.5

agricultural communities are twice as mobile as agricultural communities in general in Sweden in both periods; the rural industrial one and one-half times as mobile as Swedish rural industrial communities in general in the first period and slightly above average in the second. The town falls below the Swedish average in the second period.¹⁸

The very high mobility of the agricultural communities is due, in part, to the fact that their area is far below the Swedish average for all agricultural communities.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

An Attempt to Harmonize Discordant Theories and Contradictory Observations in the Field of Social Phenomena

Corrado Gini

A COMPARATIVE STUDY of the theories current in the field of social science strikingly reveals the fact that very often the several authors, in some cases the same authors in different parts of their work, ascribe systematically diverse and, not infrequently, diametrically opposite results to the same phenomena.

Let us examine some cases in point.

In Europe, emigration is generally looked upon as a safety valve for overpopulated countries, and immigration as a factor in populating countries of low demographic density. But in America a theory has been and still is accepted which holds that migratory movements do not really exercise any influence on the growth of population, since the place of emigrants in the country of origin will be filled by the more numerous births which will occur; while, in the country of destination, immigrants will prevent a like number of natives from being born.

Similarly, Malthusians consider that war is a repressive check useful in preventing the excessive growth of population, and this opinion is pretty generally shared by writers who in other respects are by no means followers of Malthus. But others affirm that the curve for the growth of the several populations, when shown for intervals of sufficient length, does not as a rule show a decline during periods of warlike activity, so that the losses caused by war might seem to be compensated fairly soon. Moreover, systematic studies indicate apparently that it is during the periods of more rapid growth that wars occupy the largest place in the life of nations. On the other hand, historians often ascribe the decline of population and the downfall of nations to war.

Another example is furnished by the effects which an unusually high death rate is supposed to exercise on births. On one side it is remarked

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that the decline of population thus caused is offset by an exceptionally high birth rate, since preventive checks cease, or are at least relaxed. With special regard to infant mortality, it has been shown on the strength of statistical data that parents who lose a child try to compensate for the loss by a new birth. On the other hand, the study of the monthly statistics for births and deaths shows that variations in the death rate are followed at an interval of nine or ten months by variations in the opposite direction of the birth rate, and that periods of war, depression, and famine are characterized by a high death rate and a low birth rate. Nor are examples lacking of populations which, on account of the high infant death rate, refuse to have children whom they know would be condemned to death.

Theories on population also afford matter for similar contradictions, or apparent contradictions.

As is well known, Malthus held that any attempt to force the growth of population would fail to secure results, since preventive and repressive checks would annul any increase possibly obtained. But others hold that each newcomer to the banquet of life brings with him the labor force required to procure the substance he consumes. For many centuries, moreover, a policy of encouragement, which aimed at securing the maximum growth of population, was a fundamental principle of the art of government, and the basic idea was that nothing contributes so much, not only to the military and political power of a state but also to the prosperity of its citizens, as a large population.

Conversely, many admit that an increase of economic prosperity inevitably leads to an increase in the birth rate; and they prove it, either by the concomitant monthly or annual variations in the index numbers of economic prosperity and of the birth rate, or by the extraordinary growth of the peoples of western Europe and Japan during the recent era of industrial expansion. Others, however, claim, on the strength of reliable data, that first the birth rate and then natural growth decline precisely in the case of those populations and in those classes whose standard of life is highest.

Similar contradictions are met with as regards the effects ascribed to the distribution of wealth, and more especially to the subdivision of landed property. The equal inheritance rights of all the children of a family recognized by the Napoleonic Code, the subdivision of the family estate to which this leads, and the dispersion of property to which this gives rise, have often been indicated as the chief causes of French

de-natality. But this same phenomenon is now occurring with no less intensity in countries in which the principles of the Napoleonic Code are not recognized. On the other hand, how often is a nation of small landowning farmers held up as the model of sound demographic conditions! To close this series of contrasting theses in this field, I will remind the reader that the excessive subdivision of landed property has been recognized in the past as one of the causes of the high birth rate in Ireland, and of that consequent excess of population which in the last century fed the Irish exodus to America.

With reference to Ireland, it deserves to be noted that another cause of the rapid growth of that population was then found in unemployment, because idle people were supposed to devote themselves to breeding children; whereas nowadays no one doubts that unemployment helps to lower the birth rate in western countries.

We may now proceed from the consideration of the relations between demographic and economic phenomena to that of the relations existing between economic phenomena themselves.

One currently formulated proposition is that every rise in prices limits further the number of purchasers and thus reduces the volume of sales. On the other hand, we are just as frequently told that when prices are rising, industrial and commercial activity increases, and declines when prices are falling. Many theoretical economists, basing themselves on the so-called equation of exchanges, maintain that an increase in the money circulation or an expansion of credit has the effect of raising proportionally the level of prices, a proposition however which is strongly denied by other economists as well as by many business men.

Similar divergences are found not only in matters referring to economic facts, but also in those dealing with government intervention. When production declines some people recommend the stimulus afforded by governmental intervention, either in the form of inflation or in other forms. On the other hand, many claim that the artificial encouragement of production only prolongs depression.

The European nations boast of the advantages which the civilization they have introduced confers on the more backward peoples, and they adduce in proof thereof the growth of population which has occurred under their rule in India, Java, South Africa, Egypt, and other North African countries, as also the growth which has occurred, under a regime of independence, in Japan, since the assimilation of western civilization.

But others, on the strength of results secured in other countries, declaim against the deleterious influence which contact with white civilization exercises on the social organization and the vitality of backward peoples.

In many of the previously mentioned cases, it is obvious that each of the different theories has been formulated with reference to some special situation, and that, while they may be applicable to such cases, they cannot be applied to other and different circumstances. We will now see if it is possible to discover a guiding thread by which to find our way among these apparent contradictions; a principle or principles on the strength of which the aforesaid discrepancies can be harmoniously co-ordinated.

It seems to me that such a principle is supplied by the sociological theory, which I have called "neo-organicism," which holds that human societies are characterized by those mechanisms of self-preservation, self-re-equilibration, self-regulation of growth, that are characteristic of every organism.¹

Every society is a system existing normally in a state of stable equilibrium which therefore tends to recover its original equilibrium when subjected to the action of disturbing forces which do not exceed a certain intensity or a certain duration. This is precisely the task of the mechanism of self-preservation.

Should the disturbing force exceed the intensity or duration mentioned, or should it, in certain cases, assume special forms, the equilibrium is broken; but the disequilibrium thus caused generally sets in motion other mechanisms which tend to restore the system to a state of equilibrium either identical with (faculty of recovery) or very similar to (faculty of readjustment) the original one.

This happens generally, but not always.

On the one hand, when the intensity or duration of the disturbing force exceeds a second or higher limit, the equilibrium is definitely broken and the social organism disintegrates. In such cases the disequilibrium is deadly.

Hence the same phenomenon, acting as a disturbing force, may lead to different results, according to the differing degrees of intensity, one

¹ The theory of neo-organicism, which is opposed to the old organicist conceptions, is set forth in my course of sociology given at the University of Rome. Cf. *Il neo-organicismo* (Catania: Studio Editoriale Moderno, 1927). Developments dealing with the mechanism of self-preservation, self-re-equilibration, and self-regulation in growth, will be found in my volume *Prime linee di patologia economica* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1935).

degree arousing a prompt compensatory reaction, whereas another leads to a disequilibrium susceptible of readjustment, and yet another leads to the disintegration of the social organism.

Let me add that the same phenomenon which may act in one case as a force distributing the equilibrium, may in another produce a reaction which corrects a disequilibrium previously caused by other disturbing forces. Thus, for instance, fasting may merely produce an appetite; if prolonged, it may become a cause of weakness, or sickness, or even death; or it may, on the other hand, be a cure for indigestion.

Sometimes the re-equilibrating reaction may, nevertheless, be unduly intense and become, in its turn, the cause of a new disequilibrium. On the other hand, occasionally the disequilibrium is of such a nature that, while it does not lead to the immediate disintegration of the organism, it gradually tends to become more marked, and it becomes impossible to restore equilibrium.

It should also be noted that even in the case of a disequilibrium susceptible of readjustment, the faculty of recovery can only be approximately distinguished from the faculty of readjustment. As a matter of fact it never, or hardly ever, happens that the mechanism of re-equilibration assures complete recovery but only readjustment, just as the mechanism of self-preservation never, or hardly ever, secures complete preservation but only adaptation.

These residual effects of the incomplete reactions of the self-preserving and self-re-equilibrating mechanisms, together with the cumulative results of those disequilibria which cannot be righted, determine in social organisms an evolution which leads them to assume diverse characteristics in a more or less regular order which seem to some extent independent of the external environment and thus give the impression of self-regulation in development.

Now, in accordance with the stage of development through which they are passing, social organisms can react differently to the same stimulus. And here we have a further circumstance which explains why the same phenomena may lead to different results.

If we apply these principles to the examples given above, we shall see the apparent contradictions melt away and a design of harmonious regularity emerge from the multiplicity of phenomena.

Let us suppose an initial equilibrium between population and means of subsistence. Should population increase more rapidly than the means

of subsistence, the population will react by increasing productive effort. This, as a rule, will suffice to maintain the balance; but, if the growth of population should be too excessive or last too long, the powers of self-preservation will no longer suffice and a condition of overpopulation will ensue which will bring into play Malthusian and neo-Malthusian checks. Economic depression will lead a certain number of unmarried people to delay marriage or renounce it altogether; births will be limited or delayed; and the death rate will rise. The losses which this entails will be a further restraint on marriage that will tend to deter reproduction. Emigration will be encouraged and immigration hindered. Malthusians and neo-Malthusians make the mistake of considering that such disequilibrium is inevitable; they do not take into account the existence of the mechanisms for self-preservation, and they therefore consider that society is in a state of unstable equilibrium in which every disturbance causes disequilibrium. On the other hand, the optimistic view taken by many of their opponents is also erroneous for they suppose that the mechanism of self-preservation is always completely effective.

It may happen that population and natural resources do not balance; that, as the result of shortcomings in the social system, or as a result of epidemics, wars, or natural calamities, the country is in a condition of underpopulation. In such a hypothetical condition, an increase of the population more rapid than that of natural resources (or, we might say, than the potential means of subsistence) will be the cause not of economic depression but of prosperity. Such conditions occurred for centuries in Europe in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the modern era, and they explain the favor with which the theory of the maximum population was received. They also occurred in many colonies and are still met with today in recently settled countries.

Let us now consider the other side of the relations between population and means of subsistence, starting in this case also on the hypothesis of an initial equilibrium, which is broken not by excess of population but by an excess of means of subsistence.

Here again the mechanism of self-preservation enters forthwith into action. Repeated inquiries have shown that bumper crops, prosperous industries, and flourishing trade are accompanied by a low death rate and a high marriage rate, followed by a high birth rate, the reverse phenomena occurring in periods of depression and scarcity. But when

the excess of means of subsistence continues, or exceeds certain limits, the reaction slows down or is inadequate, and wealth accumulates progressively, indicating disproportion between population and means of subsistence. This disproportion is characterized by the fact that it does not determine a re-equilibrating action; on the contrary, when it has attained a certain degree of intensity, it has the tendency to grow steadily more marked. As a matter of fact, each new unit of population brings his or her labor force, but not an adequate amount of capital; and, on the other hand, the richer a family the more difficult it is to make that wealth increase over a generation in the same ratio as the children, so as to ensure to each of them a fortune equal to that which their parents possessed. This holds good not only for material wealth, but also for personal capital accumulated by education and training. This gives rise to and intensifies the desire to limit the number of children.

Moreover, when a certain point has been reached, wealth is often accompanied by a regime of hypernutrition (which seems to weaken the biological powers of reproduction) and always by physical and intellectual pleasures which compete with the satisfactions of the sexual drive.

These several factors combine in determining a demographic cycle in the evolution of nations.

But here again we must bear in mind that the initial position may be not one of equilibrium but of disequilibrium, e.g., the country passing through an overpopulation crisis. In this case, the fact that the means of subsistence increase more rapidly than the population may be a factor of re-equilibration, and will be followed by a more rapid growth of the population, as a result of the relaxation of preventive and repressive checks. This is what is now happening in India.

Again, we should note that sometimes economic expansion and the growth of population, while exercising a reciprocal influence on one another, may not be the consequence one of the other, but both may be concomitant manifestations of the cycle of evolution of a people, which involves a stage of demographic and economic expansion followed by a later stage of stagnation, and lastly by decline.

Let us now pass to the consideration of the different behavior of sales in relation to price variations.

When there is an exceptionally high demand or an exceptionally low supply of certain goods, prices rise and the number of purchasers is

limited. Equilibrium will be preserved if production, encouraged by higher prices, can be rapidly raised to the level required to meet the demand, thus bringing prices back to the equilibrium level.

But it may happen that the long time required for the production of goods (for example in agriculture) or outside hindrances (such as the lack of a certain kind of labor owing to general mobilization) or inadequate supplies of raw materials prevent production from responding to the encouragement afforded by higher prices. Even if it responds thereto, it may be inadequate to meet the national demand increased by certain special requirements such as those of reconstruction following wars or natural calamities. A deficit of said goods then arises in which sales, if left alone, tend to be correspondingly limited.

On the other hand, the price may be not a primary but a secondary phenomenon, owing to the creation of fictitious purchasing power either by inflation, or by the artificial expansion of credit. In such cases the larger means at the disposal of the market will facilitate purchases and increase the volume of sales. During the past war and postwar years, an ample recourse to inflation was generalized as a means of overcoming the crisis of underproduction, on the cessation of which a deflationary policy was adopted. Under such circumstances it is easy to see why rising prices were accompanied by a greater volume of sales, and falling prices by the stagnation of production and trade.

This does not mean, however, that any increase in the money circulation or any expansion of credit has the effect of raising proportionally the level of prices or of stimulating production and exchanges. The result of some statistical researches suggest, on the contrary, that, when the said increase or expansion is not too marked, some compensating factors occur (primarily through a reduced rapidity of circulation) so that the level of prices and volume of exchanges are not sensibly affected. Only when the money or credit inflation attains certain limits the equilibrium is broken and the effect is one of cumulative instead of compensating variations.

When the government controls money but not production, a pronounced inflation is the most convenient and reliable means at its disposal for encouraging productive activities during a period of scarcity. But when the government extends its control to cover production, as has been the case of recent years in many countries, the same result can be secured by the direct regulation of factory activities.

It is not, however, certain that this means of propulsion is advisable

in all cases in which production is found to be abnormally low. Such a low level may indeed be due to reaction against depression caused by overproduction. In such a case, recourse to inflation, or compulsory activity required of production, would be a mistake comparable to that of trying to cure an attack of indigestion by administering a tonic instead of ordering a fast, or worse still by endeavoring to follow a normal diet.

Let us attempt a similar examination of the several effects which the rise of the death rate may have on the birth rate. Let us take, first of all, the case in which such a rise may be considered as a primary phenomenon in relation to the ratio between births and deaths, inasmuch as it does not depend on circumstances (economic factors, for instance) also affecting the birth rate. Under such circumstances, there is a tendency in each family group to fill the gap made by death. The death of a baby leads to, or at least hastens, the birth of another; the death of a mother or elder sister may induce the son to marry so that the household may be run by a competent woman; the death of the head of the family breaks up the group, and encourages those members who have not already done so to form each a family of his own. When these means are inadequate to compensate the losses entailed by an exceptionally high death rate, there arises a scarcity of population as compared to the demand for brain and muscle. The economic difficulties which hindered marriage or limited the number of offspring are reduced; the stimulus to emigration declines; immigration is attracted. On the other hand, an exceptionally high death rate is generally of a selective character, so that the average vitality of the survivors is above normal. Population balance sheets, both as the result of the natural and the social movement, thus leave an active margin of an exceptional character which soon re-establishes the lost equilibrium.

But all this is based on the supposition that the unusually high death rate does not exceed certain limits of degree and duration. If it should, the social organization would be upset and the demand for manual and brain work instead of increasing, would decline. In extreme cases in which the death rate reaches alarming heights, married people try to avoid having and rearing children, and society rapidly goes to pieces.

But here again another hypothesis must be considered, i.e., when the exceptional death rate is not the cause but the effect of disequilibrium, as when it is determined by economic depressions or by transitory adverse climatic conditions. This is indeed more frequently the case. And

then not only does the high death rate not have the effect of improving the assets and reducing the debits of the demographic balance sheets, but on the contrary the birth rate falls and immigration declines, while the tendency to emigrate increases. All these phenomena, no less than the high death rate itself, represent reactions to secure readjustment to the economic and climatic disequilibrium. Disequilibrium of this description is, on the other hand, of a transitory character. When economic or climatic conditions again become normal, the population is found to be scanty. The lack of balance is then felt in the opposite direction, and the death rate, the birth rate, and the migratory movement react in the opposite direction to that just described.

In a similar manner can the different theories on the effects of migration and wars be harmonized.

If we start with an equilibrium between demographic and economic conditions which a migratory movement upsets, then in the country of emigration the birth rate will tend to rise and the death rate to fall, while vice versa in the country of immigration we shall find a fall in the birth rate and a rise in the death rate. In both cases there is a tendency to re-establish the equilibrium, in conformity with what we may describe as the American theory, by securing the same level of population which would have been attained had the disturbance caused by emigration not occurred.

If instead there be a disequilibrium between demographic and economic conditions, under which emigration is caused by overpopulation and immigration by underpopulation, then emigration corrects the excess and immigration the deficiency, in accordance with what we may term the European theory. It may happen, of course, that it be corrected only partially since the re-equilibrating mechanisms do not always work in full. Sometimes, on the contrary, as though acted on by the force of inertia, it happens that they exceed the mark, and emigration from a given country persists even when the surplus population has been absorbed, and immigration into another country continues after the deficit has been made up.

Of course the possibility is not excluded—indeed it often happens—that the migratory movement occurs between two countries which, from the point of view we are considering, are in different conditions, the one being in a state of equilibrium, the other of disequilibrium. It is precisely from this diversity—real or supposed—that there often arises the clash of interests between emigration and immigration countries.

Many of the above considerations hold good for wars.

If the effects of a war interfere with the pre-existing demographic-economic equilibrium, when the disturbance ceases the losses tend to be rapidly repaired by a recovery of the birth rate, a decline of the death rate, and a particularly favorable balance of migratory movements. And this explains why, if we consider the matter over periods of considerable duration, the growth curve for population often reveals no marked decline in relation to war periods. Of course this presupposes, on the one hand, that the war losses do not (on account of the excessive violence or prolonged duration of hostilities) exceed a given limit beyond which the vitality of the nation might be endangered; on the other hand, it presupposes that wars do not follow one another in too rapid succession, so that they may allow time for the machinery of re-equilibration to perform, on each occasion, its healing task.

This work of repairing losses is not called into play when the initial position is one of overpopulation, which is often a concomitant cause, if not indeed the primary cause, of war. It does not come into play, unless—as not infrequently happens—the direct or indirect losses caused by the war and the consequent decline in the birth rate, go beyond the extent needed for restoring equilibrium, so that a condition of overpopulation makes way for one of underpopulation.

The nature and effects of wars differ moreover very greatly with the degree of development of the countries. It is evidently much easier to find a condition of overpopulation when a nation is in a period of expansion than when it is stagnant or declining; therefore, wars representing re-equilibrating reactions are more likely to occur during the former than during the latter stages. On the other hand, if the war has led to underpopulation, the recovery from war losses is easier during the stage of expansion.

Here we undoubtedly have one of the causes which explain why wars play a larger part in the life of nations during the stage of expansion than during those of stagnation and decline. But probably this is not the only reason. National like individual characteristics develop harmoniously. Periods characterized by a notable increase of population are generally those in which nations develop the spirit of enterprise, sometimes of adventure. On the other hand, conservative tendencies prevail during the stages of stagnation and decline. Thus nature supplies nations with the psychological preparation which enables them to

avail themselves of the demographic resources with which they are likewise endowed by nature.

The different psychology of a people in the various stages of its development also accounts for the different effects on reproductivity, which at one time were and now are ascribed to unemployment, and those which on several occasions, have been and are ascribed to the subdivision of the family estate, and to the splitting up of or, vice versa, to the concentration of landed property. The fact is that very often our reasoning is only the accommodating advocate of our instincts. During the youthful stages of national development, the preponderating instinct of reproduction prevails over hedonistic considerations, reason finds the justification for its satisfaction in those very circumstances which, when the ratio of power between the two tendencies is reversed, will be invoked in favor of the opposite line of conduct.

This diverse psychology also helps to explain the drastically different reactions of backward peoples caused by contacts with higher civilizations. A people which have entered the stage of decadence or which are proceeding towards decline are crystallized in their traditional organization. Faced by unforeseen situations, they lack that adaptability which may become a condition of survival. Having lost their old habits, they are unable to assimilate new ones; having lost their own ideals, the all-powerful instinct of life is unable to suggest others; nor are they able to adapt alien ideals to their own needs. When brought into contact with a different civilization their own organization breaks down irreparably, and their physiques are unable to resist the inroads of imported diseases or exotic vices. Such a people die out, sterile and despairing. This was the fate of the Tasmanians; this is the fate impending for many of the primitive peoples of Australasia, of the Arctic and Antarctic lands, and of the equatorial jungles. How different have been the reactions of other peoples full of life such as the Japanese, the Hindus, the Arabs, the Bantus, and some of the American Indian tribes. Brought in contact with superior civilization, they preserve their own views on life; if other beliefs are forced on them, as in the case of the peoples of the New World, they adapt them to their own psychology which, beneath the surface of the new varnish, continues only slightly modified; their own social and family organization is frequently injured by the introduction of foreign factors, ill-suited to it, but sooner or later it reconciles itself to them, and not infrequently it takes wise

advantage of them. Imported microbes and vices, against which the individual and social organism had not acquired immunity, do not fail to produce their pernicious effects, but the strong constitution resists and soon adapts itself to them. Numerical growth does not cease—sometimes, indeed, it is accentuated—and the newly assimilated culture not infrequently helps to stimulate in a marked degree technical and economic evolution.

The object of science is to discover order in apparent disorder. This article will have made a scientific contribution to the social sciences if, as I hope, it has succeeded in co-ordinating into a systematic whole, discordant views and seemingly contradictory observations.

The Life Cycle of Nebraska Rural Churches

A. B. Hollingshead

STUDENTS of rural religious institutions have reached the general consensus that the pioneer generation organized too many churches, creating, in most localities, a seriously overchurched condition.¹ This has resulted in the gradual death of a large proportion of rural churches both in the villages and the open country. The present study substantiates this general thesis. Data, classified according to denomination, are presented concerning the organization of congregations, the building of edifices, the maintenance of churches, and, finally, their death. Emphasis is given to interpreting the factors conditioning each phase of the process rather than describing its operative aspects.

Generalizations presented in this paper are based on data collected in three eastern Nebraska counties (Cass, Saline, Seward), covering the entire period of white settlement (1854-1935). These counties are preponderantly agricultural;² every community in them is definitely rural, although one center, Plattsmouth, has 3,793 inhabitants.

The principal sources of data are denominational records, records of individual churches, local histories, newspapers, and personal interviews. The writer realizes that the sources used vary in reliability, but they are the only ones available for an investigation of this nature. The data cover two well-defined periods. The first extended from the beginning of settlement to about 1890, and the second, from 1890 to the present. These correspond to the successional stages and time sequences developed for the Middle West by Ross.³

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¹ C. O. Gill and G. Pinchot, *Six Thousand Country Churches* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 8; H. N. Morse and E. deS. Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923), chap. iii; E. deS. Brunner, G. S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten, *American Agricultural Villages* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927).

² For an analysis of the agriculture of this region, see Walter Hansen, "Dissected Drift Plain of Southeastern Nebraska," *Economic Geography*, XII (1936), 382-391.

³ J. B. Ross, "The Agrarian Changes in the Middle West," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXV (1910), 625-637.

Fourteen denominations are represented in the 34 communities included in this study. These were classed into two groups by the investigator, nine being placed in one and five in the other. These will hereafter be referred to as Group A⁴ and Group B.⁵ The basis of distinguishing them was twofold: the first referred to the denomination's policy toward membership; the second grew out of the nationality composition. Denominations represented in Group A were, during the pioneer period, primarily concerned with individual salvation;⁶ their members were almost entirely recruited from pioneer American stock. Most of the denominations in this group held rigidly to the idea that each person must work out his own salvation. He might do so within a particular denomination, through the scriptures, by conversion, or he might be "saved" by one denomination and still be a member of another, as each denomination, within limits, recognized the validity of another's teaching. Extreme emphasis, in most of these denominations, was placed upon missionary drives, revivals, and individual proselyting.

Denominations in Group B did not use the revival technique, either in converting new members or retaining the old ones. On the other hand, they placed great emphasis on Christian nurture; they denied the validity of an individual's interpretation of the scriptures. Members of these denominations had to seek salvation within the church's doctrines, rather than in the scriptures, or in the teachings of another denomination. The vast majority of their members, during the pioneer era, were immigrants or first-generation Americans. These differences in theological outlook and the nativity of the membership have been conditioning factors in the life cycle of the churches in this group. The rôles these factors have played will be evident when we come to the presentation of data on the phases of the life cycle.

II

THE CONGREGATION-FORMING PROCESS

As soon as Nebraska Territory was opened for settlement, ministers of the denominations represented in Group A entered the pioneer

⁴ Group A includes the following denominations: Adventist, Baptist, Christian Brethren, Christ Scientist, Congregational, Latter-day Saint, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Brethren.

⁵ Group B is composed of these: Catholic, Episcopal, Evangelical, Lutheran, and Mennonite.

⁶ For a discussion of this point see: Warren H. Wilson, *The Evolution of the Country Community* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1923), pp. 11-16.

settlements. They brought the gospel to the frontiersmen⁷ before they had a chance to backslide from their last revivalistic conversion.⁸ On the frontier, ministers were usually itinerants making their way from one settlement to another and gathering the faithful into meetings. Assemblies were at first held in tents, groves, and the dugouts of private families; after houses and schoolhouses were built, these became the places of worship. Congregations consisted of six or eight of the stalwarts in the faith.⁹ Normally congregations were formed as soon as settlement had advanced sufficiently that there were enough people of a particular faith in a neighborhood or nascent community center for a preaching point to be established by the circuit rider. The little group meeting in an isolated farm house, a rude dugout, a sod or log schoolhouse, was soon augmented by new settlers and by those converted at the periodic revivals, or through continuous individual proselyting by lay brethren.

The frontier fringe of settlement also carried into Nebraska a few communicants of every denomination represented in Group B, with the exception of the Mennonites. Each of these denominations dispatched to the new territory missionary priests who held services, according to the practices of their faith, for the widely scattered settlers.¹⁰ As the frontier was pushed farther westward and the country settled up, more communicants came from centers farther east and from Europe. The clergy realized that if their people were to remain "stalwarts in the faith" they must be gathered into colonies where a parish could be organized and a priest maintained. With this in mind the Catholic, Evangelical, and Lutheran denominations consistently gathered their communicants into colonies, integrated around the church. A part of this policy was a well-organized system of directing new immigrants to a neighborhood where other communicants were located. Under the guidance of church officials, religious colonies representative of the

⁷ For histories of these early ministers' activities see: M. A. Bullock, *Congregational Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1905); Julius F. Schwarz, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Nebraska* (Omaha, 1924), pp. 29-210; A. D. Williams, *Four Years of Co-operation* (Kenesaw, Nebraska, 1888); David Marquette, *History of Nebraska Methodism, 1854-1904*; A. K. Gergers, *The Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, 1913).

⁸ Marquette, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁹ A. T. Andreas, *History of Nebraska* (Chicago, 1882), pp. 474, 476, 483, 1344, 1346, 1412, 1413, and 1416.

¹⁰ Diocese of Lincoln, *Chancery Records* (Catholic); Diocese of Nebraska, *Bishop's Private Records* (Episcopal); Monsignor Shine, "Diocese of Lincoln," in J. S. Morton, *History of Nebraska*, II, 458; Evangelical and Lutheran documents in various churches; also interviews with Evangelical and Lutheran ministers.

denominations in Group B were formed in villages and in the open country.

The responsibility, both in Europe and America, was placed on the migrant to go where a congregation of his faith already existed, or, at least, where people of his acquaintance were settling. Information given to the emigrants when they left the home community easily enabled them to find fellow villagers or countrymen in Nebraska. When a family located on the open prairies, apart from other families of the faith, it was its Christian duty to see that more families came so a congregation could be organized as soon as possible. This generalization applies to Lutherans, Evangelicals, and Catholics. The Episcopalians did not pursue this policy. The results are apparent in Table II.

The Mennonites developed a form of social organization so different from the other denominations that it merits separate mention. This denomination extends itself through definitely organized colonies sent out from old established communities.¹¹ When this group settles in a new place it attempts to buy all the available land. This inevitably produces a homogeneous Mennonite neighborhood. As the children mature and marry, this closely knit in-group grows through natural

TABLE I

ORGANIZATION OF CONGREGATIONS, ERECTION OF EDIFICES, AND DEATH OF CONGREGATIONS FOR GROUPS A AND B, BY YEARS, 1854-1935.

Period	Congregations Organized		Edifices Built		Congregations Died	
	Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B
1854-55	11	..	..	..	..	..
1856-60	21	3	3	1	..	..
1861-65	14	..	..	1	2	..
1866-70	25	8	8	3	2	..
1871-75	41	17	17	4	7	..
1876-80	26	10	24	12	16	..
1881-85	23	14	29	18	5	1
1886-90	13	13	13	13	1	1
1891-95	7	4	9	8	15	1
1896-00	5	1	8	5	32	3
1901-05	1	5	4	4	9	1
1906-10	1	2	1	2	11	1
1911-15	1	..	1	1	8	1
1916-20	..	..	..	..	7	2
1921-25	..	..	..	..	3	1
1926-30	..	1	..	..	3	1
1931-35	..	..	..	..	9	..
1854-1935	188	78	117	72	128	13

¹¹ For a general history of this group in America, see J. S. Hartzler and Daniel Kauffman, *Mennonite Church History* (Scottsdale, Pa., 1905).

accretion. To avoid what they call "branch-binding," one or two very pious families are selected to go forth and find a suitable site for a new colony. Thus in the spring of 1873, one Abraham Stutzman, with his wife and children, came to Nebraska to found a colony. By 1876, the new colony was well established on the high prairies of Seward County. In that year a congregation was formally organized. This occurred in the open country six miles from a village. The parent body has grown so large that three additional country churches have been founded within the counties studied.

Denominations represented in Group A entered and organized congregations in Nebraska Territory immediately after it was opened to settlement (Table I). By the end of 1855 five denominations had organized.¹² Denominations in Group B were not represented until 1860, when three congregations in this group¹³ were located in the nascent town of Plattsmouth. Until after the close of the Civil War these were the only denominations of Group B which organized congregations. During this same period, seven denominations in Group A were actively organizing new congregations among the pioneer American settlers. The organization of 14 congregations by denominations in Group A, during the war period, in contrast to none in Group B, was conditioned by the composition of the pioneer population. Of the settlers who located in Cass County between April 1, 1860, and April 15, 1865, 91.1 per cent were native-born Americans.¹⁴ This was the only county settled before the close of the Civil War. By 1868 the settlement pattern was well laid down in the three counties studied, and congregations were rapidly being organized by most of the denominations. It should be noted that congregation-forming reached its highest point in both groups in 1875. From then on it gradually slowed and ceased by 1890. In general, the formation of congregations was conditioned by three factors: (1) the composition of population in the newly formed community centers and open country; (2) the rapidity of settlement before, during, and after the Civil War until all the land was settled; and (3) the rapid formation of all basic community institutions as soon as settlement occurred. The congregation-forming phase in the life cycle of churches reflected and was concomitant with the

¹² Baptist, Christian Disciples, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Brethren.

¹³ Catholic, Episcopal, Lutheran.

¹⁴ Manuscript copy of *United States Census*, 1860; *Nebraska Territory*, Cass County; *Territorial Census*, Nebraska, 1865. These manuscripts are located in the Nebraska State Historical Society Library, Lincoln, Nebraska.

process of settlement. Another manifestation of this was the relationship between the percentages of native and foreign-born in the total population and the percentage of congregations organized by each group. By the end of the pioneer period, 1890, the foreign-born constituted 21.4 per cent of the total population in Cass County, 30.0 per cent in Saline County, and 23.0 per cent in Seward County. The percentages of foreign-born in the population closely approximate the per cent (29.3) of congregations organized by the denominations in Group B. The obverse of this is the close approximation of the percentage of native-born Americans in the population of each county to the percentage of congregations organized by denominations in Group A.

III

ERECTION OF CHURCH EDIFICES

The erection of a church edifice by a congregation in a pioneer Nebraska community was a difficult undertaking. It involved raising funds from families struggling with an adverse environment for a bare existence. Setting aside a sum for the building fund meant a real sacrifice, yet the average family, in all probability, readily gave what it could. Raising the initial fund was only a minor portion of the problem. Other aspects were equally serious. These included the transportation of building materials hundreds of miles, by rail, boat, or freight wagon, and the actual erection of the structure by men busy with urgent everyday tasks. No native timber, stone, or other building materials were readily available. Scarcity of money, the extreme poverty of the average family, and the small membership in each congregation, all made the erection of a building a major undertaking. The building of a church edifice, except in the Missouri River towns, in view of the difficulties just mentioned, perforce had to await the coming of the railroads, settlement of the country, and above all the creation of an economic surplus.

The erection of an edifice marked the second phase of institutionalization. This lagged behind the first, both temporarily and numerically. Before 1896, 226 congregations were organized, but only 163 edifices had been erected by the same date. The modal time-lag between organizing congregations and erecting buildings was 10 years. The typical denomination gradually organized congregations from 1856 to 1870;

then followed a five-year period of exceedingly rapid growth, concomitant with the coming of the railroads; and, after 1875 the average denomination greatly curtailed its organizing activities. Then came the task of building. In 1870, the average denomination possessed less than two buildings, although it had seven congregations. Between 1872 and 1885, it built edifices at an almost constant rate. Then the movement slowed and after 1895 it almost ceased, only a few buildings being erected at later dates.

The first two phases in the life cycle were practically complete by the end of the pioneer era. The first was well developed by 1875, the second by about 1885. The first was contingent upon settlement in the emergent villages, towns, and on the countryside; the second had to await the development of the community structures so easily and hastily organized in the first hectic pioneer years. The differential rates of erecting edifices between Groups A and B can be seen by observation of Table I.

The third and fourth phases are not clear cut. It is difficult to demonstrate statistically the existence of the third without a careful comparative study of individual church budgets, the personnel of the ministry, membership, attendance, and the attitudes of the members (both active and inactive) over a relatively long period. Another recognized but unsolved problem was the determination of the points at which phase two ended and three began and ended. The same observation applied to the fourth phase. The investigator abandoned these problems after a time; first, because of their magnitude and, second, because in most cases the data do not exist for such an analysis. Nevertheless, such a genetic study would be of great value in throwing light upon the dynamic processes involved in the rise and decline of institutional structures.

IV

DEATH OF CONGREGATIONS

Decadence has characterized religious institutions in the communities studied since the early 1890's. The pioneer era, in contrast to the present, was dominated by growth in all institutional structures. The spatial and numerical patterns of the communities were fully developed by the late 1880's. The population in each county reached its peak in 1890; since then there has been a constant decrease in each. Between

1890 and 1930 the decrease of population in these counties has been: Cass, 26.8 per cent; Saline, 13.7 per cent; and Seward, 1.9 per cent. The rapid settlement, coupled with the accompanying exploitation, accounted for the increases in population during the pioneer era. Consolidation of community structures in terms of new techniques in farming, marketing, transportation, and communication has dominated the present period. Institutional structures and population had to readjust themselves to the ecological base created by the new way of life. This readjustment has been going on for the last 40 years.

A series of severe droughts began in 1890 and lasted through 1895. Coincident with this major disaster occurred the devastating economic depression of the 1890's, which froze the credit so badly needed in new communities and forced upon debtors the liquidation of obligations contracted during the flush-money years of the preceding decade. A parsimonious nature, combined with economic maladjustment, precipitated the high-plains communities into a crisis. Depopulation was accompanied by institutional disintegration. Religious denominations lost members, ministers' salaries were cut, many went unpaid, while all religious activities were seriously curtailed.¹⁵ In spite of increased zeal on the part of the faithful, churches began to close, because they were too weak numerically and too poor financially to support a minister and other ecclesiastical necessities. Religious institutions, like other phases of community activity, never recovered from the shock created by the events of the 1890's. Disintegration, which became perceptible then, has continued to the present.

Table I (columns 5 and 6) shows that the death of congregations really began during the Civil War, but the tendency was offset throughout the pioneer era by the rapid organization of congregations (columns 1 and 2). Although the organization of congregations was a rather steady movement until the beginning of the 1890's, a period of widespread deaths occurred in the decade, 1873-1882. This was conditioned by serious grasshopper devastations and droughts. The next period of dissolution which began in 1892 has continued to the present. This one has not been offset by the organization of new congregations.

Observation of Table II will show that most of the deaths have been concentrated in Group A. The mortality figures are extremely high for

¹⁵ For a description of the steps in this process see: W. F. Kumlien, "The Social Problem of the Church in South Dakota," *Bulletin No. 294*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota, 1935, p. 36.

all denominations in this group, except for the Adventist and Christian Scientist, numerically weak congregations. In Group B, only the Episcopal has had a high mortality rate. This is a very significant fact for, during the pioneer era, the Episcopal was the only denomination in Group B that did not foster colony building as the foundation for a parish. Like denominations in Group A, it merely organized missionary parishes wherever a few of its communicants had settled. This time-honored system did not function under the conditions laid down in farming communities settled by different nationalities possessing different cultural heritages.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF CONGREGATIONS ORGANIZED, EDIFICES BUILT, CONGREGATIONS DIED, AND CONGREGATIONS ALIVE IN 1935, BY DENOMINATIONS, 1854-1935

GROUP A

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Congregations Organized</i>	<i>Edifices Built</i>	<i>Congregations Died</i>	<i>Congregations Alive in 1935</i>
Adventist.....	2	1	1	1
Baptist.....	23	14	20	3
Christian.....	24	15	17	7
Christ Scientist.....	2	1	.....	2
Congregational.....	29	16	25	4
Latter Day Saints.....	6	4	2	4
Methodist.....	62	41	30	32
Presbyterian.....	16	11	15	1
United Brethren.....	24	14	20	4
Total.....	188	117	130	58

GROUP B

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Congregations Organized</i>	<i>Edifices Built</i>	<i>Congregations Died</i>	<i>Congregations Alive in 1935</i>
Catholic.....	18	15	3	15
Episcopal.....	7	6	4	3
Evangelical.....	20	19	5	15
Lutheran.....	29	28	1	28
Mennonite.....	4	4	..	4
Total.....	78	72	13	65

The data of Table II translated into the relatives of Table III indicate the extent of relative decadence between Groups A and B.

Of 266 congregations organized, a total of 143, or 53.8 per cent, has died. Denominations in Group A comprised 90.9 per cent of all closed congregations. This differential in mortality between Groups A and B can be explained only in terms of culture traits characteristic of the Old American stock and the European peasant who came to this country as an immigrant farmer.

The immigrant settlers transplanted many of their European culture traits to the Nebraska countryside and village, where some are flourishing, others dying out. Among the present healthy survivors are religious ideas and attitudes toward the ownership of land. The foreign-born settlers were avid for land. In their peasant ideology land was the most precious and enduring form of wealth. Many of them came to America for land, and the majority bought it as fast as their resources would permit. Catholic, Lutheran, Evangelical, and Mennonite church leaders supported their land-hungry communicants in their desire for land, and more land. In turn, the landowners supported the church. The church functionaries knew that landowners are normally the least mobile elements in the population and that they are the most reliable in the support of community institutions. Each colony founded by these denominations was integrated around a church. As the colony grew from natural accretion, the church grew proportionately.

TABLE III
RELATIVE DECADENCE BETWEEN GROUPS A AND B

<i>Group</i>	<i>Organized</i>	<i>Closea</i>	<i>Alive in 1935</i>
A	70.7	90.9	47.2
B	29.3	9.1	52.8

The pioneer American, in contrast to the immigrant settler, viewed the ownership of land in a casual way. He had always settled on cheap land, partially developed it, then sold when a good offer came. This has been the rule in eastern Nebraska. Thus, as the immigrant settlers and their descendants have bought land the pioneer American stock has migrated from community after community. In consequence, descendants of the immigrant settlers now own the majority of the land in the counties studied;¹⁶ the churches their forefathers founded are vigorous in the furtherance of religious ideals. The churches founded by the Old American stock have gradually died as their descendants have been pushed out of these communities by the ever invading groups who came as immigrants during the pioneer era.

CONCLUSION

The institutionalization process exhibited in the life cycle of rural churches in eastern Nebraska temporally and numerically falls into four sequential phases. The first may be designated as the organization

¹⁶ This point will be demonstrated in a forthcoming paper.

of congregations in newly settled communities. The second, the erection of church edifices, emerged after a community center or neighborhood developed a certain degree of consensus, economic stability, social differentiation, and individual congregations attained numerical strength. The third phase was marked by the maintenance of the congregation, paying for the edifice, and the support of a pastor. The fourth phase gradually developed out of the third; it was characterized by the gradual decline in membership, the loss of the minister, the abandonment of regular services, and, finally, the death of the church.

The present status of the different denominations in these communities can only be understood in the light of the historical circumstances sketched in this paper. During the pioneer era two types of religious organization were embodied in the founding and development of churches in community centers and in the open country. Denominations in Group A were primarily concerned with saving souls. The ecclesiastical organization was entirely subordinated to this one idea. The church was not an integrating factor in community life; it sent its clergy to the lonely pioneer so he could be saved. Denominations ruthlessly competed with each other for the privilege. As a result, several churches were organized in a locality populous enough for only one or two. As the community matured, many churches, weakened by competition, were forced to disband. Denominations in Group B were interested in the expansion of an ecclesiastical organization rather than the saving of souls. These denominations are essentially authoritarian in their outlook, in contrast to those in Group A. They maintain that the church is the center of life. Motivated by this ideology, they established churches only where their communicants were forming colonies. Every denomination in Group B, except the Episcopal, actively entered into and directed this process. When a congregation was organized the local representatives of the denomination became active in community affairs. The church became an integrator of community life. It supported the basic cultural values held by its communicants. As the families belonging to these respective denominations have expanded, the church has helped them to realize their ambitions. In spite of the many changes which have swept over this area in the last half century, these churches have steadfastly held their position in their respective communities.

In the light of the data presented in this paper, it seems necessary to conclude that the death of rural churches is a resultant of many factors. We cannot attribute the death of a church to its spatial position alone,

to changes in material culture, the rise of "rurbanization," or any other single factor. On the contrary, we should carefully analyze the historico-cultural configurations which have motivated the phenomena caught in the data-net of a schedule.

Trends in the Fertility of Married Women of Different Social Groups in Certain Rural Areas of North Carolina

C. Horace Hamilton and Marguerite York

METHOD

THE TREND in the fertility of living married women may be determined by means of a simple survey in which the following basic items of information are obtained for each married woman: (1) age, or year of birth; (2) age at time of marriage or year of marriage; and (3) age at time each birth occurred or the year in which each birth occurred.¹ Supplementary data regarding residence, color, occupation, tenure, education, relief status, etc., are, of course, necessary for analyzing the rates and trends of fertility in different groups.

In this study, the rate used is:²

$$\frac{\text{Number of births}}{\text{Number of married women}} \quad (1)$$

A somewhat more logical type of note would be

$$\frac{\text{Number of births}}{\text{Total number of births that could have occurred}} \quad (2)$$

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¹ This is the third of a series of papers concerning the general subject of population trends in North Carolina.

The data for this paper were taken from a study made in 1935 by the division of rural sociology of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration and the Division of Social Research of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (now the Works Progress Administration).

This paper is a contribution from the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station and is published with the approval of the director as Paper Number 90 of the Journal Series.

² This formula applies to married women of a specific age class and to a specific time interval, the age classes being of the order 15-19, 20-24, etc. and the time interval being one year. See Raymond Pearl, "Third Progress Report on a Study of Family Limitation," *The Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XIV (1936), 276.

In order to determine the size of the denominator of formula (2), it would be necessary either to know or to assume the maximum possible frequency of births to a given group of women. For instance, if 10 months were the assumed minimum interval between consecutive births, then it is mathematically possible for 1,000 women to give birth to 1,200 babies during a 12-month interval.³

A slightly different statement of formula (2) is

$$\frac{\text{Aggregate amount of time spent in pregnancy and childbirth}}{\text{Aggregate amount of time available for pregnancy and childbirth}} \quad (3)$$

One thousand married women, for instance, would have in the course of one year, an aggregate of 12,000 months available for child bearing. The proper use of this formula would involve, as with formula (2), a knowledge of the actual time consumed in each childbirth. If this fact were not known, then an interval of nine, 10, or more months might be assumed. However, unless some knowledge is available as to the actual time involved in each childbirth, then formulas (2) and (3) have little advantage over formula (1).

One advantage of formula (3) is that no corrections are needed to adjust for the interval between marriage and the birth of the first child, because the risk of pregnancy presumably begins very soon after marriage. The use of formula (3) would also eliminate all argument or confusion as to *whether or not a married woman is at risk of childbirth during pregnancy*.

The fact is, formulas (2) and (3) merely give recognition to the fact that pregnancy and childbirth are different parts of the same event which is of approximately nine months' duration.⁴

No deceased women have been included in this survey. Unless the fertility rates of deceased women were significantly different from those of the living women, the method used would yield representative rates for earlier years⁵—except for the influence of selective migration.

³ This assumes that the births are distributed more or less evenly over the 12-month time interval. If, however, 1,000 births occurred to 1,000 women in the first two or three months of the year, it is mathematically possible for 2,000 births to occur to the 1,000 women during one year. For the moment, multiple births may be ignored.

⁴ The elimination of pregnant women from the denominators of fertility or pregnancy rates is obviously erroneous. Some discussion of this point may be found in Livio Livi, "Sulla fecondita della donna coniugata secondo l'eta," *Revue de l'Institut International de Statistique*, III (1936), 380-387. A resume of the article is given in English.

⁵ See Frank W. Notestein, "The Relation of Fertility and Longevity in Married Women Dying after Child Bearing Period," *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XIV, (1936), 302-303.

Women who migrated from the areas studied have not been included in this study, while those migrating to the areas have been. The effect of this procedure is problematical. It is possible that the women who migrated to the cities had lower birth rates, in earlier years, than the women who remained in the country areas studied; and, hence, that a small downward bias would appear in the secular trend of the fertility rates of the women who remained in the areas. However, there are several good reasons for assuming that selective migration has had little, if any, significant effect upon the trends in the fertility of married women. In the first place, the ratio of migrant women to permanent residents in the areas studied is relatively low. Second, many of the migrant women evidently live in surrounding rural areas not greatly different from the ones surveyed. Third, many migrant married women migrated before their marriage.

DETAILED PROCEDURE

The detailed procedure used in this study may be briefly described as follows:

- (1) Collection of field data on the number and age of married women and on the number of births to these women each year from 1914 to 1934.
- (2) Sorting and tabulating the data so as to determine for each year the number of married women by five-year age groups, from 15 to 44 years of age, as well as the number of births to these women.⁶
- (3) Calculation of specific and adjusted fertility rates of married women, between 15 and 45 years of age.
- (4) Smoothing the adjusted rates obtained by means of a three-year moving average.⁷

DATA AND SAMPLING

The data on which this paper is based are taken from a study of 1,703 families located in the open-country areas of five North Carolina counties: Elevation Township, Johnston County; Red Springs Township, Robeson County; Beaver Dam Township, Richmond County; Colfax Township, Rutherford County; and Pelham Township, Caswell County.

From 300 to 500 households were surveyed in each area. About one-half of the households were in two Piedmont areas and the other half

⁶ An adjustment was made which had the effect of eliminating all women who had been married less than nine months.

⁷ The purpose of this procedure was to reduce the rate curves of the different groups to a form which would show long-time differences in trends with as little confusion as possible.

in the three Coastal Plain areas. The particular areas surveyed were selected because they were fairly representative of the predominating types of agriculture in the major areas of the state. Caswell County is located in the Old Tobacco Belt; Rutherford County in the Piedmont Cotton area; and Robeson, Richmond, and Johnston counties are in the Coastal Plain area. It cannot be said that the sample is representative of North Carolina or of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain regions. It is very likely, however, that the sample is representative of a relatively large area adjacent to the areas studied and of an indefinite nonadjacent area which is similar in agriculture and population.

The representativeness of the sample is further conditioned by the fact that only *married women living in the area at the time of the survey* were included. For reasons already mentioned, it is believed that the *mortality* and *migration* factors have not had any significant influence upon the general results.

GENERAL TRENDS IN FERTILITY

The adjusted fertility rate in the five rural areas studied dropped approximately 30 per cent between 1915 and 1934. See Table I and Figure 1. In 1915 the adjusted fertility rate was 339 per 1,000 married women as compared with only 233 in 1934. The highest fertility rate in the period was 344 in 1916 and the lowest was the 209 of 1931. A drop in the adjusted birth rate for 1919 and a rebound of the rate in 1920, fluctuations due to the war, were to be expected. A more reliable but less specific indication of the general trend is indicated in the figures by five-year periods. These figures represent the weighted-mean fertility rates for each five-year period. The mean fertility rate, adjusted for age, was 321 births per 1,000 married women during the 1915-19 period; 310, for the 1920-24 period; 260, for 1925-29; and 230 for 1930-34. The general smoothed curve, seen in Figure 1, indicates that the tendency for the birth rate to decline was apparently checked in 1932, 1933, and 1934. However, the small rise in 1934 is not significant, and furthermore, may be due to a rebound from the restraining influences of the depression.

TRENDS IN THE FERTILITY OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES

Table II and Figures 2 to 4 show the trends in the fertility of married women in different social classes. The number of cases in the sample permitted only a simple breakdown of the data on the basis of three classifications: viz., color, tenure status, and relief status.

WHITE AND COLORED

Although fertility rates of colored (Negro) women have been consistently higher than those of white women, the differences have not been so great in recent years. The fertility rate of colored women showed little tendency to decline before 1925, whereas the fertility rate of white women began dropping rapidly about 1921. Or, to put the results differently, there appears to be a lag of about four or five years

TABLE I

NUMBER OF MARRIED WOMEN 15-44 YEARS OF AGE, NUMBER OF BIRTHS TO MARRIED WOMEN, AND FERTILITY RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN (CRUDE, ADJUSTED, AND SMOOTHED-ADJUSTED) BY YEARS AND PERIODS, 1914 TO 1934

FIVE RURAL AREAS, NORTH CAROLINA, 1935

	<i>Number of married women 15 to 44 years of age</i>	<i>Number of births to married women</i>	<i>Fertility or birth rates</i>		
			<i>Crude</i>	<i>Adjusted*</i>	<i>Smoothed adjusted†</i>
All years	15,136	4,172	276	276	...
1930-1934	4,545	1,024	225	230	...
1925-1929	3,976	1,035	260	260	...
1920-1924	3,383	1,060	313	310	...
1915-1919	2,767	899	325	321	...
1934	958	216	225	233	...
1933	936	201	215	221	228
1932	904	211	233	236	225
1931	879	180	205	209	227
1930	868	216	249	255	241
1929	846	205	242	245	248
1928	820	203	248	248	253
1927	795	216	272	271	267
1926	768	215	280	280	273
1925	747	196	263	262	278
1924	714	223	312	309	291
1923	697	200	287	283	300
1922	684	225	329	325	306
1921	660	197	299	293	312
1920	628	215	342	339	316
1919	602	177	294	295	311
1918	581	188	324	317	310
1917	551	174	316	310	320
1916	533	186	349	344	334
1915	500	174	349	339	337
1914	465	154	331	328	...

*Adjusted to the average age distribution of the married women surveyed, over the entire period.

†Smoothed by means of weighted 3-year moving average; middle year receiving twice the weight of each adjacent year.

CRUDE AND ADJUSTED BIRTH RATES
(ALL GROUPS)

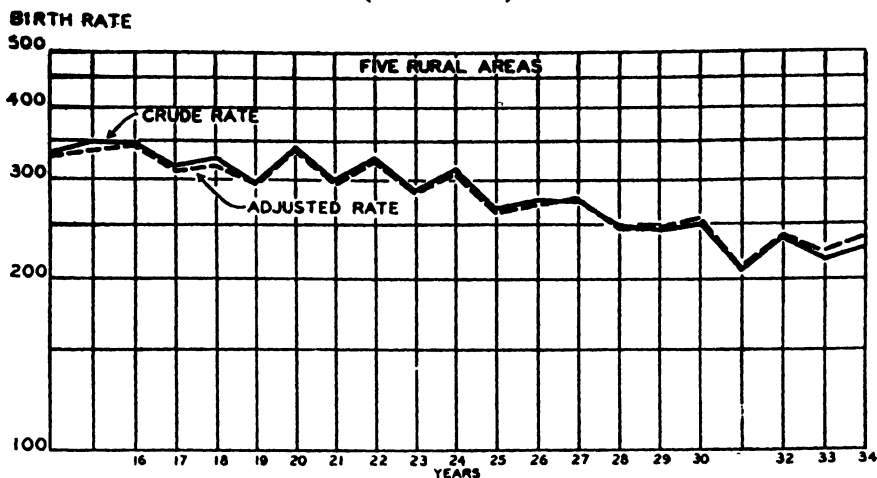


FIGURE 1. This chart shows the trend in births to married women, 15-44 years of age, in five rural areas of North Carolina. The rates (births per 1,000 married women) have been adjusted to the mean age distribution of the women in the sample during the entire period from 1914 to 1934. This adjustment made very little difference in the general trend of fertility.

in the decline of Negro fertility rates. The adjusted fertility rate of colored married women during the period 1930-34 was only 250 as compared to 248 for the white women during the period 1925-29.

RELIEF AND NONRELIEF

The differences in the fertility of relief and nonrelief women are greater than the differences noted in the color or tenure status classifications. As has been pointed out by Notestein,⁸ the real significance of the high fertility of relief women may be misinterpreted. Parents with large families of small children were quite naturally given preference by public relief agencies. As a matter of fact, the "relief" for many families meant medical care, milk, clothing, and school supplies for their children.

A study of the general trend of the fertility rates reveals no significant difference between relief and nonrelief women. Over a long period of time, the fertility rates of both groups have been dropping steadily. The peaks noted in the fertility rates of relief women in the years 1924 and 1930 are considered to be due largely to selection by relief agencies and to random fluctuations. The relatively low fertility rate of the

⁸ Frank W. Notestein, "The Fertility of Populations Supported by Public Relief," *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XIV (1936), 37-39.

TABLE II
ADJUSTED BIRTH OR FERTILITY RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN, 15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY COLOR, BY TENURE STATUS,
AND BY RELIEF STATUS, FROM 1914 TO 1934. FIVE RURAL AREAS, NORTH CAROLINA, 1935

Year	All groups		All white		All colored		All farm owner		All farm nonowner		All relief		All nonrelief	
	No. married women	Birth rate	No. married women	Birth rate	No. married women	Birth rate	No. married women	Birth rate	No. married women	Birth rate	No. married women	Birth rate	No. married women	Birth rate
All years	15,136	276	10,945	266	4,191	300	4,396	255	8,667	285	2,660	327	12,476	264
1930-1934	4,545	230	3,298	223	1,247	250	980	223	2,847	244	789	282	3,756	220
1925-1929	3,976	260	2,853	248	1,123	291	1,047	214	2,347	283	733	320	3,243	247
1920-1924	3,383	310	2,454	299	929	337	1,108	271	1,850	338	611	372	2,772	296
1915-1919	2,767	321	2,003	313	764	342	1,061	302	1,406	350	461	349	2,306	315
1934	958	233	701	229	257	242	187	262	612	248	163	275	795	225
1933	936	221	679	214	257	238	192	197	596	234	163	261	773	213
1932	904	236	655	226	249	270	199	239	565	240	157	275	747	229
1931	879	209	638	215	241	195	199	225	544	217	152	285	727	200
1930	868	255	625	234	243	312	203	185	531	288	154	332	714	239
1929	846	245	606	248	240	239	203	208	517	261	151	278	695	236
1928	820	248	586	234	234	275	205	188	495	274	150	281	670	241
1927	795	271	567	257	228	303	211	230	466	300	150	343	645	256
1926	768	280	554	267	214	317	212	208	444	306	144	341	624	261
1925	747	262	540	238	207	324	216	252	425	283	138	349	609	246
1924	714	309	521	296	193	365	216	236	400	354	132	426	582	279
1923	697	283	510	275	187	302	219	243	386	288	128	386	569	285
1922	684	325	497	307	172	372	225	306	374	352	122	333	562	327
1921	660	293	475	300	185	277	226	275	355	322	118	343	542	283
1920	628	339	451	316	177	405	222	287	335	380	111	409	517	323
1919	602	295	432	286	170	326	217	265	318	336	106	365	496	282
1918	581	317	420	330	161	284	215	327	325	303	103	321	478	315
1917	551	310	398	302	153	338	209	290	280	338	92	328	459	307
1916	533	344	388	313	145	419	212	279	264	415	85	306	448	351
1915	500	339	365	338	135	342	208	347	230	330	75	428	425	323
1914	465	328	337	306	128	386	200	245	217	389	66	333	399	326

*See footnote to Table I.

†White and colored women are included in the farm owner, farm nonowner, relief, and nonrelief groups. Similarly relief and nonrelief women are included in all other groups; owner and nonowner women are included in all other groups. In the breakdown by farm tenure, a small number of nonfarm women, included in the other groups, have been omitted.

BIRTH RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN BY COLOR (ADJUSTED AND SMOOTHED)

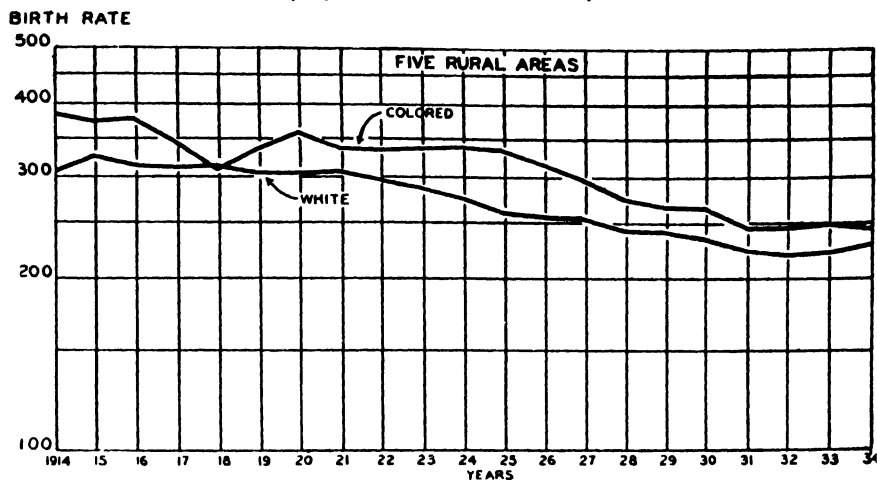


FIGURE 2. The fertility of colored women is declining at approximately the same rate as the fertility of white women; it lags behind the white rate by about five years.

BIRTH RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN BY RELIEF STATUS, 1934 (ADJUSTED AND SMOOTHED)

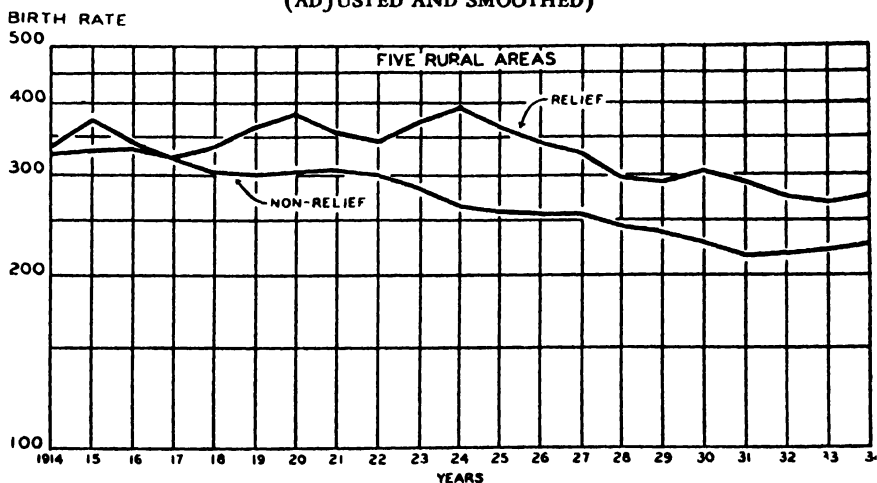


FIGURE 3. This chart illustrates the effect of selection of relief families on the differential birth rate. There is no indication here that the fertility of relief women since 1930 has shown any trend significantly different from that of women not on relief.

relief group before 1920 is due probably to the fact that women with nearly grown sons and daughters did not need relief as much as did those with younger children.

OWNER AND NONOWNER

The fertility of owner women (wives of farm owners) is on the average significantly lower than that of nonowner women (wives of

BIRTH RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN BY TENURE STATUS
(ADJUSTED AND SMOOTHED)

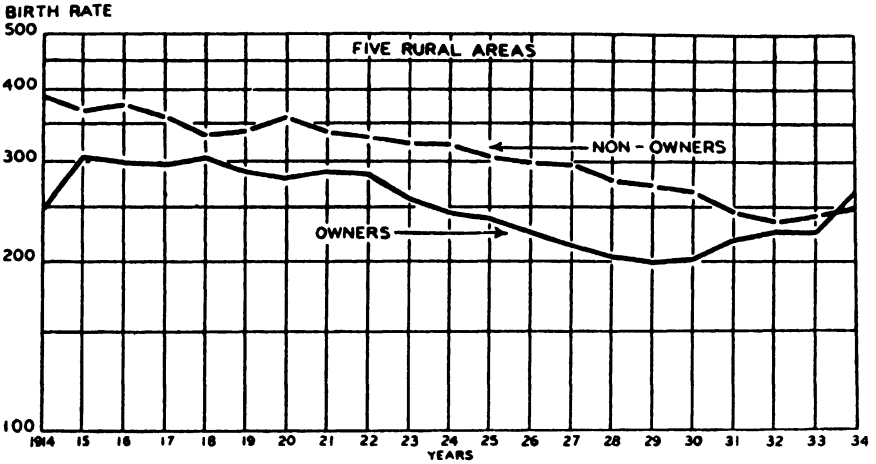


FIGURE 4. This chart shows the trends in the fertility of farm women—wives of owners as compared with nonowners. The rise in the owner rate since 1930 is probably significant. The fact that the difference between the rates of the two groups practically disappeared after 1931 is portentous—being in line with the data shown in previous charts.

ADJUSTED BIRTH RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN BY TENURE STATUS
(FIVE RURAL AREAS)

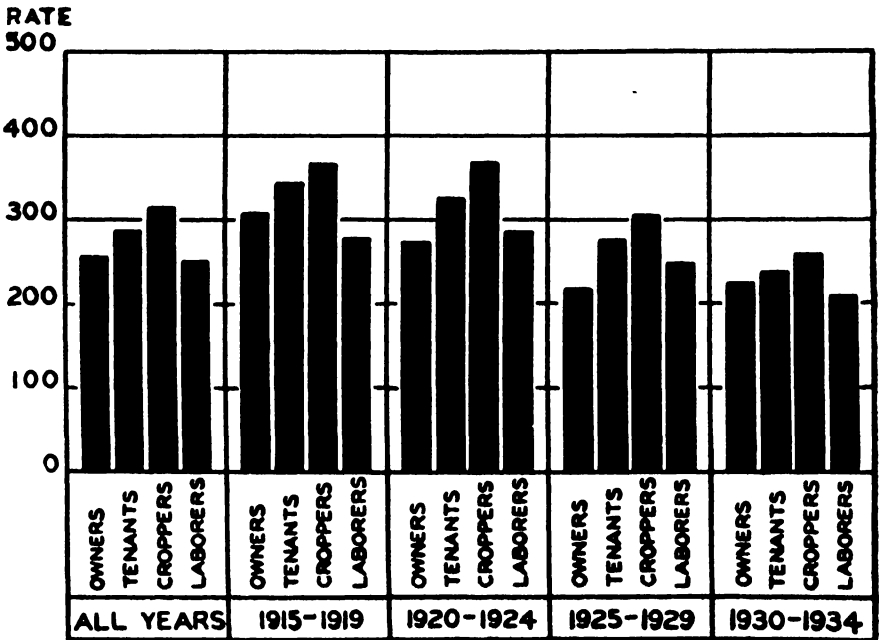


FIGURE 5. This chart compares the fertility rates of four tenure groups of farm women for four five-year periods. The uniformity of the differences for the four periods lends significance to the data. Differences in the period 1930-34 are significantly smaller than in previous periods.

TABLE III

FERTILITY OF MARRIED WOMEN, 15-44 YEARS OF AGE, BY TENURE STATUS IN
1934, DURING THE FOUR FIVE-YEAR PERIODS FROM 1915 TO 1935
FIVE RURAL AREAS, NORTH CAROLINA, 1935

Year and Group	Total Rates		Specific Rates					
	Crude	Adjusted	Age 15-19	Age 20-24	Age 25-29	Age 30-34	Age 35-39	Age 40-44
All groups								
All years	279	281	422	388	323	259	213	116
1930-34.	231	237	408	341	263	221	175	73
1925-29	261	262	365	347	303	258	198	118
1920-24	318	316	459	463	353	276	231	153
1915-19	331	329	470	411	402	307	279	133
All owners								
All years	228	254	404	370	285	217	178	124
1930-34	176	223	400	381	238	171	141	70
1925-29	192	214	374	293	233	191	139	126
1920-24	252	271	413	411	314	240	170	161
1915-19	287	302	489	383	341	271	260	136
All renters								
All years	292	285	428	395	328	261	233	100
1930-34	236	236	360	307	272	258	185	58
1925-29	282	273	450	365	314	258	210	98
1920-24	341	322	462	492	371	246	270	118
1915-19	350	343	426	438	410	289	333	157
All croppers								
All years	325	313	438	407	356	318	254	123
1930-34	268	259	444	355	273	244	209	98
1925-29	311	302	295	380	354	344	263	110
1920-24	382	365	538	480	380	356	298	186
1915-19	381	366	494	416	478	388	301	117
All farm laborers								
All years	275	250	387	351	309	206	195	88
1930-34	241	209	371	346	261	115	148	71
1925-29	261	249	333	273	266	215	262	179
1920-24	329	288	523	396	347	306	214	0
1915-19	331	278	513	420	423	250	117	0

tenants, share croppers, and farm laborers). However, the adjusted rate for owner married women in 1934 (262 per 1,000) was higher than it had been since 1922 when it was 306; and also higher than the adjusted rate for nonowner women in 1934. The greatest drop in the owner rate occurred before 1931, whereas during 1931 and after, the owner rate actually leveled off, with a slight tendency to rise.

Of the farm nonowner group, share croppers have the highest fertility rates, the average adjusted rate being 313 as compared with 285

for tenants, and 250 for farm laborers. See Table III and Figure 5. Here again, however, the selective factor is important, i.e., landlords prefer croppers with large families. Farm laborers with small families cannot obtain land as easily as croppers.

CONCLUSIONS

The fertility rates of rural and farm population groups in North Carolina have dropped from 30 to 35 per cent since 1915. This decline in fertility has evidently occurred in all classes of the population. The fertility rate reached a depression low in 1931; but excluding that year, there seems to be little relationship of fertility of married women to economic conditions. The popular belief that the fertility of relief women increased during the depression, and particularly, when they went on relief was found to have no foundation in fact. If the data available indicate anything of significance, it is that the fertility of the higher economic classes held up nearer normal during the depression than was the case for the lower economic groups.

The decline in the rural birth rate means that farm families are getting smaller; and that in the future, unless current trends change, the farms will not produce as large a surplus population as they have in the past. However, since young people do not migrate to the cities until they are nearly grown, it will be after 1940 before the rapid post-war drop in the birth rate begins to influence migration. The probability is that, between 1940 and 1950, the farm population will begin to decline in numbers perhaps to the extent that overpopulation in certain areas will cease to be a very serious problem. Abandoned farm land, however, may become a serious problem unless our present efforts to develop a system of soil conservation and to increase farm home ownership meet with more success than they have as yet.

The fact that several millions of our farm population are not now "needed" in the production of the food and raw materials necessary to sustain the nation merely means that, under a better system of wealth distribution, a larger percentage of the nation's population could live in towns and cities, being employed in professions, trades, businesses, and industry. One fundamental "cause," therefore, of the declining rural birth rate is the fact that the present economic order has failed to spread the fruits of technological advance present in industry and agriculture to all parts of society.

Another fundamental factor in the declining rural birth rate is the

changing standard of living of rural people. Compulsory education, higher standards of clothing, commercialized amusements, automobiles, radios, and other elements of an urban, mechanized environment are crowding children out. In recent years, also, there has been a quiet but rapid spread of birth control information through many channels. If these and other movements continue, the decline in the birth rate will also continue.

Should steps be taken by governmental or other public agencies to control the birth rate in any way? Does the state or the nation want its birth rate to decline, to rise, or, possibly, to remain stable? It is not the purpose of this paper to outline a population policy. It may not be amiss to suggest, however, that the nation's chief objective should be *a balanced birth rate*, that is, there are some families who should be encouraged to rear more children, and others to rear fewer children. Certainly many families, particularly of the lower economic strata, are unnecessarily large, and at the same time some of the well-to-do-groups rear too few children.

Notes

WARREN HUGH WILSON, 1867-1937

The death of Warren Wilson in the seventieth year of his life marks the passing of another of those who were pioneers in the Country Life Movement and in rural sociology. To many, Wilson is best known for his tremendous contribution to the rural church; but great as that was, his career was broader and more significant.

Born in a rural community in western Pennsylvania, educated at Oberlin, Wilson spent four years in Y. M. C. A. work with students, three of these years while attending Union Theological Seminary. He was then ordained into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. His first parish was Quaker Hill, New York, a rural community with a history and a tradition. He began his work there as the community was entering a transition period, readjusting itself to the impact of modern conditions. When the migration of its youth so weakened the Friend's meeting that it had to be closed, Wilson became by common consent the spiritual leader of the community and its social servant.

He grasped the tragedy to the Friends of the end of community life as they had known it but he grasped too the import of the social forces that caused the event. They seemed to point to the importance of the city as a field of service. He took a parish in Brooklyn. Here one of his elders felt that such a vigorous mind as Wilson's could serve them better with advanced training. He persuaded Wilson to attend Columbia and induced the church board to release him for sufficient time to complete this undertaking. At Columbia he became one of the first of those pioneers to take the doctorate under the master, Giddings. Giddings gave him back to rural America. Of the experience Wilson says:¹ "My master in this new adventure ordered me to make a study of the social population resident upon a rural hilltop in New York State, where I had begun my ministry. I begged him to give me something more important but he declined." His dissertation, *Quaker Hill*, was an exhaustive study of the community, past and present, from the sociological point of view. It was, I believe, the first thoroughgoing analysis of an American rural community. Published nearly 30 years ago, it has lost little of its value or its charm. It was written with scientific exactitude but with insight and feeling and with the vigor and stylistic skill that came to characterize everything that Wilson penned and said.² From that experience on he served the countryman.

In 1908 he became superintendent of the department of the church and country life of the Presbyterian Board of Home (now National) Missions, a position from which he was to have retired this spring. The title is significant.

¹ *The Second Missionary Adventure* (New York, 1915), p. 9.

² *Quaker Hill* is long since out of print but Newell Sims has summarized it in his *The Rural Community, Ancient and Modern* (New York, Scribners, 1919), pp. 198-223.

He was not just a rural church secretary. The church and country life were his interests. His denomination was the first to create such an office and for half a decade he served all bodies unstintingly along with his own. Of course, he was opposed. Once it was voted to discontinue his office; once he was dismissed. Each time he went on, for angry protests poured in from church members and clergy of his own and other religious bodies, from rural educators, and from agricultural colleges. These crises disturbed him but he never ceased to work. During one of them he said to me with a grin, "When I get ready to quit working for rural America through the rural church, I'll say so."

He had no panacea for rural ills. Programs, he proclaimed, had no validity unless based on facts, and facts he proceeded to secure. He gathered a group of younger clergy and graduate students, trained them and sent them forth. Rural surveys in a dozen states in every major region of the United States resulted. These well-printed, graphically written and illustrated pamphlets made a profound impression. They became the cornerstones of the church and community programs in rural America. Wilson and his young aides were called hither and yon to survey, to speak, and to teach. The awakening agricultural colleges welcomed them, both to their assembly halls and to jointly organized summer schools for country ministers. This idea, originating with Wilson, has now been adopted by most of the major denominations and many colleges of agriculture. He and Galpin discovered each other and Wilson eagerly improved his own techniques for the structural analysis of the community as a result of that contact. The procedures thus developed were influential later in the methods used in the rural studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Wilson had a tremendous faith in the possibilities of the agricultural colleges. He also saw possibilities in the feeble one-room rural school. To it he gave, in his surveys, as careful and loving attention as to the rural church. Thus when Teachers College, Columbia University, became the first institution of its kind to require rural sociology of its major students in rural education and public health nursing it turned to him to direct that part of the work. Burdened though he was, he responded. For ten years, 1914-23, he was associate in rural education at this institution. Since his death more than one hundred of his former students have written the Teachers College about him. They are today in positions of power and influence in the educational world. Through them, did space permit, it would be possible to trace with some definiteness his continuing contribution to rural education.

Similarly, of course, he influenced the rural church at home and abroad. He was for its first ten years president of the International Association of Agricultural Missions. In 1930-31 he was sociological consultant in India of the Institute of Social and Religious Research's study of the mass movement. For the last ten years of his life he lectured on the rural church at Union Theological Seminary.

His books were influential. *The Church of the Open Country* (1911) was used by Protestantism as a home-mission text and sold close to 100,000 copies. *The Evolution of the Country Community* (1912) was perhaps his best sociological work and, with Galpin's *Rural Life* and the earliest rural sociologies of

Vogt and Gillette, formed the basic mental diet of the budding profession. In this book Wilson applied the economic theory of marginal utility to the rural community. In these days of much discussion about marginal and submarginal land it is interesting to note that a quarter of a century ago Wilson was using not only these phrases but he was talking about marginal communities and marginal men of the community, both illustrating and interpreting the meaning of these concepts in terms of the practical affairs and of desirable programs for church, school, and community. Present-day sociologists would still find much of moment, especially in Chapter VIII, in this volume, for which Giddings wrote an appreciative introduction. The other four books, appearing from 1915 to 1927, were concerned more specifically with the church, its program, its functions, its possibilities, and with rural religion.

Three things to me characterize Wilson. First: He was intensely interested in human beings. He surveyed their possibilities, to make them greater. He was ever seeking more opportunity, more responsibility for those in whom he believed and he believed in hundreds. He was quick to encourage and praise and he had the rare gift of making his criticism, even his blame, unfailingly constructive. His letters to his friends, his students, his pastors, were unique in their wisdom, and their humanness, and their humor. No wonder he commanded unbounded loyalty.

Second: His mind was a joy. Pre-eminently a teacher, he was to the end an eager learner. He was as keen as a hound after its quarry for new truths. A forceful teacher and a man of deep convictions he was, unlike many such, ever ready to give criticism a fair hearing and new truth an honored place. Mental sloth was anathema. I saw him a short while before he died. He told me of his impending retirement and spoke of his career. He took little satisfaction in it. I reminded him that the rural church and the rural school were eternally his debtor. He countered by citing the tasks still ahead, told me of his plans for his lectures this coming summer at three agricultural colleges, and chided me with the too great preoccupation of my generation with things economic—this from him who had proclaimed to many a church conference of earlier days "God is the highest economic need of man as bread is the first."

Third: Wilson's love of the country, its soil, its creatures, and its people was profound. A quarter of a century ago he chided farmers for their misuse of the soil, their complacency in the face of erosion, and their failure to practice scientific farming, as a sinful abuse of their trusteeship of the basic gift of God to man—the good earth. It is fitting that he lies now almost under the shadow of Quaker Hill, near to his own acres whither for years he went as often as he could in his busy life for the renewing of his dauntless, vivid spirit.

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RESEARCH AND SUBSISTENCE HOMESTEADS

Either through participation or observation, social scientists have gained considerable experience from the social experiments of the past few years. One of the most interesting of the social programs has been the subsistence homesteads

movement. Originally the province of a special division of the Department of the Interior, subsistence homesteads projects were later also undertaken by the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In 1935 both of these agencies were discontinued, and their partially completed projects were turned over to the Resettlement Administration.

No small amount has been written concerning the lessons to be learned from these attempts to promote subsistence homesteading. In the main, the subjects discussed have been the poor administration or the legal difficulties of the divisions. Few discussions have dealt with their general policies. A recent article deals with the failure of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads as it "bogged down in the quagmire of routine procedure and legal opinion."¹ An excellent discussion of the legal technicalities has been written by Mr. P. M. Glick.² One writer, centering his attention on the administration of subsistence homesteads and similar programs, suggests that "it is high time our research workers studied methods of administration."³

It is the purpose of this article to consider the relation of research to the formation of the general policies of the agencies which have directed subsistence homesteading. By policies are meant the conceptions of the job to be done and the principles guiding the tasks undertaken. With no intention of adding to the criticisms, many of which have been unfair, of the officials of the organizations involved, and with due respect, gained from personal experience, of the tremendous task which these agencies faced, the writer wishes to point out a few lessons which research social scientists might have learned from three years of governmental programs designed to direct a great population trend.

The first reversal of the long-established farm-to-city trend occurred in 1930, but it was not until 1932 that this reversal was recognized. In November of that year, Dr. Galpin reported that "the low point in the number of persons living on farms, since 1910, seems to have been reached about January 1, 1930, according to revised estimates recently prepared."⁴ The only then current research that had been done with respect to the back-to-the-land movement or subsistence homesteading in this country was a bulletin, "Part-Time Farming in Massachusetts," by Dr. Rozman.⁵ If Rozman's publication were not the only analysis available, at least it appears to be the only source quoted by those who wrote on the subject up to 1933. With the deepening of the depression, several prominent industrial and professional leaders and writers saw in the trek-to-the-land and the development of part-time farming an important means of alleviating suffering.

In June, 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act made available \$25,-

¹ B. L. Melvin, "Emergency and Permanent Legislation with Special Reference to the History of Subsistence Homesteads," *American Sociological Review*, 1 (1936), 622-631.

² P. M. Glick, "The Federal Subsistence Homesteads Program," *Yale Law Journal* (June, 1935), 1324-1379.

³ Noble Clark, "Social and Economic Implications of the National Land Program, Discussion," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVIII (1936), 274-280.

⁴ *The Agricultural Situation*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, November, 1932, p. 2.

⁵ David Rozman, "Part-Time Farming in Massachusetts," *Bulletin No. 266*, Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, Amherst, 1930.

000,000 to "provide for aiding the redistribution of the overbalance of population in industrial centers" by aiding in the purchase of subsistence homesteads. In August, the Division of Subsistence Homesteads was provided for under an executive order. It is evident from the act and the order that the Division had almost unlimited authority to formulate a program that would provide direction to the back-to-the-land movement. The limitations were in the amount of money, that the funds be used for subsistence homesteads, and that they be handled as a revolving fund.

Almost coincidentally with the recognition of a new and important population movement came the founding of an agency to give some direction to it. One would expect the almost instant realization by the Division of the need to know considerable about the movement. Such findings would seem to be paramount in deciding general policies.

In November, 1933, the policies of the division were established and made public.⁶ Some important principles were that the money would be spent only on community projects; that the projects would be located in principal "problem areas"; that the program would serve stranded and disorganized communities and poorly located farmers as well as the redistribution of the population out of industrial centers; and that the Division or its subsidiary corporations would undertake the actual construction of the homesteads.

In the following month, a research project was started by the Division to investigate the back-to-the-land movement and part-time farming. The reason for this research was that "when a project can be established in accordance with the natural course of events . . . it has a much greater chance to succeed than if it is established in opposition to what is really happening."⁷ While this research was being carried on, subsistence homesteads projects were being submitted and approved or rejected in line with the policies announced in November.

Early in the spring of 1934, funds which had been advanced by the Civil Works Administration for the investigational work were cut off. At the same time, the Division stated that all available monies had already been allocated to "specific projects or to local areas within which projects were to be developed."⁸

It was, or might have been, clear that the policies of the Division were consistent with neither the new population trend nor the prevailing pattern of part-time farming, although it was stated that "the present subsistence homesteads movement . . . is a national recognition of something which we have long had in our midst."⁹ Had a concerted research attack formed the basis of the Division's policies and had research not come too late, the program might have been established in integration with the population movement which was actually taking place. Instead, research was restricted to the investigation of areas already

⁶ "General Information Concerning the Purposes and Policies of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads," *Circular No. 1*, Division of Subsistence Homesteads, November 15, 1933.

⁷ *Memorandum No. 80349*, Division of Subsistence Homesteads, January 17, 1934.

⁸ *Press Release*, Department of the Interior, April 24, 1934.

⁹ M. L. Wilson, "The Place of Subsistence Homesteads in Our National Economy," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVI (1934), 73-84.

selected and to offering practical assistance in the operation of projects already started. Some men in the Division saw the need for a more comprehensive type of research program.¹⁰ The point is, however, that the need was not filled.

By the summer of 1934, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration had created a Division of Rural Rehabilitation. This new Division also undertook a subsistence homesteads program. The differences between this agency and the Division of Subsistence Homesteads were mainly in administrative procedure and legal limitations; there were no essential differences on points of general policy. To a certain extent, the decentralization of administration in this new Division was accompanied by decentralization of research, which often means piece-meal investigation. The national headquarters of the Rural Rehabilitation Division did carry out some notable research studies: for instance, "Rural Households, Relief and Non-Relief," and "Six Rural Problem Areas."

On questions relating to the back-to-the-land movement and subsistence homesteads, no central attack was planned until 1935. By the time this type of study was under way, however, the organization was transferred to the Resettlement Administration. As a result, the scope of the study was narrowed, many proposed angles were not dealt with, and the conclusions of the limited work were not available until the new agency was at work.

One attempt to use research as a basis for policy was made under the Rural Rehabilitation organization in Connecticut.¹¹ There, a study was undertaken to "answer certain questions relating to the possibilities of a part-time farming program . . . and to determine what factors . . . should mold the policy for such a program if undertaken." The information gained answers to several questions of local policy. The study concluded, in part, that "any planned part-time farming program should be developed on the existing pattern . . . in which persons living on part-time farms commute to the numerous centers of industrial employment already existing in or near to the area," and that "the costs of construing a decentralized community are unwarranted if the existing rural communities already offer adequate facilities as in (the survey area)."

Since 1933, at least 18 reports on part-time farming have been issued in 13 states.¹² Miscellaneous scattered studies of various aspects of the whole problem are being reported numerously now. The lack of comparability among these studies has been commented upon.¹³ This difficulty, together with the generally narrow scope of the studies, reduces their value as bases for general policy.

Intensive research analysis preceded the Wisconsin program to control the landward movement through rural zoning. Neither the Subsistence Homesteads

¹⁰ C. C. Taylor, "Research Needed as Guidance to the Subsistence Homesteads Program," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVI (1934), 310-314; and "Social and Economic Significance of the Subsistence Homesteads Program," *Ibid.*, XVII (1935), 720-731.

¹¹ L. A. Salter, Jr., and H. D. Darling, "Part-Time Farming in Connecticut: A Socio-Economic Study of the Lower Naugatuck Valley," *Bulletin 204*, Storrs (Conn.) Agricultural Experiment Station, 1935.

¹² California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Virginia, and Washington.

¹³ L. A. Salter, Jr., "What is Part-Time Farming?" *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVIII (1936), 191-197.

nor the Rural Rehabilitation Division carried out projects in the rural zoning areas of that state, although the need for a positive program to supplement zoning was recognized by leaders there.¹⁴ Nor have these agencies undertaken positive population movement guides in New York where considerable fact-gathering has been done and where the state has initiated another form of negative control through public purchase of land.

The work of the National Resources Board is showing the kind of very desirable results that can be obtained by concerted attack on basic problems. The Department of Agriculture has published a comprehensive report on the Southern Appalachians, the work of the combined forces of several agencies and different types of specialists.¹⁵ The Study of Population Redistribution has published its final report. In this connection, it is interesting that the first general conclusion of this report emphasizes the "lack of basic materials" and states that "it cannot be too strongly urged that the authorities should collect and analyze the evidence on a point (population redistribution) of so much significance for national policy."¹⁶ This recommendation comes after three years of governmental activity in the field.

Programs have been hindered or wrecked by legal technicalities and administrative confusion. They also may have been misdirected through poorly-founded general policies. The history of the Divisions of Subsistence Homesteads and Rural Rehabilitation indicates that at every step research lagged behind the formulation of major policies. By the time potentially adequate research programs were planned, the actual work of the agencies was well under way. Little research work on problems related to subsistence homesteading has been available for policy-making purposes. That which has been undertaken and completed has seldom been on a sufficiently comprehensive scale to serve these needs.

If social research is to be useful in the making of decisions on policies of social programs: (1) it must be organized for this purpose and not restricted solely to providing information to assist the administration of predetermined policies, (2) it will call for the concentration and combination of research forces, and (3) if comprehensive studies are not possible, material on similar problems must be organized on comparable bases and the experience of the various researchers must be combined in forming policy judgments.

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THE FARM FAMILY AND ITS COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Agriculture is the most important force making for the security of farm families. Yet in the average rural community farmers are organized for almost everything but the advancement and protection of agriculture.

¹⁴ Noble Clark, *op. cit.*; G. S. Wehrwein, "Enactment and Administration of Rural Zoning Ordinances," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVIII (1936), 508-522; and G. S. Wehrwein and J. A. Baker, "Relocation of Non-Conforming Settlers," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XII (1936), 248-255.

¹⁵ "Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians," *Miscellaneous Publication 205*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1935.

¹⁶ Carter Goodrich and Others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, (Philadelphia, 1936).

Were the Smith-Lever Law to be paraphrased in terms of new emphasis needed, one could say that it is intended to help provide, first, greater security and, second, the more abundant life on the farm. Although the Extension Service depends upon its county agents and home demonstration agents for professional contacts in the counties and the counties look upon these agents as the authorized and official authorities on scientific farming and homemaking, the Extension Service, which lives a vibrant, day-by-day life in the community, lives because of and through community leaders.

The first concern of the county agent and home demonstration agent is to assist farm families toward greater security. They know that they can not stop there. If they do not give attention increasingly in these days to the matter of a more abundant life on the farm (to which are related the social and cultural, as well as the economic), they are not performing their function as county agents. These agents are confronted, however, with a tremendous task in the development of community leaders and community organization. In Illinois, they have been eager to receive any help which the Experiment Station and resident extension staff could give in improving community organization.

Studies in Illinois have pointed towards forces that are affecting the participation of farm people in rural organization, and especially the forces that are playing upon family life. Social contacts among farm people have increased in form, number, and complexity, with new means of communication and with the modernization of farm work and farm life. This growing complexity of social and economic forces makes it increasingly difficult for farm families to maintain and develop the kinds of organizations in their communities that are of prime importance in the preservation and advancement of family life and agriculture. Let us glance at a few of these forces.

A comparison of the percentages of population in various age groups in the open country, village, town, and city reveals a difference which is working against the improvement of agriculture and which in some way must be counteracted by farm people. Our studies show that the four townships studied and the rural farm population of the state have higher proportions under five and from five to 14 years of age than are found in the cities; but that the proportions of those from 15 to 24 and especially from 25 to 34, and also from 35 to 44, are lower than the corresponding proportions in the city; and finally that the proportions in the age groups above 45 are higher than in the cities. It is evident from these studies alone that the farms are contributing to the cities the virile working groups, that they are educating them before they go into the city, and that when the city has made the productive lifetime use of them they are again turned back to the rural communities for support. This is a force with which the rural community and the farm family must always cope and one with which they can cope only with the help and understanding of the city people. This gives justification for the argument that schools in the country should be subsidized through a system of equalized taxation. The country should not be expected to bear the burden of educating the children, and then lose much of the time, money, and effort put into that education through migration of its young

and productive population to the city. Many farmers do not realize the importance of this phenomenon. They should become aware of it, bring (through discussions in groups of town and country people) to the entire community a realization of the problem, and attempt to solve it through systems of equalization, including taxation and school opportunities.

Studies in Illinois indicate that more and more young people on the farms are striving to get an education. However, the study made in four townships indicates that even in 1930 less than three per cent of the members of families living on farms were college graduates. More than half of the members of families living on farms had less than a grade-school education. One of the forces working against the further schooling of people living on farms is the unfavorable attitude that farmers have had towards education, an attitude which fortunately is changing with the times and which should change still more as the burden for schools in the open country and rural communities is impartially distributed.

Rural communities are vitally affected in their organizational structure by the rapid movement of the population into and out of the community and from farm to farm. We find in Illinois that although almost 45 per cent of 250 families studied had been in farming 20 or more years, over 35 per cent had been on the present farm less than five years. Movement from farm to farm is, of course, closely related to the matter of tenancy; where the one-year lease is prevalent a family has no assurance that it will be able to live on a farm more than one year. Hence, there is a decided feeling of insecurity which retards programs for soil conservation, as well as programs for community building, and which makes it easy for those who move every year or two to resist appeals for support from churches, schools, and other organizations. Moreover, the improved communication facilities make it easy for people to drive outside the boundaries of their own communities. We found that 80 per cent of the families lived less than five miles from a local trade center and that more than 98 per cent lived over five miles from a city. Yet almost 90 per cent were within two miles of a surfaced road, making it possible for them to trade, go to church, attend meetings, and participate in other types of activities in the distant center. This bereaves the local community of the support and interest needed for proper development of institutions and community organization.

Our investigation as to how farmers spent their time away from home revealed that, whereas they spent a total of 35 per cent of their time in trading, over half of that was spent in trading in the city; and that whereas almost 25 per cent was spent in visiting, three-fourths of that time was spent in visiting relatives and only five per cent in visiting neighbors. Twenty-three per cent of the time was spent for organizations, of which over half was spent for the church and only 10 per cent of the total time was spent for all other organizations. This left less than 20 per cent of the total time for extended trips, for amusement and culture, and for individual recreation. These are forces with which community leaders must cope in their efforts to secure the participation of farm people in various community organizations for improving farming and farm life.

Both tenancy and mobility limit the number of organizations to which mem-

bers of farm families belong. We found that the great majority of both owners and tenants belonged to only one organization—the church; and that 72 per cent of the farm laborers belonged to no organization at all. Twenty per cent of the owners and about 16 per cent of the tenants belonged to two organizations, the second organization being the farmer's or homemaker's organization in most cases. Leaders of rural organization are confronted, therefore, not only with the task of securing participation, but also with that of finding relationships between organizations, so that the church, the school, the parent-teachers association, the community unit, and other groups may recognize common problems and work together.

We found, also, that there was a definite relationship between membership in business and educational organizations, such as the Farm Bureau and the Grange, and the attitude towards farmers' organizations. Members of farm families who belonged to two, three, four, or five organizations had favorable attitudes toward them. Many who belonged to only one or to no organization at all had unfavorable attitudes toward them. If farmers are to develop their own business and educational organizations, it will be necessary for them to seek the co-operation and support of schools and churches in order that the mass of people in the rural communities may be touched.

When farmers are confronted with the question of whether they believe in community organization to advance and protect agriculture, they readily support the idea. In a study made in 1930 we found that 91 per cent of farmers and farmers' wives said that they believed in the formation of farm-family organizations in their community. Questioning further, we found that there are two general purposes around which these farm-family organizations should be set up, namely, educational and social purposes. It is evident, from our study, that the economic and the religious purposes are being served through other means—co-operatives and churches—but at least the adult or out-of-school population is not being adequately served in an educational and social way. This study, by the way, has been the foundation for the development of the extension program in rural sociology in the State of Illinois, providing the background for the assistance given in the development of farm-family organizations which we call community units. These now number upwards of 600 in the state.

One of the most important factors in successful organization is leadership. Hence, we studied the qualifications which farm people thought leaders should have in order to function most effectively in their organizations. The following were some of the qualities that they looked for first in leaders selected for their organization: broad-mindedness, influence in the community, willingness to learn, co-operativeness, public-spiritedness, considerateness, patience, tolerance, being well-informed, unselfishness, willingness to take responsibility, ability to carry things through, firmness in opinion, conservativeness, ability to speak in public, and resourcefulness. Note that most of these qualities come as a result of social contact, of working with and being able to work with people. Rural communities need leaders who are broad-minded, who are willing to learn, who are public-spirited, who are co-operative, and who are unselfish. Is there not a

place for the teaching of these qualities in our churches and schools, as well as our farm organizations? Can not our 4-H clubs contribute considerably to the development of these kinds of leaders in our communities?

The project in extension work in rural sociology in the State of Illinois aims at finding ways and means of developing, in the rural communities, organizations designed to provide educational and social benefits for farmers and farm people—organizations which will take advantage of the Extension Service, organizations run by local people, whose programs are built by local people, and organizations which are the very roots of our rural democracy.

In conclusion, rural communities must be provided with three basic services, if the needs of the people in these communities are to be adequately met and if the family life is to be advanced and exalted:

1. Education, definitely directed toward the enhancement of rural living
2. The advancement of the business and professional interests of farmers and farm homemakers
3. The fostering of religious interests

Provision of other phases of a satisfying community life must also be made. Provision for good government, for social welfare, for sociability, for recreation, and for health is necessary.

Good farming enhances family life, and a sound agriculture in turn depends upon an enhanced family life on the farm. Community organizations must redirect their efforts therefore to the end that farm family life may be improved, if agriculture is to progress.

University of Illinois

D. E. LINDSTROM

NEIGHBORHOOD BUYING UNITS

The vitality exhibited by neighborhood buying units of the Washington Consumers' Club and similar organizations in other cities raises the question as to whether this development is bringing back into city life an element that has been lost to urban dwellers. The social forces operating so strongly in primary groups, such as the neighborhood, have been weakened or lost in cities. If these forces are important factors in the success of farmers' co-operatives, may they not help the growing consumers' co-operative movement to gain the vigor displayed by agricultural co-operatives?

The Washington Consumers' Club is an unincorporated purchasing association that has been in operation about two and one-half years. It serves the District of Columbia and its environs in Maryland and Virginia, providing groceries, fuel, and other consumers' goods for its members. The club has laid emphasis on the purchase of groceries and, in the furtherance of its work, has established local units composed of members living within a restricted locality. The members of a unit assemble once a week or once in two weeks to make up orders for meats, vegetables, fruits, canned goods, and staples which the club purchasing agent buys at wholesale. These wholesale orders are delivered to the house of one of the members of the unit on a specified day. This member, who serves as

the chairman of the unit, fills each member's order and makes out a bill which is presented to the purchaser when he calls for the goods.

The meetings held to assemble orders often involve polling the membership to see if there is sufficient demand to make up a case or half-case of eggs, a case of some canned fruit or vegetable, a bushel or crate of some fresh fruit or vegetable. In the course of making up some such wholesale quantity, members increase or decrease their orders and often take somewhat more than they can use immediately in order to make a purchase possible. There is also considerable shifting of the various duties of the chairman to other members, as he asks for help in this or that activity. The friendly feeling engendered by these efforts to be mutually helpful gives rise to considerable solidarity within the group.

In the same way, efforts to obtain information on consumers' goods and consumers' problems strengthen the ties within the group. Individual members or committees of members are asked to investigate characteristics of products, comparative prices, sources of goods, and the like. Demonstrations, reports, and comparisons of commodities are made at meetings.

These groups seem likely to provide the nuclei around which co-operative stores will develop, and this aim is constantly before many of the groups. The attainment of this goal is a purpose which binds the groups strongly.

While these groups are in a sense special-interest groups and will never include all the people of a neighborhood, nevertheless they exhibit many of the characteristics of primary groups and seem likely to develop more of them. They provide the intimate, informal, face-to-face contacts that are rare in city life. In these characteristics their strength seems to lie. Perhaps the co-operative movement, if it continues to develop as rapidly as it has of late, will have a profound influence on urban social life.

University of Maryland

RALPH RUSSELL

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis

RURAL ORGANIZATION

A description of community and neighborhood groupings in Knott County, Kentucky,¹ reveals the fact that the population of the county has grown from 5,438 in 1890 to 15,230 in 1930. For this population the number of organizations is as follows: 68 elementary schools and five consolidated high schools; 36 church groups, only 13 of which have their own meeting places, (21 meeting in school houses and two in private homes); 42 post offices, only 29 of which receive mail daily except Sunday. There is no newspaper in the county and only one bank. The trade areas are established principally by geographic conditions and usually follow magisterial district lines. According to the Census enumeration of persons of high school age, only about 25 per cent were attending high school in 1930. Dormitory facilities were necessary to make even this attendance possible; at four of the high schools, these dormitories were supported by settlement school organizations and at the fifth by the community church.

A Farm Credit Administration bulletin describes the "Organization and Operation of Co-operative Irrigation Companies."² The chief contribution of this bulletin, from a sociological point of view, is the short description of the attitude of members toward the co-operatives. This suggests a fruitful field for the rural sociologist interested in membership relations in certain rural areas.

The first in a series of studies of suburbanization in Connecticut depicts the social adjustment necessitated by the movement of population to urban peripheries in New England.³ The social structure of the City of Windsor, as determined by cultural and spatial relationships, is related to the dynamic forces brought into being by the suburbanization process. The family group or the household is used as the fundamental unit in describing the processes involved. It was found that the great majority of the migrants moved to the suburban area during the young-child stage of the family cycle.

Schedules were obtained from 1,816 households, about 90 per cent of the total population. About one-half of the householders work in nearby Hartford, as do about 40 per cent of all other gainfully employed persons. Most of the families are "middle-aged," "white-collar" workers, seeking the country for their home life.

¹ Merton Oyler, "Community and Neighborhood Groupings in Knott County," *Bulletin No. 366*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington, Kentucky, October, 1936.

² Wells A. Hutchins, "Organization and Operation of Co-operative Irrigation Companies," *Circular No. C 102*, Co-operative Division, Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C., August, 1936.

³ N. L. Whetten and E. C. Devereux, Jr., "Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut," *Bulletin No. 212*, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, Connecticut, October, 1936.

The movement of city families into this area has been to some extent a back-to-soil movement, in that the number of migrants going into farming has increased in each five-year period since 1900, with the exception of the period 1930 to 1934 when there was a slight decrease. The proportion of the migrants going into farming, however, has declined consistently during each five-year period since 1910. Thus, whereas 50 per cent of those who moved to the area during the period 1905 to 1909 do some farming, only 12 per cent of those moving during the period 1930 to 1934 carry on farming activities.

Proportionately more of the newcomers are moving to the villages where there is little opportunity to farm. Today, three out of four farms in Windsor are operated on a part-time basis. Fifty-five per cent of these part-time farms, or two-thirds of all farms, are operated by people whose principal occupation is not farming; most of them are from the lower income groups who have moved to Windsor and still retain their regular occupations in Hartford. This fact has given rise to some division of interest in social participation between Windsor organizations and services and those in Hartford.

Social problems have arisen in Windsor, also, as a result of the difference in attitudes of the older residents, who are anxious to preserve the quiet charm of the old New England town, and the city families, who wish to develop Windsor into a modern suburb. When this involves the question of taxation for modernization, the city families are also brought into conflict with the commercial farmers of the area.

DROUGHT STUDIES

"The Future of the Great Plains"⁴ is the title of a 194-page report to the President. It addresses itself to physical, human, and cultural resources and their required adjustment in an area of recurring distress. The report reveals an area differentiated from the other agricultural regions of the nation by its aridity, dry winds of high velocity, treelessness, high summer temperatures, and fine-grained soils which blow when not held by vegetative cover. There is great variability of climate in time and space.

Important from a sociological point of view is the fact that the settlers of this great and fertile area failed to change the cultural practices which they transplanted from the more humid homes east of the Mississippi. The Federal Government, through the 160-acre homestead settlement policy which was successful in other more humid regions, abetted in the establishment of a cultural pattern utterly unsuitable for the Great Plains. Ignorance concerning the physical characteristics of the region and the attendant speculation in government and private lands played their part in welding the present agricultural pattern on the region.

These facts must be given due consideration if agriculture in the Plains is to be transformed from a risky adventure and recurrent liability into a stable foundation for the economic and social advantage of the inhabitants of the region. However, certain fundamental attitudes must be changed. The plainsman and

⁴ *Report of the Great Plains Committee*, Washington, D. C., December, 1936.

others must learn that customary practices are not always best; that natural resources are not inexhaustible; that what is good for the individual is not always good for the group; that the owner cannot do with his property what he wishes; that expanding markets will not continue indefinitely; that the factory farming system is not generally preferable to a family farming system upon which we can depend for national stability. In short, the problem is recognized as a human one.

The present culture with its high population mobility and speculative philosophy cannot produce a stable family life. Although the farm population has remained practically stationary for 25 years, there has always been much movement in and out of and within the region. For example, two-thirds of the farmers who lived in western Kansas in 1895 left within 10 years; and by 1935 only one-tenth of them were still in the same township or had sons in that same township. It is reliably estimated that not less than 165,000 people or 40,000 families have moved away from the Great Plains since 1930, despite the tremendous amount of emergency credit relief funds poured into the area. The Great Plains problem is a human and a cultural one.

"Areas of Intense Distress 1930-1936" is the title of the first⁵ of a series of three monographs devoted to the description of social and economic conditions prevailing in the drought area of the Great Plains region. The area included in the study is situated roughly between the 98th meridian and the Continental Divide. Most of the region lies in zones of 20-inch normal annual precipitation or less. It is characterized by almost continual winds, the frequent high velocity and dryness of which are unequaled in any other area in the United States.

The history of the area is visited intermittently by droughts and abundant precipitation. Eleven severe droughts have been experienced during the 48-year period reaching back to 1889. Excessively dry periods occurred in 1889, 1890, 1894, 1901, 1910, 1917, 1930, 1931, 1933, 1934, and 1936. The sad plight in which the farmers of the area have found themselves during the most recent drought is merely a re-enactment of the tragic drama staged with wind, heat, and drought playing major rôles.

The study depicts the cumulative effects of the present drought in 803 counties. The relative effect of drought conditions in each county is reflected by five indices. These tests are computed and mapped individually as indices of drought intensity on the basis of ranking the counties by grades of intensity. A composite map depicts the average of the five ranks. The "trouble centers" are thus located. The two centers of acute distress are the Northern Plains, extending to the Canadian border; the other is on the Southern or High Plains. The northern problem area embraces 137 contiguous counties: almost the entire states of North and South Dakota, the eastern one-third of Montana, northeastern Wyoming, west-central Minnesota, and one county in northern Nebraska. The southern problem area is made up of 105 adjoining counties in an irregularly

⁵ Francis D. Cronin and Howard W. Beers, "Areas of Intense Distress, 1930-1936," *Series V, No. 1*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., January, 1937.

shaped area centered in the Texas-Oklahoma Panhandle Region including parts of six states, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado.

In more than one-third of all the counties studied the per capita Federal aid granted from 1930-36 amounted to \$476 for an average family of four. Most of the counties located in the two centers of most acute distress had at least 16 per cent less rainfall than normal.

Four reports from counties in Wyoming, South Dakota, New Mexico, and Texas have been received this quarter. These bulletins, although giving inadequate attention to the sociological problems involved, are important in view of the attention which is now focused upon the Great Plains area.

In 1934, the income of 63 selected farmers in the row-crop section of Curry County, New Mexico,⁶ was 66 per cent of normal (\$1,784); of 47 farmers in the grain section it was 57 per cent of normal (\$2,299). In the same year 27 per cent of the income of the selected farmers of the grain section came from wheat and hog contracts. Eleven per cent of the income of the row-crop farmers came from this source. Low yields of feed and grain crops in 1934 left the farmer with low feed supplies and reduced farm incomes, but only a minority turned to relief agencies for aid.

The history of settlement of the area begins in 1904. Most of the homesteads after 1905 were 160-acre plots. In 1910 the average size of 134 farms was 235 acres. Drought proves such units to be inadequate to support the average family. In 1935 the average size of the existing 1,436 farms was 606 acres. The government purchased almost three-fifths of the cattle sold by the farmers in the grain section, and about three-fourths of the cattle sold by farmers in the row-crop section. Livestock sales furnished 24 per cent of the income in the grain section, and 19 per cent in the row-crop section. Emergency relief grants furnished only three per cent of farmers' incomes in the grain section, and less than two per cent in the row-crop section.

Fifteen per cent of all Curry County farmers had applied for relief in May, 1935, but almost two-fifths of this number made relief applications solely to become eligible for rehabilitation and received no relief grants.

Ninety-five per cent of the land accounted for in Curry County was owned by private individuals in 1935. About 73 per cent of them were resident owners, and 22 per cent nonresident owners. Twenty-seven per cent of land in the grain section was owned by nonresidents, as against 18 per cent of nonresident owned land in the row-crop section. In 1935, 39 per cent of the farmers were reported as tenants, an increase of five per cent since 1930.

In 1935, over 35 per cent of the total land in Curry County was mortgaged. The Federal Land Bank and the Land Bank Commissioners together held over 75 per cent of all first mortgages.

On June 1, 1935, almost 12 per cent of all land in Curry County was tax delinquent from 1933, and about half of this was tax delinquent for three years.

⁶ H. M. Pevehouse, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting Rehabilitation in the Upper South Plains of the Texas Panhandle and the High Plains of Eastern New Mexico," (as typified by Curry County, N. M.), *Resettlement Bulletin K-10*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, December, 1936.

Almost all of the tax-sale certificates on the delinquencies for the three years 1931-33 had been bought by the county.

The chief rehabilitation need in this area is the advance of working capital to farmers with exhausted credit. A program for control of wind erosion, replacement of machinery and livestock in extreme instances, and reduction in the number of small farms over a long time period are also desirable.

A study of Hale County, Texas, a typical South Plains county, included a detailed analysis of 156 selected farmers, or 8.4 per cent of all operators on farms in 1935.⁷

The trend in size of farms in the area has been away from the 40, 80, and 160-acre farms toward farms with larger acreages. Farms are usually 160, 120, or 640 acres in size in Hale County.

On the average, rehabilitation clients were younger than other farmers. About half of the clients had no children over 12 years of age. One-fifth had no children. The average family contained three children.

In 1935, 55 per cent of the farmers in the county were tenants, and 45 per cent were part or full owners. Cotton contracts in 1934 indicated that 48 per cent of the land was operated by owners and part owners, and 52 per cent was operated by tenants.

In 1935, over half the farms in the county were mortgaged. The average mortgage debt per acre was \$15.85, or slightly over half the 1935 Census valuation. The Federal Land Bank held nearly 71 per cent of all first mortgages. Forty per cent of the land area remained tax delinquent in July, 1935, but over one-third of this land was delinquent for 1934 alone. Outstanding emergency feed and seed loans in Hale County averaged only \$57 per farm.

There appears to be little need in Hale County for a rehabilitation program providing more than temporary financial assistance. Agricultural distress occasioned by the short feed and cotton crops of 1935 would be relieved by a return to normal conditions.

Goshen County presents a picture of the typical relief and rehabilitation situation in both irrigated and nonirrigated sections of southeastern Wyoming.⁸ This particular study included 72 selected farmers, or nearly five per cent of all farmers in the county in 1935. Of the farmers interviewed, 29 were on irrigated land and 43 operated nonirrigated farms. The study offers very little sociological information.

In 1934, the gross cash income of operators of irrigated farms was 72 per cent of normal, while it was 59 per cent of normal for operators of nonirrigated farms. The normal gross income of six farmers on irrigated land operating

⁷ H. M. Pevehouse, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Rehabilitation on the South Plains of the Texas Panhandle," (as typified by Hale County, Texas), *Resettlement Bulletin K-12*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, January, 1937.

⁸ H. L. Stewart, "Natural and Economic Factors Affecting Rural Rehabilitation in Southeastern Wyoming" (as typified by Goshen County), *Resettlement Bulletin K-13*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration and Resettlement Administration, co-operating, March, 1937.

enterprises of 100 acres or less averaged \$3,433, while the normal income of operators of *all* nonirrigated farms averaged only \$2,534. In this same year, 40 per cent of all the farm land in the county was mortgaged for an average of 54 per cent of the Census valuation.

Two facts indicate that enterprises of relief and rehabilitation clients were too small. The average size of relief and rehabilitation farms was only 415 acres, whereas the average for the county in 1935 was 770 acres. There was a concentration of both relief and rehabilitation clients where small farms predominated, and farmers generally considered 640 acres or more necessary in a nonirrigated section to provide adequate income for the average family.

In May, 1935, 22 per cent of all the farmers in the county were receiving government aid (relief and rehabilitation). About one-third of them were located in the irrigated section, mostly where the supply of water for irrigation was low. The average amount of relief for this month to be received by all clients, was about \$35. Over 70 per cent of the relief clients were to receive between \$21 and \$50, but 13 per cent were scheduled to receive more than \$50.

The ages of rehabilitation applicants ranged from 19 to 75 years. Less than one out of seven was over 50 years of age. Only four reported that they were unable to work. Most of the applicants reported children, but few reported an unusually large number of dependents.

Suggestions offered for the more important aspects of the rehabilitation program of Goshen County include the return to grass of most of the eroded acreage in the county (chiefly the result of wind erosion), the encouragement of strip farming, and an increase in the numbers of livestock. Thirty-one tables and three figures supplement the discussion in this bulletin.

RURAL LABOR

A study of farm labor in the Yakima Valley⁹ is based upon a sample containing 341 farms. Interviewers visited the farm operators at frequent intervals and made out a schedule for each laborer employed after the preceding interview. Farm records were taken from the operators and a "household schedule" was taken from each of 468 farm laborers.

Among the findings are the following: (1) During 1935-36 wages on all crops grown in Yakima Valley ranged from \$1.25 per day for work in the hop harvest to \$2.51 per day for work on the apple crop. Hops are picked by the pound and the employment of many children explains the low rate. Transient labor is required for both of these crops. (2) Twice as much resident as transient hired labor is employed during the course of a year on fruit and general crops. (3) During October more residents are employed than required for all farm work during other months of the year, with the possible exception of June and the first half of July. (4) If 3,000 to 5,000 farm laborers would settle in the Yakima Valley and could be given supplemental employment along some nonagricultural line from November to September, no transients would be

⁹ Paul H. Landis and Melvin S. Brooks, "Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington," *Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor, No. 1, Bulletin No. 343*, State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, Washington, December, 1936.

needed in the October apple harvest, but 20,000 transients would be needed for the September hop harvest. (5) Twenty-three per cent of the transient workers who came to the Yakima Valley from outside the valley were from the drought states, 18.7 per cent from Oregon and California, 38.1 per cent came from the valley within which the farms were studied. (6) Of the thousands of transient farm workers who drift into the Yakima Valley annually, more than half have no families, one-third bring families with them, and one out of 10 have families which are left elsewhere. (7) Families of both transient and resident families are smaller than those of the rural farm population of Washington State. That families are handicaps to transients is indicated. (8) Farm laborers are middle-aged. (9) Heads of transient labor families are better educated than resident laborers, but their children are not so well educated as resident laborers' children. The latter would fare better educationally if school terms were adjusted to work seasons. (10) The farm laborer participates to a very limited extent in community activities. Only 10 per cent of the resident and four per cent of the transient single workers claim church membership. Only one-third of the resident and one-fourth of the transient families are church members. (11) More than 40 per cent of transient families live in tents and almost one-third in tourist cabins. (12) About one-half of the transient laborers move twice and 28 per cent move three times a year. (13) More than two-thirds of the jobs last one week or less. (14) The more mobile transients received no more employment than the less mobile. (15) The median annual cash income for transient family heads is \$300; for resident heads, \$200. Family annual income for the transients is \$350; for the residents, \$275. (16) About 20 per cent of single transients and 43 per cent of transient families stated that they had received relief during the year of interview. (17) Farm laborers from the drought states were less frequently relief clients and more preferred workers. (18) The larger families were most frequently on relief. (19) The higher the educational status of the head, the less frequently the family had received relief.

RURAL YOUTH

A sample study¹⁰ of educational status and school attendance of rural youth was made in five Wisconsin counties. Within the area of investigation educational status and occupation of all rural youth were ascertained through the use of annual school censuses.

According to the Census, Wisconsin, among all states, has the highest proportion of young people on farms not in school. Farm youth in Wisconsin do not take advantage of the formal educational opportunities to the extent that village or city youth do. In fact, 71 per cent of the farm young men 20 to 25 years of age had not gone beyond the eighth grade, while only 30 per cent of the village young men had failed to enter high school between 1928 and 1934. Sixty per cent of the farm women, as contrasted with 21 per cent of the village

¹⁰ J. A. James and J. H. Kolb, "Wisconsin Rural Youth—Education and Occupation," *Bulletin* 437, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, November, 1936.

women, had failed to enter high school. Twice the proportion of farm as village youth left high school before graduation.

Two and one-half as many village youth were graduated from high school and attended college as did farm youth. Over half the farm young women 20 to 26 years of age left the farm for the village or city between 1928 and 1935. One-fourth are in domestic or personal service; two-fifths are housewives.

In rural-urban migration, marriage is important. Between 1928 to 1934, 70 per cent of the young women who married village or city men were of farm origin.

The characteristics of rural youth (16 to 24 years of age) on relief are described as determined from a 50 per cent sample of rural case records in 13 Virginia counties.¹¹ Data concerning age, sex, marital and occupational status of rural youth on relief are presented in tabular and summary form.

MISCELLANEOUS

A study¹² of the characteristics of the rural households on relief in Wisconsin during June, 1935, and April, 1936, reveals that, contrary to the beliefs of some, rural relief in Wisconsin is not primarily a farm problem. In June, 1935, 28 per cent and in April, 1936, only 18 per cent of the relief heads were engaged in agriculture. Contrary to some conceptions, the rural relief family in Wisconsin is small or medium in size, the median size being 3.4 in 1935 and 3.2 in 1936. Those who might believe the upswing of business employment programs of the Works Progress Administration, the Resettlement Administration, and other Governmental agencies left no households with employable members on relief, are in error. Only one-third were unemployable; almost a third were out of work, but willing and able to work. Another third were working but earning incomes inadequate to support their families. Untrained workers constituted a large part of the relief population.

Although Wisconsin has had an old age assistance program since April, 1936, over half of the unemployable heads of households on relief were found to be 65 years of age or over. One-tenth of these older persons on relief were also receiving old age assistance. Sixty per cent of all aged persons on relief were living alone.

Since the recent economic depression has focused increasing attention on the place of married women in wage-earning positions which might be held by men or by unmarried women without dependents, a study¹³ was made in the effort

¹¹ B. L. Hummel, W. W. Eure, and C. G. Bennett, "Youth on Relief in Virginia, 1935," *Rural Relief Series*, No. 9, Social Research Division of Federal Works Progress Administration and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, co-operating, December, 1936.

¹² George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ronald A. Smith, "Rural Relief Changes in Wisconsin," *Stencil Bulletin*, Department of Rural Sociology, College of Agriculture and the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, co-operating, February, 1937.

¹³ Margaret Whittemore and Blanche M. Kuschke, "The Rural Homemaker in Southern Rhode Island as a Paid Worker," *Bulletin No. 259*, Rhode Island Agricultural Experiment Station, Rhode Island State College, Kingston, Rhode Island, December, 1936.

to contribute some facts about the situation in Washington County, Rhode Island. This particular county was selected because in it are many small, accessible textile mills offering employment to female, as well as male workers, and nearby summer resorts with opportunities for seasonal employment of women; because it is on the main tourist route from New York to Boston, which offers chances for services to summer travelers; and because the county is distinctly rural in character.

The study was based on 624 southern Rhode Island homemakers, in villages or other rural sections of the county, comprising one-fifth of the total number of women and girls reported employed by the 1930 Census, or 7.4 per cent of all the married women of the county. About 74 per cent of the total number were married women living with their husbands. Seventy-one per cent of the women studied lived in villages and only 29 per cent in the open country.

The sentiment that married women hold income-producing jobs only to escape housework or to be able to buy luxuries and extra household conveniences is not substantiated by this study. Over 85 per cent of the homemakers gave "necessity" as the only, or one of the causes of working, while only 33 per cent gave luxuries as a reason. Most of them carried on work to which they were accustomed before marriage or semi-domestic work which could be done at home. Only about 42 per cent of the families had children; there were only 29 children in 624 homes. Only 26.2 per cent of the children under seven were found in homes of women working full-time.

The part- or full-time occupations represented, in the order of their importance, were found to be: industrial (textile mills), domestic, commercial, professional, boarding and lodging, homecraft, agricultural, and miscellaneous. Industrial occupations accounted for 33.6 per cent and domestic 17.3 per cent, while homecraft was given for only 5.3 per cent and agricultural one per cent.

Satisfactory reports of earning were obtained from only 333 homemakers, who showed an average weekly total of \$5,924.98, or \$17.79 for each woman.

Very few of the homemakers in the study had paid help at home, but most of their homes had electricity and modern equipment, particularly washing machines and vacuum cleaners. Income-earning homemakers also used ready-prepared products to a large degree, 60 per cent of them buying three-fourths or more of their clothing for themselves and families, 22 per cent buying everything ready-made. Nearly one-half bought all their bread, more than one-third sent out part or all of their laundry, and nearly nine out of ten women reported buying canned foods. The houses and grounds of about three-fourths of them were in good condition.

A study of the standard of living of 180 farm families in selected block-sample areas in Codington County, South Dakota, reports a labor income of \$1,150 for owners and \$837 for tenants.¹⁴ Tenants secured 45.1 per cent of their labor income from the rent furnished and the food produced on the farm,

¹⁴ Zetta E. Zankert, "The Farm Family Standard of Living in Codington County, South Dakota," *Standard of Living Series, Bulletin No. 1*, South Dakota Works Progress Administration and South Dakota State College, co-operating, December, 1936.

while owners secured only 39.4 per cent of their income from the same sources. Both owners and tenants used about eight per cent of their labor income in 1935 for clothing, while 43 per cent went for food, 20 per cent for shelter, and the remainder for furnishings and equipment, operating expenses, health, advancement, incidentals, and investments. Of the 180 households studied, 77 were without power washing machines, 73 had radios, only 52 had telephones, 167 were using kerosene or gasoline lamps, and only 13 were using electric lights. Larger farms have always been the most profitable if one measures by the home conveniences acquired.

The average value per farm and buildings in 1935 for Codington County was \$7,572; the average value per acre of land was \$25. The median size of household was 5.2, owners having slightly fewer children under 16 and slightly more over 16 at home than tenants. Tenure, type of farm, farm size, value of farm buildings, amount of working capital, amount of available adult family labor, age, and mobility were found to be related to labor income.

Personal interviews of 87 selected farmers constitutes the basis of a study in Moody County of southeastern South Dakota.¹⁵

As a result of productive soils and stable precipitation and crop yields over a long-time period, agricultural and economic conditions in 1935 were better in southeastern South Dakota than in any other part of the state.

Total or serious damage to crops due to drought was reported in Moody County only one year in 10. Serious damage by hail, the cause of crop damage next in importance, was reported only one year in 20. The average net worth of all owner operators interviewed was estimated at \$7,893, and that of tenant operators at \$1,739. Fifty-eight per cent of all farmers in 1935 were tenants, tenancy having increased slightly since 1920. The average size of all farms in Moody County in 1935 was 238 acres, and the 160-acre farms were the most common.

Requirements for rehabilitation in Moody County and the area represented are little more than needs for working capital loans. There is apparently little need for livestock and equipment replacements. On the other hand, opportunity for closer settlement seems limited, i.e., the area is not one in need of assistance or marked adjustments, but it does not offer many opportunities for additional farmers.

A home economics extension circular¹⁶ describes the progress of the expanded home economics work made possible by Bankhead-Jones funds. With the close of 25 years of special effort toward extension service for rural homes, 51 land-grant colleges and 17 Negro colleges report an off-campus home economics extension faculty of 1,916 county home demonstration agents and assistants. In

¹⁵ H. L. Stewart, "The Agricultural Situation in the Intensive Livestock Production Area of Southeastern South Dakota," (as typified by Moody County, S. D.), *Resettlement Bulletin K-11*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration and Resettlement Administration, co-operating, December, 1936.

¹⁶ Madge J. Reese, "The Expansion of Home Economics Extension Work under the Bankhead-Jones Act," *Extension Service Circular No. 256*, United States Department of Agriculture, January, 1937.

addition, the home economics extension faculty includes 444 state home demonstration leaders, assistants, and home economics specialists with headquarters chiefly at state agricultural colleges.

At the time of the Smith-Lever Act, in 1914, there were only 349 county home demonstration agents as compared with 1,916 at the present time. County home demonstration agents are now one-third of the county extension personnel for 48 states, Puerto Rico, Alaska, and Hawaii. According to the report, these county agents are needed by state demonstration leaders for guidance assistance in girls' 4-H Club work and organizations of women, providing preliminary education for home demonstration work, and taking care of an extra heavy rehabilitation load where individual service is necessary. There are now 41,504 home demonstration groups with a membership of 950,927.

Extension workers should be given sabbatical leaves for further study; only 13 state colleges now grant this and three of this number grant it to staff workers only. All extension workers hold professional rank now in 14 states and to a limited extent in 10 other states.

"A region is an area large enough to display most social factors, distinctive enough to make recognition fairly easy, and possessed of a characteristic mode of life."¹⁷ This working definition may be used for the regional thinking of geographers, anthropologists, ecologists, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and other scholars. The author goes on to state that, "within such areas, relationships arise and shape themselves into patterns of thought and action, of ways of doing things and of looking at things. People cluster together and form institutions of various sorts which reach out into surrounding areas for part of their support." Transportation, communication, and other factors, of course, greatly affect these interrelationships.

In "Five Years of Rural Work in Tsouping"¹⁸ the Shantung Institute of Rural Reconstruction describes its varied activities. The Institute was founded in June, 1931, as a successor to the College of Village Self-Government, which was closed in 1930, and continues the work of that institution as an "organization of the rural community for quickening social progress."

The Institute, supported by the Shantung Provincial Government, includes three departments: research, training, and demonstration. The research department offers a year of theoretical study to college graduates and most of those completing the course now serve in the Institute or in supervision of rural work in their home districts. The training department also offers a one-year course, the purpose of which is to prepare young people from established rural families to work with the rural people. The demonstration work is done by Demonstration Districts, in which the Institute may choose the magistrate, subject to the approval of the provincial government, and may appoint and discharge other officials. The Demonstration Districts are designed for experiments in administrative reform in local government, local self-government, and social reform.

¹⁷ Harry E. Moore, "What Is Regionalism," *Southern Policy Paper No. 10*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1937.

¹⁸ H. J. Chang, "Five Years of Rural Work in Tsouping," *Rural Reconstruction Series No. 2*, Shantung Institute of Rural Reconstruction, October, 1936.

The principal activities carried on by the Institute in the Demonstration Districts were: the reform of the local government; compulsory educational program including a program of compulsory education for both children and adults especially adapted to the rural situation; economic improvement through the promotion of co-operatives; the establishment of a census system; drought loans to farmers; the establishment of a reformatory for idlers, gamblers, and drug addicts from the district.

In addition to the three main departments of the Institute, there are several affiliated institutions which, although constituent parts of the Institute, work more or less independently in their own fields: the division of social investigation; the editorial office of *Rural Reconstruction*, a semi-monthly magazine; the library; the office for guidance in rural service; the hospital; the Institute's farm for field practice by students, extension, and research; an agricultural experiment station, established in co-operation with the China International Famine Relief Commission and the Agricultural College of the University of Nanking.

A study of rural white and colored families of Alexander County, Illinois,¹⁹ where almost half of the rural population was on relief, describes the level of living in terms of health, community facilities, and social participation. The rural families of this southwestern Illinois county are among American agriculture's underprivileged. Seventy-eight of the persons living in the rural areas had previously been employed in industrial enterprises, most of which were entirely closed. Social participation was at a minimum, health conditions serious, and community facilities run down.

Census data and a C.W.A. study of farm housing embracing 28,001 houses in nine representative counties are the main sources for material contained in a monograph on "Home Conveniences on Tennessee Farms."²⁰ For this report heating, lighting, water supply, toilet and bath facilities, sewage disposal, refrigeration, telephones, and landscaping on farms were studied, with some comparisons among tenure classes and between races. Certain regional comparisons are also contained in this report.

Formal educational status of farm families in Tennessee is surprisingly closely related to social and economic factors used as indices of levels of living and economic status.²¹ The basis for the report consisted of schedules taken recently from 840 farmers in 15 counties. Data from earlier studies were also used.

The farm families with better-educated heads were generally smaller than those whose heads were less educated. Negro owners were the only exceptions to this. For families studied, the higher the educational status of the head, the

¹⁹ D. E. Lindstrom, "Some Factors Affecting Social Welfare in Rural Areas of Alexander County, Illinois, 1934," *Rural Sociology Monograph*, No. 4, University of Illinois Agricultural Experiment Station and Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, co-operating.

²⁰ Charles E. Allred and Wm. E. Hendrix, "Home Conveniences on Tennessee Farms with Regional Comparisons," *Monograph* No. 30, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, March 10, 1937.

²¹ Charles E. Allred and Benjamin D. Raskopf, "Relation of Education to Social and Economic Status of Farmers in Tennessee," *Monograph* No. 29, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, March 1, 1937.

higher was the value of family living and the more conveniences, literature, and music were in the home. With the exception of one county, the better-educated farmers operate larger farms, have more capital invested, have larger farm labor incomes, and have a greater net worth than do farmers of little or no education.

During the preceding quarter the following additional reports and bulletins have been received:

William Trufant Foster, "Doctors, Dollars and Disease," *Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 10*, 1937.

Rainer Schickele and Charles A. Norman, "Farm Tenure in Iowa, I. Tenancy Problems and Their Relations to Agricultural Conservation," *Bulletin No. 354*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, and Land Utilization Division, Resettlement Administration, co-operating, Ames, Iowa, January, 1937.

C. O. Brannen, "Characteristics and Costs of County Government in Arkansas," *Bulletin No. 338*, Agricultural Experiment Station, College of Agriculture, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, January, 1937.

Pellervo Society, "Agricultural Co-operation in Finland," *Helsinki Pellervo-Seura*, 1936.

Caroline B. Sherman (from technical study conducted by Richard O. Been and Frederick V. Waugh), "The Farmer's Share of the Consumer's Food Dollar," *Leaflet No. 123*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

Donald Jackson, "A Graphic Summary of Farm Taxation," *Miscellaneous Publication No. 262*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., February, 1937.

"Catholic Rural Life Objectives," *A Series of Discussions on Some Elements of Major Importance in the Philosophy of Agrarianism*, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The Cost of Government in New Jersey, New Jersey State Planning Board, an introductory survey of public finance; indicating where and for what purpose public funds have been spent. Trenton, New Jersey, 1936.

"Catholic Rural Life Objectives," *A Second Series of Discussions on Some Elements of Major Importance in the Philosophy of Agrarianism*, presented at the 14th annual convention of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Fargo, North Dakota, October 10, 1936.

Clifton T. Little, "Restless Americans," *Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 9*, 1936. Prepared on the basis of the report of the Study of Population Redistribution.

- William L. Bradshaw and Milton Garrison, "Township Organization in Missouri," *The University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. XI, Number 4, October 1, 1936.
- M. H. Saunderson, R. B. Haight, E. M. Peterson, and Rex E. Willard, "An Approach to Area Land Use Planning" (with particular reference to Technique and Procedure), *Land Use Planning Publication No. 16*, Land Use Planning Section, Resettlement Administration and the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman, Montana, co-operating, March, 1937.
- John J. Haggerty, "Public Finance Aspects of the Milk River Land Acquisition Project (La-Mt-2) Phillips County, Montana," *Land Use Planning Publication No. 18-a*, Land Use Planning Section, Resettlement Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, April, 1937.
- John J. Haggerty, "General Framework of Law and Procedure within which Local Governments Operate in Montana," (background study to accommodate 18-a), *Land Use Planning Publication No. 18-b*, Land Use Planning Section, Resettlement Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, April, 1937.

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

NOTE

The following has been received by the Book Review Editor and is published for the information of many of our subscribers:

I think it might be worth while in the next book review section of *Rural Sociology* to issue a warning to our clientele not to waste any money on the current issue of *Educational Research*, Volume VII, No. 1, February, 1937, 112 pages, devoted to the alleged purpose of listing all research in Educational Sociology that has appeared within the last five years.

I have suggested the note because these quarterly volumes, each one devoted to a subject, sell for \$1.00 and are promoted very much as is a book.

My objection to this volume is the almost total omission of anything dealing with the rural situation. There are a couple of pamphlets of Anderson's listed, Landis' *Rural Adult Education*, and two or three Master's theses (unpublished) prepared by students of the Committee that was responsible for the issue. There is no mention of the studies by Burnham and McKinley Robinson of the Kalamazoo Teachers College; not a single listing, except those quoted, of about a score of agricultural college bulletins dealing with youth or the social aspects of education. *Rural Social Trends* is not mentioned, although one or two of the other volumes of the series are; and, although textbooks by some of the Committee are listed and cross-referenced, there is not a single note to any of the rural sociologists, some of whom, especially Sims, Sorokin and Zimmerman, Gillette, as you know, deal quite extensively with rural education and its social aspects.

I might add that despite the five-year limitation on these issues, the references go back to 1909 and include such happy little tracts as Goodwin Watson's *Religious and Social Accomplishments of Summer Camps* which is ten years old and which has been forgotten for almost that long.

Rural Trends in Depression Years. By Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 387. \$3.25.

This report is an outstanding contribution to rural sociology and to our knowledge of country life in the United States. It will long be a milestone in this field because of the foresight of those who planned the study in making it in 1936 when the effects of the depression were ascertainable and it will probably form the most comprehensive body of data concerning the influence of the depression on rural life in this country. But its significance lies chiefly in the fact that it is the third study of a representative sample of 140 agricultural village communities, made at six-year intervals, for without the previous surveys the present interpretation of the effect of the depression years on rural life would have been impossible. It is fortunate that the co-operating agencies, the Carnegie Corporation, the American Association for Adult Education, the Bureau of

Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, the Rural Section of the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration, and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, saw the importance of the undertaking and made it possible. The product clearly indicates that some public agency should be in a position to set up and repeat studies of this kind at definite intervals so as to have adequate data upon which to base social planning in all areas of rural life.

The book is more than a report of the survey, for it includes data obtained from the federal censuses and other governmental and private agencies which made possible a general description of the rural situation with the villages studied as the focus of attention. Thus the first two chapters give a general account of the changing Agricultural Backgrounds and the Agricultural Adjustments in Rural Communities with particular reference to the rôle of New Deal Legislation.

The study of population changes was handicapped by lack of a census enumeration and depended upon estimates of the field workers from local sources. It shows that the villages increased at more than twice the rate from 1924 to 1930, and that the larger villages and towns grew more. Unfortunately some of the larger villages had grown out of the strictly rural (i.e., under 2,500) classification, so that, in 1930, 12 of them averaged 2,906 population and in 1936 averaged 3,211 persons, with nine of them running from 3,000 to 4,500. The comparison shows the changes in identical villages, but it gives a bias for the larger villages, which is unavoidable without a larger sample and necessary changes in the sample if it is to remain strictly rural according to the accepted classification of rural population. The analysis of the village community areas shows that the open-country population grew more than that of the villages, and gives a good picture of where the immigrant population came from and the type of land settled. It fails, however, to give any indication of what happened to villages of under 250 population, which form the vast majority of rural community centers. Some doubt is thrown upon the validity of the estimates by the statement that an enumeration of 45 villages made under the auspices of the American Youth Commission showed a decrease, but it is held that the school enumerations of these same villages showed increased attendance. The report does not give the enrollment of village children in the schools, so that this cannot be checked, but the authors promise a later explanation of this seeming contradiction.

The chapter on Village-Country Relations is excellent and shows an increase of co-operation and lessened conflict, with a continued decline of neighborhoods and small centers.

The chapter on Business and Industry is particularly valuable and makes use of the Census reports on Retail Trade Distribution. It is interesting that during the depression there was a notable increase in retail trade outlets and that these were mostly in the smaller villages. The detailed analysis of changes in the types of business is less satisfactory because in the analysis of the types of stores (Table 34) the source of the data for 1910 and 1920 is not stated and it is not clear whether the data are comparable. The only considerable gains in specified

types were in the number of stores handling auto accessories, restaurants, and soft-drink establishments, but for other specified kinds of stores there is no appreciable gain or loss. Taking grocery stores and other food and general stores together, there was a decline of 2.1 or 17 per cent. The increase was in "all other retail" stores, and it is not clear that this item is comparable with previous years. The failure of chain stores to increase during the depression is notable.

The chapter on Rural Banking gives an excellent summary of the trends from a statistical standpoint, and is a new feature of this series of surveys. It would be helpful if a further analysis of the effect of the decreased number of village banks and the increase of branch banking on the social organization of the village might be studied.

A very clear picture of Rural Schools in the Depression is given and shows more country children in the elementary village schools, and a considerable increase in total high school enrollment. The enumeration of changes in the curriculum as affected by the depression is a valuable indicator of changing rural attitudes and interests.

Two chapters are devoted to adult education, the first of which deals with the work of Agricultural Extension, which is largely based on a questionnaire answered by state directors of extension and rural sociologists. It gives particular attention to the growth of the cultural aspect of the extension program and the influence of the depression on it. Although it is not suggested by the authors, the reader who is familiar with present tendencies in the extension service is led to wish that a much more thorough-going analysis of the organization and policies of the extension service might be made by a non-governmental agency. The chapter on other agencies in adult education gives an excellent picture of the rural library situation and of the growth of interest of adult education in the schools, giving particular attention to the Emergency Program in adult education, with comments on its assets and liabilities. This is an emergent factor in rural progress which the authors give particular attention and stress in their conclusions.

The chapter on Social Organizations gives a clear analysis of the changes, showing a decline in their total number, this being largest for fraternal and athletic organizations, whereas the only notable increase was in the number of bridge clubs and youth-serving organizations. Whether the village sample used represents the real picture of rural life is suggested by the fact that a notable decrease in the number of 4-H Clubs is reported, whereas it is known that the number of clubs and their membership had the largest and most steady growth of any rural organization during the depression.

The analysis of the trend in Rural Religion is particularly good, but shows that country churches continued to decline and that the depression had no notable effect on the life or program of the village church. The discussion of Relief in Rural Areas is a new feature, not included in previous surveys, arising from the depression, and gives a good picture of the values and liabilities of the relief program, giving particular attention to the lack of education as a causative factor in dependency.

In their chapter of Conclusions the authors forcefully present their interpretation of the facts revealed as a basis for social action, with regard to migration, relief problems, the land and the people—including tenancy, the need of federal aid for schools and the possible rôle of adult education, and sum it up in a plea for planning for social parity of rural communities, which will require some federal aid but which must rest on local initiative through increased enlightenment.

From a technical standpoint the report is in some respects not as satisfactory as the two previous reports, doubtless due to the exigencies connected with its final preparation. The sociologist would be interested in more detail with regard to the methods used in collecting and analyzing the data. Thus it is not clear with regard to the attitudes toward the A.A.A., described in Chapter II, whether they were those of prominent villagers or what percentage were obtained from farmers. In many places the sources of data are not given; thus Table 35 is evidently from the *Census of Distribution* or the *Census of Retail Trade*, but it does not so state. In the studies of tiers of counties the sources of data are not given, as, for example, with regard to the "instructional cost per teacher" in Table 56.

However, in view of the extensive amount of data covered it is surprising that the authors were able to assemble, tabulate, and interpret the results so quickly, so as to make their results promptly available when most needed. They are to be congratulated upon producing such a comprehensive report when it is most timely, and it is to be hoped that it may be the means of stimulating similar recurrent studies of the other social aspects of rural life, such as the standard of living, the status of smaller rural communities, etc., under governmental or private auspices which may insure their continuity and reliability.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Libraries of the South: a report on developments 1930-35. By Tommie Dora Barker. Chicago: American Library Association, 1936. Pp. xvi, 215. \$1.75.

This book is the official report of the Southern Field Agent of the American Library Association and covers the five years' work of that official during the period 1930 to 1935. The report deals not only with library problems *per se* but with economic, social, and statistical data covering the Southern scene which make it of great sociological interest.

As stated in the work, "Library progress is, of course, conditioned in a measure by the social and economic environment. Influencing factors in the South . . . are the low per capita wealth, the large rural population, the absence of large cities, the unprofitable system of farm tenancy, resulting in financial and social deterioration, the large proportion of children, the large negro population, the expense involved in maintaining a dual system of many public services for the two races, and the constant drain of men and money from the region" (p. 90). These factors being fully taken into consideration, the problems involved in the development of libraries in the South during the five-year period of great economic stress seem well-nigh insuperable. The blow to the agricultural prosperity

of the South, in these years, made the resultant economic distress an effective barrier to great expansion in the entire field of education. Even the schools with much better legal support suffered so that a six-months' term was not possible throughout great areas. The maintenance of library progress, attained with difficulty after arduous years of effort in many states, became impossible because no adequate economic support was possible under existing laws.

On the other hand, just as a "report of activities" for these five years the book has great value. During this time there was a loss of several library extension agencies whose work had been so poorly financed that they previously had been rendered almost ineffective. This was the period of the Rosenwald County Library demonstrations, of the rapid development and standardization of school library service, of a thorough study of the library training needs of the South and the consequent strengthening of facilities whereby a suitable personnel may be assured for the future, and, finally, of planning for proper development of libraries in entire states and the whole region itself. This has led to a plan being evolved in each state and these plans, given in detail, are an interesting feature of the report. As in the case of the schools, these plans envisage more and more support from the central state government and less and less dependencies on the now overburdened local taxpayer. This involves a variation in the entire financial structure of government and even goes so far as to hint at the necessity for federal aid as well as state subsidy, if our systems of schools and libraries are going to be put in a position to help our people arrive at their educational goal.

The study deals with all manner of library problems—public libraries, both rural and urban and for both colored and white; school libraries, both for the general schools and for colleges and universities; library extension, both as it involves increase in existing library facilities and the extension of the services to answer the insistent demands of people wherever located; library training, so as to have maintained a proper supply of trained workers scaled to the demand; and finally, the development here in the South of the proper book resources so that the people may have at the same time and ready at hand the information they need and the machinery necessary to get that information to the public as need arises. This proper co-ordination of our book resources, especially where their supply is so meager as in the South, is all the more necessary. The rapid development of southern colleges and universities, both public and private, is being guided quite wisely by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, which has adopted higher standards for college libraries and thereby demands better book stocks, better financial support, and a trained service for their operation. School library standards, while adopted for going into effect in a most depressed period, have not been lowered, although more time has been given for meeting the basic requirements.

The report gives due prominence to the aid received from the foundations interested, such as the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Also, due mention is made of the effective guidance, direction, and support of the two regional Associations, the Southeastern and

Southwestern Library Associations, which are the chief inspirers to library progress in the two sections of the South. That the South has just made a start and is becoming conscious of its own library and educational needs and the problems peculiar to its own environment is made most apparent by this effective statement of facts, events, and questions yet awaiting solution. Supplied as it is with a wealth of statistical data, the book is of interest to anyone interested in the South, both economical and social, and in the furthering of its progress by strengthening its educational facilities as represented by both schools and libraries.

Louisiana State University

JAMES A. McMILLEN

Siam: Second Rural Economic Survey, 1934-1935. By James M. Andrews. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Peabody Museum, 1936. Pp. viii, 396.

This volume is of interest because it represents the first effort, under similar American auspices, to measure social trends in an Asiatic country. The first *Rural-Economic Survey of Siam* was conducted by Professor C. C. Zimmerman of Harvard and covered the year 1930-31.

Ordinarily the period involved, four years, might seem too short to register significant changes. But the intervening years were those of the Great Depression. They were, moreover, years of political unrest and change within Siam itself.

Some indication of these changes is to be seen from the fact that there has been a decline of 28 per cent in government revenue in this period, that cash expenses (per family studied) for food declined more than 50 per cent in two regions and from 20 to 25 per cent in two others, while clothing and household costs alike were down more than 50 per cent.

As the present reviewer pointed out in his discussion of the first Siam report [*Journal of Farm Economics*, XIV (1932), 707-710] the carrying through of a project of this sort by a foreigner, in a land whose people, language, diet, and climate are all strange to him, is a major enterprise even with the generous and interested co-operation of the government. Mr. Andrews, therefore, deserves great credit for what he has done.

It does not detract from that credit, however, to note some possible criticisms. He visited the same villages Dr. Zimmerman studied (with a "few changes"). These were divided into five regions, whereas the earlier study used four. Many of the tables, however, report on only four regions. The two villages in the fifth area are stated "not to give a true picture of this area," but are combined in most tables with the results of another region.

Comparisons of the detailed tables shows that somewhere between one-fourth and one-third of the villages Zimmerman studied were not re-surveyed. One cannot be exactly sure of the fraction, because Andrews' spelling of two or three names, while not identical, is so similar to that used by Zimmerman as to suggest that the villages were the same. Especially in trend studies, extreme care should be taken on such matters. But, even if the smaller fraction is correct, in a sample

of 37 villages the substitution of from 11 to 14 cases seems to the reviewer like more than "a few changes."

The second survey covers some of the topics Zimmerman studied more intensively and gives valuable, new information. Other topics covered in the first investigation are entirely omitted in the second. One of the real disappointments in the second survey is that in only a few summary tables in just a few chapters are comparisons made between the two surveys. Elsewhere the reader is left many times to find out whether the data are common to both studies and, if so, what the comparison is.

If American sociologists are to play any important rôle abroad, because of the developing interest in a number of lands in some of the techniques our tax and foundation funds have enabled us to develop and apply, it will be necessary to show that we can avoid the necessity of criticisms of the type that have been made.

Columbia University

E. DES. BRUNNER

The American People: Studies in Population, Nov., 1936, issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*. Edited by Louis I. Dublin. Pp. xii, 396. \$2.00.

It now ought to be accepted *generally* that in the long run the country produces the population and the cities consume it. Hence demography and rural sociology have very much in common. When the reviewer was an undergraduate, American demography, as taught, consisted almost entirely of the slogan, "America needs fewer babies but better ones." At that time the most popular sociology text contended that birth rates were higher in the cities than in the country districts. The evidence was a comparison of Irish Catholic Boston with the remainder of Massachusetts, which then contained many more of the small-familied natives who arrived earlier on these shores. Since then, American demography has been growing up—even if birth rate has fallen below a reproductive level.

This volume of the *Annals*, edited by Louis I. Dublin, one of the world's very few really great demographers, presents this rapidly maturing American demography in 32 papers, five dealing with reproduction, six with mortality and morbidity, five with population increase and structure, eight with the relation of population to resources, and the other seven with world population resources and population research.

Dublin, in his introduction, outlines briefly the growth of American demography and then indicates that one objective of the work is to seek "an intelligent and consistent point of view" which will "harmonize conflicting attitudes concerning population." After pointing out that the population problem is far more complex than most writers have supposed it, and that population problems differ for times and regions, he makes a key statement which shows his point of view, namely: In Europe and America, on the other hand, standards of

living have continuously risen, and the question confronting these countries is not that of finding the easiest way of keeping population down (p. xi).

It would be of great interest to know now whether this point of view would be accepted generally by the 35 other demographers who contribute to these pages. Unfortunately, for a neat statistical tabulation of straw votes, most of the papers are technical and give few real opinions. However, the reviewer, who has held the "neo-organic" view of population ever since he put on the long trousers of independent thought, is painfully conscious of the fact that anything other than a simple (and hence automatically invalid) view of population (a Malthusian problem in division of present natural resources and technique by various numbers of people) is as unpopular in these United States as a black chicken in an otherwise white leghorn flock. Men like Oliver E. Baker and Alfred J. Lotka, who think independently upon the complicated issues of population, are still few and far between.

Some of these papers, in spite of the general high level, are better than others. The reviewer does not wish to draw any invidious distinctions, but a few highlights will be of interest. Raymond Pearl quotes R. Stix on a concrete study which showed a reproductive wastage of 30.6 per cent in 3,106 pregnancies, and in all pregnancies 22.1 per cent were illegally induced abortions. In this respect his data are born out by the article of George Kosmak, editor of the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. Rather a sad commentary on a civilization where every drugstore, most mail-order catalogues, and many filling stations are active birth-control clinics! Frank W. Notestein gives some preliminary data for China which show relatively higher birth rates in the upper classes than the lower. In this respect Notestein does not cite all the evidence. The Laws of Manu for India (Mohammedan and even Confucian Law) with their marriage provisions, various investigations in rural Russia, and investigations the reviewer made in Southeastern Asia, not to mention certain studies in the U. S. A., indicate that a pure peasant environment (familistic society) is generally conducive to a differential gross and net fertility favoring the reproduction of the middle and upper classes.

Sam Stouffer and Lyle Spencer show that the depression cost us almost 800,000 marriages but are unwilling to estimate its cost in children unborn. This modesty seems needless, since no one could really prove that the figure they might estimate would be wrong. The otherwise excellent paper on "Broken Families" by Mortimer Spiegelman takes an arbitrary, rather than a conceptual, definition of broken families. As a result, the problem does not receive the analysis it deserves. However, he does show (from Lotka's study) that the deaths of parents are not independent events, a bit of statistical reasoning with implications away above the heads of the ordinary garden variety of mechanistic population theorists. Warren Waite, with John D. Black as co-author, actually criticizes food destruction by the agricultural administration, which is somewhat unusual considering the general mute acceptance and even facilitation of this program by most agricultural economists. After reading what is said here on optimum population by A. B. Wolfe, John D. Black, and others, the reviewer is still of the

opinion that this idea is just as evaluative (if not more so) as any other theory of population. However, the fault may lie more in the reviewer than in the authors of the papers.

There are occasional papers here which question the fundamental postulates of Malthusianism, but at no place is there any development of an alternative or further population theory. Corrado Gini who, in spite of his overemphasis on various points, has clearly won the title of the world's outstanding demographer by giving Malthusianism its limited place on a developed demographic theory, is not mentioned in this work. Thus American demography is as yet merely adolescent.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Up From Poverty. By D. Spencer Hatch. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. xii, 208. Price, Rs. 2-8.

I have often been impressed in rural countries by the general ignorance of the foreigner about the agriculture and native culture of these regions. The situation is made more disheartening by the fact that in these large capital cities, whether Havana, Mexico City, or Bangkok, the native official or member of the intelligentsia knows even less about his country. Here, however, is a book by a foreigner about Indian agriculture which is conspicuously a clear exception to both cases. The author, probably an agricultural missionary, has studied the problems of his region, organized his own demonstration center, and probably has done more to change and improve the material culture of his constituency than have a dozen commissions or "popular front" governments.

The Indian peasant is unquestionably poor, ". . . probably one-third is underfed." The diet is not a balanced ration, land resources are limited to two and one-fifth acres per worker. Whole families live on a dime a day. It has been that way for several thousand years. Consequently, any abstract remedy, which would depopulate the land until there were 30 or 40 acres per worker, is at the most only an idle vision of a mechanically-minded thinker. Nevertheless, there is hope for increasing the material standard of living of individuals and probably of the race. Only one who has lived in Asia knows how inefficient the agricultural methods are. ". . . how bare is the space around the majority of houses . . . A carefully planned garden which would yield a steady supply of vegetables and fruits is a rarity." The best cows average two pounds of milk a day. Even a goat could do better on less feed. An improved forage grass is unknown.

The author has met this problem in Martandam by cottage industries, improved bulls, poultry, bees, and the ordinary day-by-day improved methods outlined earlier for agricultural demonstration in the U. S. A. The objections to this are numerous. The native when "educated" won't (and can't because he has lost his resistance to disease) live in the village. The answer is to teach people things without "educating" them. The author describes his methods and results. The Earl of Willingdon, who knows India, writes a foreword which emphasizes the success the author has had.

In these days of depleted mission resources and gradually rising antagonism to mission work in foreign lands, this type of activity stands out above all others for its success and for its capacity to promote respect for a purified version of Western ethics in Eastern lands. It was this type of thing which I outlined in my Siamese work. (Carle C. Zimmerman, *Siam, Rural Economic Survey 1930-31* Ministry of Commerce and Communications, The Bangkok Times Press, Ltd., Oct., 1931, pp. vii, 321.) I take glee in gently recommending this book to that group of foreigners and bureaucrats who have delayed many similar reforms which I set forth for the "Land of the Free."

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

People of Kansas. By Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts. Topeka: The Kansas State Planning Board, 1936. Pp. ix, 272. \$2.00.

This is a monograph, as the title implies, dealing with the population of Kansas, its origin, the processes of settlement, its growth and distribution, and its biosocial composition. The study also takes into account such factors as the land and climate, agricultural and rural adjustment, the tendencies in respect to small towns, and other socio-economic changes. It may be considered as one of a group of similar studies which either are being or have been conducted in the Southwestern States since 1933.

The authors state that the function of the study is to contribute to the fundamental understanding of the society which, within the life span of some of the older inhabitants, has evolved in Kansas. William Allen White says, "This book on the 'People of Kansas' is a most interesting study. It has been carefully done—a scholarly work. More than any other book I have ever read, this book explains why Kansas is Kansas; why it is not for instance, Oklahoma, and not Nebraska, certainly not Missouri nor Colorado."

The reviewer would be reluctant to try to improve upon Mr. White's statement, at least upon his reasons why the study will have an appeal to the people of Kansas themselves. Although the scope of the study is limited to Kansas, it should be of great interest to students of American life generally.

The minuteness which has been observed in this monograph may be realized by glancing over the 93 tables in the text, the 60 tables in the appendix, and the 44 figures and illustrations. There is scarcely a single phase of the general demographic structure of Kansas which has not been treated. While the data are drawn very largely from published documents, such as the federal and state censuses, they are presented with a degree of skill that overcomes the usual drawbacks arising from the use of these sources as a basis for research.

State planning boards, federal and state agricultural agencies, research organizations, and commercial concerns will find this volume valuable. It is at least one piece of sociological research which will be worth, in a material way, what it has cost—and more.

Oklahoma A. & M. College

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Family Behavior. A Study of Human Relations. By Bess V. Cunningham. Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Company, 1936. Pp. 471. \$2.75.

Several appropriate and skillful discussions combined with a general atmosphere of quiet common sense weaken the reviewer's impulse to penalize this volume heavily for frequently being off side. Expressing a genuinely humanitarian attitude, Cunningham wants college students to understand themselves better, to know more about social problems in general, and to improve the quality of future family life; but she has been tempted into many byways of discussion. Two preview chapters are followed by some 90 pages of material on Neighbors, More Neighbors, and Neighborhoods. These chapters, together with a later one, Adjusting to Community Life, contain specific discussions of newspapers, radios, movies, schools, and churches.

These are all good axes, quite in need of grinding, but the job might better be done in a social orientation course leaving only wire edges to be smoothed in special courses. It seems impractical to merge so much introductory sociology with specialized information on family life in one brief volume. It is possible that some rearrangement would lessen the difficulty. For example, a discussion of "Variations in Socio-Economic Status" would seem more pertinent if moved from the chapter on "More Neighbors" to the chapter on "Working and Sharing Income." A comparative discussion of family-relationship problems on the poverty, comfort, and well-to-do levels could then be offered. This would be very much in order, and would be a helpful supplement to materials currently available in family texts. As it stands, the Income chapter is well presented in a general and introductory manner. A more thorough discussion could have included such material as that of the Gruenbergs on parent-child money relations.

The author has an eye for interesting and important bits of information. Discussion suggestions, listed after each chapter, are appropriate and clever. It does no harm either to Wordsworth or a college-student to analyze "An Anecdote for Fathers." Even the sock-darning dilemma of a brilliant pianist is a good discussion starter. The originality and suitability of these problems make them worthy of any teacher's inspection.

The book is not rural; country life is mentioned in only a paragraph or two. There is no social history, and there are no data from comparative sociology. The index contains as many citations to church as to sex. Birth control is not discussed. The style is quiet and comfortable. The idiom is refined and semi-popular rather than either sensational or scientific.

It is doubtful that publishers can help either authors or themselves with book-jacket blurbs about "Just Ready," "Brand New," or "Just Off Press." Teachers looking for new text material are likely to overlook meritorious writing that is advertised by attention-getting tricks rather than by evaluative material.

La densità della popolazione nella storia della geografia. By Paolo Revelli.
Roma: Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione,
1936. Pp. 103. Lire 15.

This little book, by the director of the Geographic Institute at the University of Genoa, traces the historical development of concepts of population density in the Western World, upon the basis of a rich variety of archive and other documentary materials. Briefly summarizing the conceptions found in the ancient Graeco-Roman world—in the course of which he indicates that modern estimates of population density (for example, Beloch's) during this period are largely untrustworthy, because of our ignorance of the extent of the area involved—Revelli goes on to recount the vague geo-demological knowledge current in the Middle Ages.

From this period to the present, he finds five "stages" in the development of such knowledge. The first, to the fifth decade of the thirteenth century (in which occurred the first voyages of exploration in Central Asia, permitting the direct study, over a vast area, of the Tartar populations), is no longer restricted to considerations of a single region and begins to discriminate clearly between areas of high and low density. The second, to the end of the sixteenth century, involved the first attempts to rank the principal political units in terms of area and population, a procedure which was practically contemporaneous with the appearance of the first modern atlas by Ortelius. It was during this period of the Renaissance that the problem of geographical influences upon population density was accorded widespread attention.

In the third period, to the middle of the seventeenth century, developed a clear-cut tendency toward the scientific systematization of geo-political knowledge concerning every part of the known world, a movement which was coincident with the development of trigonometric procedures for ascertaining the size of political units. It would not have been amiss to introduce, at this juncture, a discussion of the new "political arithmetic," which owed so much to Petty, Graunt, King, and Halley, and which, to some degree, anticipated Süssmilch's work.

During the fourth stage, to the seventh decade of the eighteenth century, appeared Büsching's *Neue Erdbeschreibung*, which included not only a systematic treatment of naturalistic and demographic information about the various world areas but also discussed the mutual relations of geography and society. In describing individual states, this work normally dealt with 19 different points, including rural-urban differentiation, class composition, and migration. It was Büsching who conceived of geography as encompassing "researches on natural resources and production, manufacture, arts and sciences, national income, military power, and governmental structure."

The last stage, which proceeds from the works of Quetelet, Ritter, Humboldt, and later comparative geographers, brings us to a period of development which is sufficiently recent to be generally known.

The data presented in this work can readily be related to the pressure of political and economic authorities for the study of specific geographical problems.

As it stands, the book forms a noteworthy chapter in the history of geographical thought. An unnecessary and frequent erratum is the citation of A. P. Usher as Payson Usher Abbott.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

Polish Countrysides. By Louise A. Boyd, with a contribution by Stanislaw Gorzuchowski. Special Publication No. 20. New York: American Geographical Society, 1937. Pp. 235, xii.

Landnahme und Kolonisation in Canada am Beispiel Südontarios. By Carl Schott. Schriften des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Kiel herausgegeben von O. Schmieder, H. Wengel, und H. Wilhelmy, Band Vi. Kiel, 1936. Pp. 330, xv.

Portions of these two monographs will prove valuable to rural sociologists, especially those students who are interested in the arrangement of the rural population on the land.

Boyd's work has two outstanding features: (1) it presents 495 excellent photographs depicting almost every aspect of the Polish rural landscape, from the prevailing forms or types of settlement to the market scenes in the villages and towns; and (2) it contains a remarkably lucid essay, "Some Aspects of Rural Poland," by Dr. Stanislaw Gorzuchowski of the High School of Commerce in Warsaw, describing the Regions of Poland, The Population of Poland, Types of Rural Settlement, Rural Architecture, and Markets and Home Industries.

Schott's carefully prepared monograph contains two sections, "Die Vermessungsmethoden" and "Die Landnahme," describing the modes of dividing the land and forming settlements in the southern portion of Ontario, Canada. This is a region rich in cultural contrasts. Schott's excellent diagrams and charts (19 in number) deserve careful study and wide circulation.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

Income in Agriculture, 1929-1935. Study No. 232. By Robert F. Martin. National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1936. Pp. xviii, 168. \$2.50.

Agricultural economics in this country began early in this century as a study (principally accounting) of the individual farm business. About the time of the World War it introduced a new element—the economics of production. By the early twenties it had, with some exceptions, become very much of a mouth organ for the complaints of the commercial agriculturalists and affiliated business groups. These commercial farmers form about 40 per cent of our nearly 7,000,000 agrarian families. These commercialists, faced by fixed costs in a situation of relatively declining prices (after the unusual 1910-14 and World War prosperities), have become embattled indeed. Since 1920 one belief has become almost universally accepted in this country—the commercial farmers are being exploited of their fair share of the national income. Out of this have arisen numerous corrective movements, the more important of which are the

Federal Farm Board, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the "Soil Conservation" movements which restricted production, and the Farm Credit Administration which has taken over the mortgage system. Now after all of these years of commercial agricultural "experimentation" this private agency makes an appraisal of the farm situation.

The work represents an attempt to evaluate American agricultural income since 1929. In addition, it discusses the meaning of real income in agriculture and the relative conditions of American agriculturists by regions and by major crops since 1880. It attempts to answer the fundamental question as to whether there is any factual basis back of the claims upon which governmental intervention in the commercial side of agriculture has led to the "forced division of national income not normally produced by agriculture to those engaged in this occupation."

According to this study, there are two concepts of agricultural income—the contribution of agriculture to the national income, and the profits, rents, and wages, etc., received by farmers as a class. Neither is an accurate measure of the farmers' economic condition, because the total income is weighted by the low productivity and living conditions in the South (a racial and a regional problem); the fact that the rural regions have a different age distribution of persons, since they produce the population surplus for the cities because costs of living and standards of necessary consumption are less in agriculture; and because farming is a mode or way of life for a great many families who don't prefer to live in cities (noncommercial agriculturalists). Once these limitations to averages of agricultural income are considered, the work proceeds to establish the gross income of farmers arising in agriculture, the "other income" of agriculturalists, the costs of taxes, interest, rent, depreciation, wages, and other operating expenses, and then the net income of farm operators. After this, the results are used in a discussion of income and purchasing-power parity for agriculture and the comparative income status of agriculture. In these chapters it is pointed out that governmental estimates of farm income are very inadequate and faulty indeed. An illustration is the fact that farm contributions to family living are valued at farm and wholesale prices, and then the net results are compared with incomes of people who purchase items at city and retail prices. In this study a systematic attempt is made to correct the major invalidities of governmental income estimates.

The conclusions reached not only are interesting but will probably shock a great many who have believed very much what has been said about agriculture during the past 15 years. On page 111 the validity of the assumption that national income depends "upon the size and fluctuation of the agricultural portion" is questioned. Page 112 suggests that the volume of physical production in agriculture is of as much importance to "business activity, employment, and income in other industries, and hence on total national income, as the buying power derived directly from agriculture itself." The parity price period (1910-14 for most commodities) was one in which agricultural purchasing power relative to other commodities (except in the case of wheat, 1899-1903) was at the

highest point achieved "during the past 60 or more years, exclusive of the World War period" (p. 117). (Other studies show it the highest generally since 1790, except during the World War period, not only in this country but for several others.) The global Governmental index is so weighted that

. . . if cotton prices are low, the index tends to show that farmers all over the United States are in a disadvantageous position. A cotton price problem is thus unjustifiably converted into a mass agricultural disparity problem (p. 120).

These data lend no credence to the usual findings, directly and by implication, made by the Department of Agriculture, to the effect that farm operators were during the postwar prosperity period at an economic disadvantage in relation to other comparable elements of the population (p. 139).

The relative disadvantage of farmers in comparison with employees in manufacturing and retail trade in 1933 holds only with reference to the fully employed (p. 141).

This new presentation of data while still only approximate in nature because of inherent inadequacies of the Census and other source materials, gives a more realistic statistical picture of the economic status of farm operators than has heretofore been available. It throws new light on the official theory that there has been a general income disadvantage of farm operators while the country as a whole was enjoying prosperity. It shows that instead of a generally depressed condition in agriculture since 1929, there has been a series of special farm problems affecting special products and regions (p. vi).

The facts presented clearly imply, however, that a general governmental program to control the operations of farmers on a permanent basis as a means of artificially diverting a larger part of the national income to farm operators as a whole can be founded only on misinterpretation or ignorance of the nature of the available data. The real farm problems, differing in nature and in areas affected, and in different years, remain (p. vii).

All works can be criticized. A major difficulty of this one is probably that the study does not go thoroughly into the incidence and effects of a high proportion of fixed costs in agriculture. Further, it compares "farm operators" who consider themselves (at least on the commercial farms) as "business men" with wage and salary earners in manufacturing and retail trade. Nevertheless, this study, by an organization whose competence and fairness can not be challenged, should be welcomed by an inquiring but generally misinformed public. The National Industrial Conference Board can do the national economy no greater service than by continuing these studies. Some unbiased agency should give us an appraisal of the economic (and sociological as well, because in the long run these will probably be the most far reaching) results of production restriction in agriculture as already achieved and as imminent now in our sadly disjointed agricultural situation.

News Notes and Announcements

American Documentation Institute:—The American Documentation Institute has been incorporated on behalf of leading national scholarly, scientific, and informational societies to develop and operate facilities that are expected to promote research and knowledge in various intellectual fields.

A first objective of the new organization will be to develop and apply the new technique of microphotography to library, scholarly, scientific, and other material. It will be able to direct scholarly publication by various methods as required by co-operating organizations.

Organized as a Delaware corporation "not for profit" but for educational, literary, and scientific purposes, the Institute resulted from a meeting attended by delegates from national councils, societies, and other organizations in Washington on March 13.

The board of trustees elected consists of: Dr. Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University; Dr. Solon J. Buck, Director of Publications, National Archives; Watson Davis, Director, Science Service; Dr. James Thayer Gerould, Librarian, Princeton University Library; Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, Chairman, National Research Council.

Such a national organization was foreseen as an outcome of Science Service's documentation activities when they were begun in July, 1935, implemented with grants from the Chemical Foundation and conducted with the co-operation of the United States Naval Medical School, the United States Department of Agriculture Library, the Bureau of the Census, the Works Progress Administration, the Library of Congress, and other agencies.

Bibliofilm Service has been conducted by Science Service in co-operation with the Library of the United States Department of Agriculture as a service to research workers, and auxiliary publication through microfilm has been conducted by co-operation with leading scholarly and scientific journals. Science Service's documentation activities will be transferred to the new American Documentation Institute.

Gifu Imperial College of Agriculture, Japan:—The Japanese Sociological Society is now compiling a book in English on the recent development of sociology in Japan, which is to be presented to the members of the International Congress of Educationists who meet in Tokyo this summer. It will contain a section on rural sociology prepared by Professor Eitaro Suzuki.

Harvard University:—Professor Read Bain of Miami University will be lecturer during 1937-38 in the department of sociology. He will give the following courses: Social Control; Culture and Personality; Social Conflict. Professor Bain will repeat his course in Social Control at Radcliffe College.

Dr. N. S. Timasheff, who was lecturer at Harvard in 1936-37, is reappointed as lecturer for 1937-38. He will give courses in Sociology of Law, Modern European Social Reforms, and Individualized Treatment of Crime and Criminals.

Dr. Timasheff will repeat his course in Modern European Social Reforms at Radcliffe College.

The American Book Company has announced publication of three volumes of P. A. Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. The first volume deals with the fluctuation of art; the second with the fluctuation of truth, ethics, and law; and the third with the study of the social, political, and economic relationships and the fluctuation of wars and revolutions.

University of Kentucky:—Professor B. O. Williams of Clemson Agricultural College will teach courses in rural sociology during the Summer Session.

Louisiana State University:—Dr. O. E. Baker of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, will teach in the Short Course for extension workers which is being held in connection with the University's Summer Session. Dr. Baker and T. Lynn Smith will collaborate on a course in Rural Population Problems.

T. Lynn Smith has been appointed head of the department of sociology at Louisiana State University. Dean Fred C. Frey of the College of Arts and Sciences, who has also been head of the department, will continue teaching courses in sociology.

University of Minnesota:—R. W. Murchie, professor of rural sociology at the University of Minnesota, died suddenly of heart failure on Tuesday, April 20.

Born in Troon, Scotland, in 1885, Professor Murchie did his undergraduate work at the University of Glasgow. He received his M.A. degree at the University of Manitoba in 1906. For six years he held rural pastorates in Canada, as well as teaching positions in Theology at Union College, Glasgow, and the University of Manitoba.

In 1923 Professor Murchie began graduate work in sociology, economics, and agricultural economics at the University of Minnesota. The work in sociology, his major subject, was under the direction of Professors F. Stuart Chapin, L. L. Bernard, M. C. Elmer, P. A. Sorokin, and W. D. Wallis. His minor in economics and agricultural economics was taken under Professors John D. Black, F. B. Garver, A. H. Hansen, Bruce K. Mudgett, and Mordecai Ezekiel. The years 1923-24 and 1925-26 were spent in residence at the University and the year 1926-27 in non-resident work on his doctor's dissertation, *Unused Lands in Manitoba*. He secured the information for this study while directing a survey of the unused lands of Manitoba for the Provincial Government. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the spring of 1927.

The same year the Manitoban Government appointed him chairman of a Royal Commission on "Seasonal Unemployment." The following year Professor Murchie became associated with a four-year study of pioneer settlements of Canada under the supervision of Dr. W. A. Mackintosh of Queens University, Kingston, Ontario. In this work he served as a member of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee, a member of the Committee on Social Studies, and as chairman of the sub-committee on agricultural economics.

In 1931 he returned to the University of Minnesota as professor of sociology,

in charge of rural sociological research under the Purnell Act. He served in this capacity until his untimely death. During this time he published a number of important studies. In the last few years he was especially active in the numerous recreational and rehabilitation programs sponsored by the Federal government in Minnesota. He served as Director of the Division of Rural Rehabilitation under the Emergency Relief Administration, as President of the Minnesota Rural Rehabilitation Corporation, and as a member of the State Planning Board. He was a member of the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and the International Institute of Agricultural Economics.

Professor Murchie is survived by his wife, two daughters, two sons, his mother, and three sisters.

PUBLICATIONS BY R. W. MURCHIE

Unused Lands of Manitoba. King's Printer, Winnipeg, Canada, 1927.

Seasonal Unemployment. (With F. J. Dixon and W. H. Carter.) King's Printer, Winnipeg, Canada, 1928.

"The Sociological Aspects of the Agricultural Problem," *Papers and Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association.* Toronto, 1931.

"Agricultural Land Utilization in Western Canada," Chapter II in *Pioneer Settlement.* American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 14, New York, 1932.

"Pioneer Problems," *Proceedings of the World's Grain Conference.* Regina, Canada, 1933.

Land Settlement as a Relief Measure. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1933.

The Settlement of the Peace River Country. (With C. A. Dawson.) The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, 1934.

Minnesota Statewide Recreation Program. The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1934.

Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier. The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, 1936.

Population Trends in Minnesota. (With M. E. Jarchow.) Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1936.

Social Science Research Council:—The Advisory Committee of the Social Science Research Council feels the advisability of redefining the research needs for large elements in our rural population as listed below. It is becoming increasingly apparent that former research concerning the problems of these people is not adapted to their needs considering the new forces which have come into their life. These people are neither urban nor predominantly commercial farmers. Their problems have been accentuated by recent social changes in communication, transportation, the depression, and national agrarian policies. The general characteristics of this group are that they are non-commercial and more or less handicapped by low and precarious incomes. The group includes among others:

- a. A large number of semi-self-sufficing and low-cash income farmers in all regions.
- b. The farmers on some of what is known as marginal land such as the mountains and the Piedmont.
- c. Much of the open country non-farm population.
- d. A part of the rural negroes, the share croppers, the migratory farm and woods laborers, and persons of similar types.
- e. A good share of the isolated tidewater people.
- f. A large part of the so-called Spanish American population.

This group of population is to a large extent the seedbed for the American people in that fertility rates of 1930 were between 150 to 175 per cent of reproduction as contrasted with 75 per cent for the large cities, 95 per cent for the towns, and 125 per cent for the commercialized farmers.

A redirection of research concerning the livelihood and needs of these people and their rôle in American culture may be needed as follows:

- a. In the form of new projects.
- b. In the form of continuing previous researches and redirecting them.
- c. In the inclusion of their problems in specialized studies of the physical and economic characteristics of American Agriculture.

Former general assumptions concerning these people may represent unrealistic approaches to their problems.

A realistic reappraisal of the problems of these people is needed in terms of their human contributions to American life and in terms of their needs for which "remedies" and "improvements" can be realized.

In order to achieve these purposes a committee consisting of Carle C. Zimmerman, Lewis C. Gray, S. T. Dana, and T. W. Schultz has been set up to do certain exploratory work in this field.

Southern Sociological Society:—The second annual meetings of the society were held in Birmingham, Alabama, April 2 and 3. Among the rural sociologists participating in the program were Carl C. Taylor and Conrad Taeuber of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, Wilson Gee and Leland B. Tate of the University of Virginia, B. O. Williams of Clemson Agricultural College, and Fred C. Frey, E. H. Lott, and H. C. Hoffsommer of Louisiana State University.

Rupert B. Vance of the University of North Carolina succeeds Wilson Gee as president of the Society. B. O. Williams was elected secretary-treasurer.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute:—"Human Elements in Agriculture" is the topic for the Institute of Rural Affairs to be held at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, July 27-30.

Books Received

- All Good Americans.* By Jerome Bahr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936. \$2.50.
- The Rural Exodus in Czechoslovakia. Results of Investigations Made by Authors.* By H. Boker and F. W. von Bulow.
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The Cost of Isolated Settlement in Northern Wisconsin

George S. Wehrwein and J. A. Baker

ISOLATION has always been associated with the frontier. The pioneer, coming from a none too well-settled area, plunged into the wilderness to live a still more isolated life until neighbors came in to take up the intervening land. Even after the country was completely settled a certain amount of isolation still remains because of the manner of settling our farms, a farmstead on each farm with no attempt to place them in groups or villages.¹ The exceptions such as the Mormon villages are so striking as to command attention.

Of more sociological and economic importance, however, is the isolation on the frontiers where some settlers occupying the better soils live in compact settlements, similar in all respects to any settled agricultural community, others live on isolated tracts, some of them unsuited to agriculture, scattered through the vast areas of cutover or other forms of marginal land. One such area is in the cutover area of the Lake States where much of the settlement has been scattered from the first under the *laissez-faire* system of letting the settler locate as he pleased. Often he was placed in the midst of the wilderness by some land company knowing that the town would build a road to the settler as soon as he called for it. After the road was constructed the company was able to sell the rest of its holdings to better advantage. In the second place, with the agricultural depression and the increased industrial activity which followed the World War, settlers left this region of pioneer hardships and small incomes to take places in city industries. Many

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¹ T. Lynn Smith, "The Social Effects of Land Division in Relationship to a Program of Land Utilization," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XVII (1935), 702-709.

fairly well-settled areas were decimated and only isolated farms remained. In spite of the back-to-the-land movement following 1930, much of the isolation remains; in fact, it has been increased in certain areas by the scattering of the newcomers throughout the wild lands instead of settling in established communities. One reason for this uneconomical dispersion is that the land suitable for agriculture is scattered in small islands amidst a sea of submarginal cutover and wild land.

A crude measure of the sparsity of settlement is shown in Table I, indicating the number of towns with a given population density. Out of 289 towns in the 17 northern counties of Wisconsin there are 172 towns with a population density of less than 10 persons per square mile. By way of explanation, the town in Wisconsin is a unit of government, a subdivision of the county which may or may not correspond to the surveyor's township of 36 square miles. The figures include both farm and nonfarm population outside of incorporated villages and cities.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF TOWNS OF LESS THAN STATED POPULATION DENSITIES
IN 17 COUNTIES OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN, 1930

<i>Population Density Less Than:*</i>	<i>Number of Towns</i>
1	1
2	7
3	26
4	45
5	68
10	172

*Persons per square mile, calculated from 1930 U. S. Census, and area figures compiled by the Wisconsin Department of Agriculture and Markets.

Isolation means high per capita costs for schools, roads, and other public services. Schools with only three or four pupils are costing the public as much as \$300 or \$400 a year per pupil; there are examples of roads 30 miles in length being maintained for 13 families. In such cases the costs of public services fall not only on the local governments but also on the county and state through the system of state and county aids. The towns are being assisted with \$40 to \$50 a mile annual state aid in their maintenance of town roads; school districts receive an

annual subsidy of \$250 from the state and an equal sum from the county, plus other aids. In one instance a single new settler set up costs of \$1,600 the first year he moved into the wilderness. Had he settled in an already established community he would have been an asset instead of a liability.

ZONING AS RELATED TO ISOLATION

Situations such as this precipitated the zoning movement in the marginal areas of northern Wisconsin. In 1923 Wisconsin passed the first general enabling act permitting counties to zone the land outside the cities and other incorporated places. In 1929 this law was amended to permit the zoning of land for agriculture, forestry, and recreation.² In 1933 the first northern county took advantage of this law by creating two "use districts," a "forestry" and an "unrestricted district." Within the former district forestry is permitted, but agriculture and year-long residence are prohibited. Recreational activities not requiring year-long residence are also permitted. Nine counties have set up in addition a third zone, namely, the "recreational district," in which year-long residence is permitted but agriculture is forbidden.³ At the present time (June, 1937, or September, 1937) 23 counties have zoned their lands for agriculture, forestry, and recreation, closing by ordinance over 5,000,000 acres to agricultural settlement. However, in all these counties, there are settlers who had started farming operations before the ordinances were enacted. According to the zoning statute, and reiterated in the ordinances, these farmers must be permitted to remain since zoning cannot be made retroactive. Land utilizors not in conformity with the uses permitted by the ordinances are called "nonconforming users."

Nonconforming users must be recorded in the offices of the county clerk and register of deeds. In the 22 counties for which the official information was available at the time this article was prepared, there were 1,898 nonconforming land users. The very fact they were nonconforming indicates that, as a rule, they are isolated from their neighbors and live long distances from community centers. However, in some cases there are groups or clusters of farmers and resort owners in which the settlers are not entirely isolated. Zoning by itself does not relieve

² See W. A. Rowlands, "County Zoning for Agriculture, Forestry, and Recreation," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, IX (1933), 272-282.

³ For a detailed description of zoning procedure see W. A. Rowlands and F. B. Trenk, "Rural Zoning Ordinances in Wisconsin," *Circular 281*, Extension Service, Wisconsin College of Agriculture, September, 1936.

isolation; it merely prevents new settlers from moving in. Thus zoning must be followed by abatement of nonconforming users through planned relocation.

Because of circumstances surrounding nonconforming users and the need for their resettlement, a special study was undertaken based upon the data furnished by the list of nonconforming users and an earlier study.⁴

The restricted districts of zoned counties in northern Wisconsin are the areas of the greatest sparsity of settlement. Since the list of nonconforming users represents practically the entire population of the restricted districts, the number of such users and the area of the restricted districts can be used to determine the population density of the zoned areas. The approximately five million acres of restricted land have a population density of 1.04 persons per square mile, and as the resettlement program proceeds to remove and abate the nonconforming user, population will steadily grow less dense. Another interesting fact is that the total area of all land in a nonconforming use is only 159,071 acres, or 3.1 per cent of the total area of the restricted districts.

ISOLATION IN TERMS OF REMOTENESS FROM NEIGHBORS

As has been pointed out, a certain degree of isolation is inherent in farm life because of the manner of life and farm layout of American farms. With farms averaging 160 acres per farm and square in shape, the average distance between farm houses would be one-half mile, although the average distance to the nearest neighbor might well be less than one-half mile. However, northern Wisconsin farms have an aver-

⁴ In 1934 a Forest-Farm Homesteads project was started in northern Wisconsin under the Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior but was not completed because of changes in the methods of administration of the Department. Before attempting to relocate settlers under this project a C.W.A. study was made of almost 3,000 settlers, the results of which will soon be published by the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin.

The official record of the nonconforming users filed with the county clerk and the register of deeds includes the name of the occupant, the legal description of the land, data on the condition of the buildings, the acreage of land cleared, cultivated or in pasture. A supplementary record gives certain educational and road information.

It was found that 615 of the nonconforming users had been visited during the C.W.A. survey, which permitted a special study to be made of this group. Tables II, III, and V are based upon these data.

The authors are indebted to W. A. Rowlands and F. B. Trenk, who with the junior author, supervised the W.P.A. project consisting of the tabulation and analysis of the data obtained from the official lists of nonconforming land-users and from the 615 C.W.A. schedules obtained during the study of the 3,000 prospective settlers on the Forest-Farm Homesteads project.

age size of about 80 acres; therefore, as far as the size of farms conditions the distance between neighbors, northern Wisconsin should be more densely populated than central or western Wisconsin, where farms average 200 acres in size. The lack of close neighbors in the north, shown in Table II, is therefore due to the scattered nature of the farms and not their size. It should be emphasized, however, that this table does not include all farmers but is confined strictly to the data on the nonconforming users living in the zoned areas of nine representative counties. The very fact that they are "nonconforming users" indicates that they are the most aggravated cases of isolation, but it also emphasizes that the relocation of these particular settlers is most urgent.

TABLE II

SEVERITY OF ISOLATION AS SHOWN BY DISTANCES FROM NEIGHBORS AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS OF THE NONCONFORMING USERS IN THE RESTRICTED DISTRICTS OF NINE ZONED COUNTIES, NORTHERN WISCONSIN, 1933*

<i>County</i>	<i>Distance from</i>				
	<i>Nearest Neighbor</i>	<i>High School</i>	<i>Grade School</i>	<i>Nearest Doctor</i>	<i>Nearest Church</i>
	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Miles</i>
Average for Cases Studied.....	0.9	12.3	4.7	13.6	10.0
Ashland.....	0.7	8.5	5.1	8.4	7.8
Bayfield.....	1.6	8.4	4.9	18.6	7.6
Burnett.....	0.9	14.1	3.0	18.4	9.5
Florence.....	0.9	15.3	4.6	15.1	7.8
Forest.....	0.9	8.9	3.7	14.8	7.2
Iron.....	1.4	12.5	7.2	17.5	10.7
Langlade.....	0.7	19.2	2.6	13.3	14.7
Oneida.....	0.7	10.7	4.8	13.8	10.0
Washburn.....	1.3	11.3	4.0	13.7	10.7

*See footnote 3.

The data on distance to neighbors in this table do not portray the isolation problem completely. The figure shown is not the average distance between the settler and his neighbors in general but the distance to the nearest neighbor only. Two families may be living within a half a mile of each other at the end of a lonely road with the next neighbors miles away, yet the "average distance to the nearest neighbor" for both families would be one-half mile. Furthermore, averages are deceiving; they tend to obscure the fact that there are many farmers whose nearest neighbor lives more than a mile away. Table III shows

the distribution of settlers by distance classes. All the other figures of Table II should be interpreted in the same manner.

Naturally the great distance between farmsteads means fewer contacts and creates the individualism associated with the frontier. However, it should be noted that individuals react differently to isolation. At one extreme is the "Daniel Boone type" who purposely established his abode away from his fellows. He does not feel any handicap in being isolated; in fact, he prefers to be alone. If left to his own devices, his children might not be educated nor affiliate with organized society. This "rugged individualist" finds the game laws, compulsory school attendance statutes, and other regulations irksome. However, society insists on the education of the children, on decent standards of living, and on health and morality. At the other extreme, there are settlers who feel the handicaps of isolation deeply, particularly the women.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLERS BY DISTANCE TO NEAREST NEIGHBOR, IN THE
RESTRICTED DISTRICTS OF 19 ZONED COUNTIES, 1933*

<i>Miles to Nearest Neighbor</i>	<i>Number of Settlers</i>
0 - 0.49	213
0.50 - 0.99	179
1.00 - 1.49	85
1.50 - 1.99	47
2.00 - 2.49	38
2.50 - 2.99	19
3.00 - 3.49	8
3.50 - 3.99	3
4.00 - 4.49	8
4.50 - 4.99	3

* See footnote 3.

One of the worst features of the lack of contact with others is that incentives to maintain standards of living and conduct are absent. Since no one comes to see the house, why keep it clean? When no one can see your conduct, what stimulus is there to remain "respectable"? This situation is reflected in the reports of the enumerators of the Wisconsin isolated farms survey. One of them wrote the following about the living conditions which he had seen:

Sanitary conditions are something terrible; most of the settlers are poorly educated, poorly nourished, poorly housed, and as the result of generations of eugenic carelessness, they lack the fiber to do anything for themselves. Many of the women are on the point of insanity; if something should snap they would be hopelessly deranged. The way they live is bound to breed degenerates.

Isolation can also be measured in terms of distance between homes as they exist along established highways. After all, these are the routes of travel and determine the location of public utilities such as telephone and the wires of rural electrification.

Sawyer County, located in the northwestern part of Wisconsin, was selected to show isolation in terms of farmsteads per mile of highway. By using the Land Economic Inventory maps,⁵ which show the location of farm houses, cheese factories, schools, and other buildings, it was possible to determine the number of occupied houses per mile of state, county, and town highways. This is shown in Table IV. It will be noted that in the town of Spider Lake there is an average of one house for every two miles of state trunk highways and less than one occupied house per mile of town roads. Considering only the state aid of \$50 per mile for town roads, this means that it is costing the taxpayers of Wisconsin over \$50 per farm in Spider Lake to help maintain facilities for transportation, whereas in Bass Lake, with almost three families per mile of town road, the cost is only \$18 per family.

TABLE IV
FARMS PER MILE OF ROAD, SAWYER COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1935
(AVERAGE PER TOWN) *

Town	Occupied Houses per Mile of Road			
	State Trunk	County Trunk	Town Road	All Roads
Bass Lake.....	2.28	2.00	2.74	2.45
Couderay.....	2.30	2.50	1.10	1.61
Draper.....	1.50	....	1.23	1.59
Edgewater.....	....	1.47	0.78	1.05
Fishtrap.....	0.50	....	1.49	1.28
Hayward.....	2.23	1.33	1.72	1.78
Hunter.....	1.00	....	1.65	1.43
Lenroot.....	2.12	2.00	1.69	1.85
Meadow.....	....	3.31	1.14	1.64
Meteor.....	....	2.89	1.15	1.57
Ojibwa.....	1.00	2.57	1.20	1.20
Raddison.....	1.78	2.00	1.46	1.52
Sand Lake.....	2.05	2.19	0.76	1.45
Spider Lake.....	0.54	....	0.91	0.82
Weigor.....	2.92	2.27	1.24	1.76
Winter.....	4.44	2.21	1.08	1.70

*Based on maps of Land Economic Inventory, Sawyer County.

To a considerable extent, rural electrification is a question of distance. The cost of providing electricity for farms becomes prohibitive if there

⁵ Issued by the Division of Land Economic Inventory, State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin.

is not at least an average of three farm houses to the mile; there is also the problem of an adequate farm income to pay for the current and its availability from a nearby service line. Table VI shows that 25 per cent of the farmers of Wisconsin have electric lights.⁶ In the north there are four counties where this proportion drops to five per cent or below and seven counties where 10 per cent or fewer settlers have this convenience. A few northern counties come close to or even above the state average, however, because certain exceptional conditions within their borders increase the availability of electric current. In Vilas County, for instance, the resort development around the many lakes has caused service lines to be built to the recreational areas; therefore, farmers living near these lines have cheaper access to electricity because they need not assume the entire cost of building and maintaining their own service lines.

Long distances between patrons make telephone lines costly. This is reflected in the data on the number of rural homes without telephones. Whereas almost 60 per cent of the farmers of the state have phones, the proportion is well below one-third in the north, and in Forest County it is as low as six per cent. This in itself means that the proportion is still lower for the scattered farmsteads outside the densely settled parts of the counties.

ISOLATION FROM COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Isolation can also be measured in terms of remoteness from the market, the grade school, the high school, the church, and medical attention. (Table II.) Distance to the market is reflected in the problem of marketing farm products and obtaining supplies. But the market town is, in most cases, also where the high school is located, it is where the physician has his office, and in many cases, though not always, where the churches are situated. The data in Table II are presented in terms of remoteness from these specific institutions rather than in "distance to the nearest market." The average distance to the nearest high school from the homes of those living in the restricted districts of nine zoned counties is over 12 miles, ranging from 8.4 miles in Bayfield to over 15 miles in Florence. This distance is conditioned not only by sparse population but also by the presence or absence of cities or villages financially able to support a high school. As a rule, the high school districts of Wisconsin take in very little of the rural area surrounding

⁶ Includes "farm plants" as well as "commercial electricity."

cities and villages. However, there are more city-country districts in the north than in any other place in the state.

Doctors practically always have their offices in a city or village; this creates the same problem for rural folks as the high schools do. Table II shows that the people living in the restricted districts have to go almost 14 miles to reach the nearest physician, and in Bayfield County this distance is almost 19 miles. This distance is important both to the isolated families and to the doctor. The telephone can be used to summon a physician, but he has to travel the long distance over snow-bound or muddy roads. However, in this connection it should be recalled that the number of telephones among the isolated families is considerably less than in the better-settled areas.

Remoteness in miles, moreover, becomes translated into cost in money. When asked the distance to the nearest doctor, one settler's wife replied, "Twenty dollars." The cost of his visits becomes the determining factor as to whether the doctor should be called or not, and very often the physician is called only when the case of sickness is far advanced.

What is true of the distribution of the doctors is also true of hospitals. These institutions are located in still larger cities than are the physicians. Some of the larger cities have several such institutions, but this does not change the relationships of the isolated settler to hospitalization.

Finally isolation can be measured by the distance the settler lives from the churches. Churches are not concentrated in cities and villages; many of them are located in the open country. Even so, the nonconforming user lives an average of 10 miles away from the church of his denomination. This distance seems to be the greatest in Langlade County, where the average isolated settler of the restricted zones has to travel almost 15 miles to reach his church.

The market village or city is also the place of amusement. The larger villages and towns have "movie houses" and other places of amusement, good, bad, and indifferent, where people can congregate. The greater the distance from a market town the less opportunity a settler and his family have to mingle with other people. This seems to be reflected in their desire to participate in the activities of their immediate communities. Table V is based upon the replies given to certain questions asked of all the nonconforming users in 22 counties. These fami-

lies were grouped according to the number of miles they lived from their market town and the per cent of families participating in community activities was related to the distance factor. The per cent of non-participants was found to be 20 for the group living less than five miles from the market and increased constantly until 33 per cent was reached for those in the 20-mile-or-over group. These figures become even more significant when it is considered that "community activities" were defined to include not only participation in activities in the market town, but included church, farmers' organizations, 4-H Clubs, and other enterprises of the local farming community. These settlers gave various reasons for not taking part: some stated there were no activities in which to take part; others, that they had no desire to take part in community activities.

TABLE V
PER CENT OF FAMILIES PARTICIPATING IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES
IN ISOLATED AREAS OF WISCONSIN, 1934

<i>Miles to Market Town</i>	<i>Per Cent of Families Participating</i>
0 - 4	80
5 - 9	76
10 - 14	72
15 - 19	70
20 and over	67

Source: See footnote 3.

ISOLATION AND RURAL SCHOOLS

Another concomitant of isolation is the distance settlers live from the rural or grade school attended by children from six to about 16 years of age. Table II shows the distance the average school child has to travel to reach the district school in the restricted areas of the nine counties. Since the restricted districts are the most sparsely settled parts of the north, the distances of 2.6 miles for Langlade County to 7.2 miles for Iron County are an exaggerated picture as far as the north as a whole is concerned.

Since children from six to 16 years of age can be expected to walk only a limited distance, one solution of the problem of sparse settlement is to place a school within walking distance of every child. In a closely settled area this can be done and still have an attendance of 20 to 40 pupils. In a sparsely settled region such a solution means a small en-

rollment, in fact, there are cases of schools with but one family represented. The cost of operating such a school in terms of per pupil cost is excessive, to say nothing of the low educational efficiency of small enrollments.⁷

Consolidation is usually suggested as a ready-made solution for the elimination of schools with a small attendance. This will work in southern and western Wisconsin, where in fact there is a larger proportion of small schools than in the north and more consolidation with pupil transportation is much to be desired. In the isolated-farms region consolidation merely increases the already great distances between home and school which can be counterbalanced only by public transportation. Long bus rides in all sorts of weather over the kinds of roads prevalent in sparsely settled areas are among the costs of isolation.

A third alternative is offered by the state in permitting the boarding of children at public expense in cases where the parents live too far from a school. However, few parents relish the idea of leaving their younger children with strangers, as is brought out in a letter from an isolated family:

We find it a hard proposition to send our children to school, the school is 10 miles east of where we live, and it is necessary that we board our children in strangers' homes, when we would prefer to have them under our own supervision every night. We have lived here 13 years, and thought that by this time there would be enough settlers to build a school here.

It is sometimes assumed that the automobile, modern roads, the telephone, and radio have eliminated the problem of distance and the costs and inconveniences of isolation. However, modern roads can only be supplied where there is enough need for them and where the taxable wealth exists to pay for them. Thinly settled areas in counties where 50 per cent of the land is tax delinquent or county owned are not in a position to build many miles of hard surfaced roads, even when the state and county provide aids and subsidies. It will be noted from Table VI that although 10 per cent of the farmers of the state live on hard surfaced roads, only two of the 10 counties represented in the table had any farmers living on hard surfaced roads. In these cases state trunk highways cross the county. That is why these farmers are so fortunate, not because the roads are built locally. As a rule the

⁷ For the public costs of schools in isolated areas see George S. Wehrwein and J. A. Baker, "Relocation of Non-Conforming Land Users of the Zoned Counties in Wisconsin," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XII (1936), 252-253.

number of farmers living on gravel roads falls below the state average and, with one exception, all counties have more than the state average of farmers living on dirt roads. In winter many of the side roads are not always "plowed out," or the snow is removed only after the more important roads have been taken care of. The automobile is useless

TABLE VI

PER CENT OF FARMS WITH CERTAIN FACILITIES AND CONVENIENCES
IN 10 COUNTIES OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN, 1931*

County	Per Cent of Farms Having:					
	Auto- mobile	Tele- phone	Electric Lights	Roads		
				Hard Surfaced	Gravel	Dirt
Ashland.....	84	15	3	2	46	52
Bayfield.....	82	25	3	0	21	79
Douglas.....	83	22	5	6	41	52
Florence.....	92	17	35	0	53	47
Forest.....	68	6	11	0	23	77
Iron.....	81	5	7	0	25	75
Oneida.....	91	18	8	0	21	79
Price.....	89	32	5	0	60	40
Sawyer.....	81	32	3	0	25	75
Vilas.....	93	10	34	0	12	88
State.....	93	59	25	10	45	45

*From "Wisconsin Agriculture", *Bulletin 140*, Wisconsin Department of Agriculture and Markets, p. 140.

for a large part of the winter, and in the spring when "winter is breaking up" and dirt roads become impassable. The lack of passable roads is also a factor in pupil transportation. Unless the roads are provided and kept in such condition that buses can be used, schools cannot be consolidated.

Whereas roads are supplied at public expense, the automobile, the telephone, rural electrification, and radio can only be had at private expense. Data on the income of the entire group of nonconforming users showed that the average income from the farms in 1933 was \$147 cash, supplemented by an additional cash income of \$126 per annum, from outside employment, public and private. The buying power of \$273 after the necessities of home and farm are subtracted leaves but little for luxuries. Although 93 per cent of all the farmers of Wisconsin reported the ownership of an automobile in 1931, in the north the proportion was lower.

The price of being isolated from neighbors and community centers consists of many other costs, both public and private. The county nurse and county agent are in duty bound to visit farm homes, even if located at the end of a lonely road stretching nine miles into the cutovers. The cost of transportation for such services, paid out of public funds, becomes excessive. Rural free delivery routes cannot possibly touch every home where settlers are scattered. Even the settler himself is put to inconveniences too numerous to mention. "We have a hard time getting threshing machines to thresh our grain because we live so far away from other farms," wrote another isolated settler and he concluded, "In case of sickness, it requires \$14.00 to bring a doctor for one visit. Our nearest church is 14 miles, so we rarely attend church. We have no community."

Recent Changes in German Rural Life

John B. Holt

IN THE FOUR YEARS since Hitler assumed power, far-reaching social changes have been made in German agricultural life. Furthermore, there are reasons to believe that the National Socialist government has undertaken an administrative policy the future effects of which, if continued, will bring changes in German farm life far surpassing in significance any changes which have taken place during the past four years.

Germany is a totalitarian state, in which the status of the individual has undergone considerable change since the days of the Republic. In the case of the farmer, the change has probably been the most complete. The Nazi ideology underlying the new status holds that political, economic, or social rights are to be granted to citizens only upon the fulfillment by them of some function in the life of the nation. This is a concept of rights which was prevalent, for example, in the benefice or fief rights of the feudal system. The idea is basic to the concept of the *Stand*, or estate, in the functional state, popularized by Spann. Accordingly, certain functions have been assigned to German agriculture, which the farmers are henceforth to regard as their responsibility and obligation to perform.

First, it is their task to supply food. It is a matter of experience that in case of war or a blockade only German farmers can be depended upon to supply the country with food. Second, it is the function of the farmers to bring up large and healthy families, because from the farm families come the healthiest soldiers and citizens, and as the farm population is today, biologically speaking, so will the German population be tomorrow.

There are also secondary or indirect functions. A large farm population is expected to fill the gap as consumers left by the drop in foreign-trade opportunity. The peasant life, also, is regarded as the stronghold of German moral and cultural life. Therefore, the "deserted village"

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must not be allowed to occur. Finally, a thickly settled farm population along the national frontiers is regarded as the most effective bulwark possible against an invasion from other ethnic groups.

In return for and in order to permit the farmers to achieve satisfactory fulfillment of their responsibilities, the National Socialist government has decreed that they should receive security of prices and land tenure, also the social prestige which should be accorded such an important segment of the national community in the Third Reich.

The growth of the Nazi farm policy was somewhat as follows: Hitler established the basic principles of the Nazi ideology. In his book and in his campaign up to 1930, he paid little attention to farmers, concentrating his thoughts upon the middle classes and the laboring classes. But in 1930, as the depression brought to the farmers disillusionment in the liberal republican system, it was time to reap the harvest of agrarian discontent.

The application of Nazi ideology to the agricultural policy of the Party and the formulation of the 1930 farm program was the work of Darré, whom Hitler appointed as his farm organizer. Darré hewed close to the original party philosophy, incorporating in the Nazi farm program the two basic principles, (1) that the *Volke*, or ethnic group bound by ties of language, blood, and cultural heritage, is the most fundamental unit in the larger human society, and that a rupture of its cohesion through class warfare, foreign cultural influence, or blood mixture leads to its national biological and cultural disintegration; (2) that the greatest danger of disintegration threatening the German *Volke* lies in the materialization of its values through the growth of capitalistic society, with its emphasis on the individual and its division of the *Volke* into warring classes bound to one another by no high moral ties or mutual obligations. It is asserted that a capital and interest-paying morality and an actual economic power (claimed to be predominantly in the hands of a so-called Jewish international lending-capital monopoly) have gained dominance over moral obligations to the German *Volke* and its future.

Darré coined the slogan "Blood and Soil" (*Blut und Boden*). Believing in the social and biological soundness of a yeoman class, he called the German farmers the "new nobility." He won their enthusiasm during the depression with his 1930 program, in which he promised tax relief, reduction of the interest rate to the prewar level of from four

to five per cent, and asserted that "the state must see to it in its economic policy that agricultural work pays."

POLITICAL STATUS

When, in June, 1933, Hugenberg was replaced by the Nazi Agricultural Minister, Darré, Nazi policy began in earnest. The first radical departure from previous policy was the complete reorganization of German farm life into the administrative framework of the totalitarian state. The totalitarian organization of German farm life is called the *Reichsnaehrstand*, or food estate. In it are included not only German farmers but also all processors and distributors of farm products. The body is a public law corporation, nominally self-governing. It plans and enforces all needed regulation of farm life and food production and distribution.

The *Reichsnaehrstand* is self-governing in the sense that the members of the various divisions and sections confer. But the majority vote does not establish policy, and the key man or leader in any association or group within it is selected by the group only with the approval of, or appointed directly and subject to removal by, the government. The government may dictate the constitution and by-laws. Thus, self-government actually amounts to advisory staff meetings. However, leaders are appointed or selected who are supposed to enjoy the respect and confidence of the staff and recognize good counsel when it is given. Efficient and co-ordinated action is the benefit expected from the leadership principle. Through the hierarchical pyramid of local, county, state, regional, and national group and association leaders, governmental pressure can be immediately and effectively applied.

There are now three major divisions in the *Reichsnaehrstand*. The function of Division I is to care for the men on the farm. It seems that their attitudes are what Division I is most interested in.¹ Through its propaganda organization it "educates" the farmer politically and socially. It spreads Nazi farm philosophy, the creed of "blood and soil," attempting to arouse pride among the farmers in ancient peasant culture and the dignity of the farm vocation. It is likewise one of the best means for promoting, by social pressure, such a national drive for production as was carried on in 1935. The three former German farm organizations were thus consolidated in the *Reichsnaehrstand* and given a new function. Instead of being a mouthpiece through which the

¹ Darré, "Die Erfuellung des Agrarprogramms," *Odal*, IV, No. 5 (1935).

farmers talk to the government, the government has transformed them into a mouthpiece through which it talks to the farmers.

Interpreting these measures, we may recognize that in a certain sense the farm operator's political status has been changed and raised relative to that of other groups. But the farmer is no longer a political individual. He is quite involuntarily, by virtue of his occupation, a member of a political organization. His status is that of his group. The group's status is determined by government policy, which has decreed that this particular group is one of the most important social-economic groups in the nation. Publicity has given the farmers more prestige. The farmer may no longer strive through political organization to raise his status. Rather, his membership in the political organization means an assumption by him of obligations or obedience to governmental decrees respecting this group. As a person he may be called in as an adviser, but on the whole he is a follower who obeys and marches along, with the primary obligations to observe good farm practice and bring up a large number of healthy children. Personal allegiance and mutual obligations, with the immediate power in the hands of the overlord, which is today the Party, reproduce a pattern similar to certain relationships of the Middle Ages.

The farm laborer has also acquired a new status. He, too, is no longer permitted to associate collectively in his own interest. He is henceforth to identify himself loyally with the interests of the farmer for whom he works. The laborer is entitled, on the other hand, to good care, steady employment, a wage which corresponds to the ability of the farm economy to pay, and a status as a full member of the farm and village community. Here again it is hoped to restore the relationship of personal loyalty and mutual obligation. The guild categories of apprentices, assistants, and skilled journeymen have been revived. To become a recognized skilled laborer, the farm hand must serve two years each as apprentice and assistant. Attendance at a farm vocational school is recommended.² What the actual political status of the farm laborer is, will be determined by his standing with the Party. Further reference will be made to the laborer below.

ECONOMIC STATUS

While Division I of the *Reichsnaehrstand* deals with the farmer

² "Foerderung des Landarbeiters," *Recht des Reichsnaehrstandes*, IV, Nö. 14 (1936), 635 ff.

politically, the economic and psycho-social status of the farmer is determined by the policies followed in the Division III,⁸ which deals with all the problems common to the various fields of processing and marketing. Its seven sections are concerned with legal questions, credit, forecasting, price supervision, regulation, promotion, and the equalization of food supplies.

After considerable experimentation, all processors and distributors of agricultural products now find themselves banded together under the supervision of this Division in compulsory monopolistic marketing associations or processing syndicates, which regulate trade, prices, production, sales quotas, and quality standards. The credit co-operatives, previously consolidated into the *Reichsverband der landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften*, are now a self-governing co-operative credit monopoly under the control of the *Reichsnaehrstand*. Apart from this supervisory, regulative, and advisory control, the individual central commercial and processing associations carry on under their own responsibility as "self-governing" bodies under public law. Through the price and credit control thus established the farmers' economic status has been raised. The most obvious indication of improvement has been a reduction in the number of foreclosures of farms, from 6,121 in 1932 to 1,158 in 1934, rising again, however, to 2,554 in 1935.⁴ Debt reductions and conversions, an increased consumption of farm products by urban consumers, and finally the prohibition of foreclosing any of the 700,000 middle- and larger-sized farms entered as inherited freeholds have all contributed to the reduction in the number of foreclosures.

Gross returns to agriculture rose 30 per cent between 1932-33 and 1935-36. Increases were greater for livestock than for grain products. The production index rose from 104 in 1932-33 to 115 in 1935-36, dropping again to 111 in 1935-36, presumably because of the unfavorable weather or because more products were fed to livestock and hence not counted in their original form.⁵ Buying power in terms of available cash, which was estimated to have dropped 59 per cent from 1928-29 to 1932-33, was nearly recouped by 1934-35.⁶

It is highly questionable, however, whether the increased benefits

⁸ In Division II have been incorporated all the previously existing technical and advisory organizations of agriculture, for example, the former chambers of agriculture and the experiment stations. Others have been added.

⁴ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XVI, No. 10 (1936), 420-21.

⁵ *Vierteljahresheft zur Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, XLV (1936), p. iii, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. iii, 8.

have been evenly distributed according to size and type-of-farming categories. Certain farm production costs have risen, with feeding costs heading the list, owing to the rise of 50 per cent in the cost of concentrated feeds. These costs have affected the small farmer most of all, for the general rule in Germany is that the smaller the farm the more livestock per acre and the less able the farmer is to feed his stock without purchasing feeds.

It is probable that the part-time farmers of Germany have suffered adversely from the feed-price policy. Over a quarter of the German farms are part-time farms.⁷ Almost universal, in this type of farming, is the raising of small livestock, such as chickens and hogs, for home consumption. The benefits to the family are dependent upon the price of feed which they have to purchase. Perhaps the best indication of the unprofitableness of growing pigs was the extensive slaughtering of pigs of all sizes, even down to the smallest, in 1935, a trend reversed by government restrictions on slaughtering. Thus, to generalize crudely, it seems that the present security of prices is security primarily for the middle and larger farmer.

Apart from the unequal distribution of benefits, it is entirely possible that the law indirectly restricting migration of farm workers to the city may ultimately threaten the standard of living, in spite of the rising prices and more intensified production which are taking place, for it will tend to force an increase in the number of family members or persons dependent upon each farm. The most general and probably most effective of the laws restricting occupational migration empowers the director of the employment exchange to use his discretion in permitting the employment, in nonagricultural occupations, of persons employed in agriculture during the previous three years. We do not know to what extent the restrictions have taken place. It is public policy in Germany to reduce the proportion of urban population by stemming the tide of urban migration, and in this method, also, to supply the dearth of farm labor in certain areas. But the possible effects of population pressure in small farm areas should be considered. Housing conditions for agricultural laborers on the Northeastern estates have been notoriously poor. It is interesting to note that there is an increased sale of farm machinery, which tends generally to make a populous family less of an asset and is hard to reconcile with the general population policy. These matters will receive further comment below.

⁷ *Sonderhefte zu Wirtschaft und Statistik*, No. 12 (1934), p. 12.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL STATUS

On the whole, the farmer's psycho-social status has been radically altered by the Nazi economic program. The question involves the point whether he has been socialized or changed from an individual entrepreneur, dominated by the property and profit and loss mentality, to some other status such as that of an employee of the state. Darré's desire and attempt to withdraw him from the capitalistic economy has extended only to guaranteeing the prices for farm products by practically socializing the trade and processing of these products. He argues that government control affects the product only after it leaves the farm. As long as the farmer adjusts his farm economy to any price system, whether fixed or competitive, he will tend to think in terms of profit and loss and of private disposal rights of his property and labor, restricted as they may be to some extent.⁸ Individual initiative, profit incentives, and individualistic attitudes of property possession still operate. Price differentials for quality differences are allowed within a restricted range by the fixed price system and still act to a certain degree as an incentive toward maintaining or improving quality. German socialism, as it is proclaimed in Germany, is idealized as private business operated in the public interest by private individuals with a social conscience, prompted where necessary by so-called "normative" legislation.⁹

Yet repeated attempts have been made to arouse social enthusiasm and pride in the maintenance of the farm in order to supplement the profit motive. These and the government's power to requisition food supplies, also its practice of setting production quotas, are indications that the psycho-social status of the farmer in his relations to the state, particularly, has undergone some change. Proportional to the extent by which government is forced to resort to such regulative control of the individual farmer, the farmer's status will tend to become less and less that of the individual entrepreneur and more that of a state employee, surrendering his dominantly individualistic profit and loss mentality for that of the socially loyal civil servant of the state.

Granting the tremendous *esprit de corps* which social incentives can temporarily arouse, the difficulties which the Reich government experienced during the fixed-price and quota-fixing food administration in Germany from 1917 to 1923 are indicative that even in Germany social

⁸ Darré, "Die Erfuellung des Agrarprogramms," *Odal*, IV, No. 5 (1935), 351.

⁹ Werner Sombart, *Deutscher Sozialismus*.

incentives and obligatory production may fail when counteracted by economic disparities.

In summary on this point, the German farmer's economy has not been socialized in the extreme sense of the word. But his actions are to a considerable extent controlled, and the attempt is being made to socialize his loyalties.

LAND TENURE

Darré introduced the new law of inherited land tenure rights with the argument that "If the agricultural population is to become the unfailing source of new blood in the body of the German people, it must receive a law which protects the family and permits the rural family lineage to take root. . . . As compensation the farmers must permit the state to demand that the rural population allow only such marriages as insure a healthy posterity. Otherwise the idea of the agricultural population as a source of new blood would be a pure figure of speech."¹⁰

But the biological benefits of selective breeding and the maintenance of the country's most prolific and reliable population source are not the only attractions seen by Darré in the protection of the farm families. It is expected that the "new nobility," as the holders of inherited freeholds are to be called, will be the backbone of the national political morale, just as formerly the landed nobility, which furnished the kings and kaisers with military officers and civil service administrators, were the backbone of the monarchical state.

The objective has been security of land tenure for the farm family. Security of tenure in Germany was threatened by a number of factors, overindebtedness through inheritance share loans, uneconomic fragmentation or subdivision of farms by inheritance, as well as farm mortgages assumed for other reasons.

Under the Inherited Freehold Act of 1933, these threats to security of tenure are eliminated. Through entry as an inherited freehold, the farm cannot be mortgaged, subdivided, or alienated from family possession without state permission. Observers report that, at present, exceptions to the rule of alienation are frequent.

The inherited freehold is bequeathed undivided, according to entail, and generally according to primogeniture, although local exceptions are made to conform to local customs.

¹⁰ *Deutsche Agrarpolitik*, July, 1933, pp. 5-6.

Only certain farms and farmers are eligible for these relationships. The freehold must be large enough to provide a living for a family of from seven to eight persons. With certain exceptions it may not be larger than approximately 310 acres (125 ha.). The lower limit is generally set around 17½ acres (7.5 ha.), although some types of farming, for example, wine production, permit family farms below this size. Seldom, however, do they occur smaller than 12½ acres (five ha.).

The farmer in possession of an inherited freehold, and he alone, may be called a yeoman (*Bauer*). The word *Bauer*, ordinarily translated "peasant," has been given a new connotation probably best expressed by our word *yeoman*. The yeoman receives much publicity in the Third Reich, and a consistent attempt has been made to raise his social prestige or status by public recitals of his virtues and responsibilities in the national community. He may possess only one inherited freehold. He must be qualified as a farmer; his rights are contingent upon his maintenance of certain standards in the cultivation of his farm. Ultimate rights rest with the state. If he proves to be a poor farmer, he is removed by the court and the next in line succeeds him. He must be a citizen in the racial as well as the political sense.

A moratorium on farm foreclosures is automatically effective at the declaration of entry of the farms in the inherited freehold register. Debts are consolidated and are to be repaid within a period in keeping with the farm's annual capacity to pay. To the inherited farm belongs all property used in farming, including not only the animate and inanimate inventory but also house, bed linen, and beds. Farm insurance and membership in co-operative associations may not be used to secure debts. As security for future loans the farmer has only his personal credit and the appurtenances not ordinarily used in the process of farming. Encumbrances of and claims against farm produce follow the general principle in that they are legally restricted to the ability of the farm to pay without economic detriment. The inherited-freehold farmer has no inheritance and real estate acquisition taxes to pay.

Other heirs have claims only to shares in other existing estates, vocational training for second and other sons, and dowries for the daughters. In the contribution to the education and support of these relations, there are permitted no binding obligations which would take from the farm cash or goods necessary to its maintenance or to the maintenance of the family. Yet for the disinherited is reserved the right to return to

the farm, in case of lack of economic opportunity in the city, although in such event they must work for their living.

Special regional courts and a Reich court, called Inherited Freehold Courts, are provided, where the registers are kept, entries are made, and disputes, which occur in the entry or subsequent bequeathal of the farm, are settled.

The land tenure reform of the National Socialist government corresponds to a great extent to a general movement among agricultural interests since the War, which aimed at preventing the uneconomic parcellization and overindebtedness of farms. Most significant as a change in policy was the provision forbidding the selling and mortgaging of the farm, the abolition of inheritance share loans, and the investing of the ultimate rights to the farm in the state, which may assign it to another person if it is poorly farmed by the heir. Furthermore, Darré has given the movement an ideology, which, if successfully propagated, will assist in institutionalizing the new property relationships.

It seems probable that the new land tenure system will have the desired effects of greater security and integration of the families on the inherited freeholds. Demonstration of this possibility must await a greater lapse of time. What other effects there will be on the cultural status of family can be only hazardous guesses. The following are a few pertinent considerations.

The question may be raised whether the farmer on the inherited freehold, when he realizes that only one of his sons may inherit the farm, will voluntarily restrict the number of children, very much as has been the practice among the French peasantry with their two-children system. The increasing difficulty with which opportunity in agriculture may be found for surplus sons may accentuate this tendency. On the average since 1924 six and a third thousand new farms have been created yearly in the land settlement program. This number would hardly suffice to care adequately for the second and other sons of 700,000 farm families, especially when it is the policy of the present government to give preference to agricultural laborers displaced by the breaking up of the landed estates from which most of the new settlements are made. Other sons are placed second in preference to the laborers from the estates. The only other economic outlets at present are labor on other farms or the operation of smaller farms, assuming that migration to the city will continue to be artificially restricted.

Perhaps of outstanding significance is the small proportion of all German farmers included within the scope of the new land tenure law. A few data will indicate what this will mean for coming generations on the smaller farms. There are over 3,000,000 part-time and full-time farms in Germany, of which only 700,000, or much less than a quarter, are eligible for the inherited freehold register.¹¹ Fifty-five per cent of the cultivated land in the country is in possession of the inherited freehold farmers and is unavailable to the children of the small farmers and the disinherited sons of the inherited freehold farmers. Opportunity in other occupations is restricted by the previously mentioned law limiting migration to other occupations. The small farms are already too small adequately to care for a large family, and the Reich is encouraging larger families. Furthermore, the excess of births over deaths on farms can be roughly estimated at 92,000 per year.¹² Also, the government last year sent to the country about 100,000 workers to work for their living. Finally, the larger farms are benefiting most from the price-security program. Thus, it seems only logical that in the long run, unless policy is altered, the increased pressure of population on the little farms and among the agricultural laborers will end in a continual downward trend of the standard of living. It is inconceivable that the net profits of agriculture will continue to increase indefinitely at an adequate rate. There is a limit to intensification and the profitable use for additional labor on the farm by this method. Both the land tenure policy and the price program seem to be based on the attitude, "Save the middle and upper groups and forget the lower groups."

There are other aspects of the land tenure program. It is one attack on the problem of security of land tenure faced by so many nations today. It is effective for those included in its scope.

In the second place, the attempt on the part of the Nazis to expect from the inherited freehold class the same political backbone that was formerly derived from the landed estate aristocracy cannot be realized to the same extent, simply because the income-producing capacity of the freehold is intended and generally would be sufficient to maintain the immediate family alone. It cannot maintain a set of larger family relations at the influential social level of previous times. When the

¹¹ Over one-quarter of all farms [above one and a quarter acres (.5 ha.) in size] are part-time farms. More than a million full-time farms are either too small or too large, most of them too small.

¹² At about 6.4 per 1,000. *Sonderheft zu Wirtschaft und Statistik*, XV, No. 15 (1935), 8.

sons and daughters have gone to the city, they will become urbanites, no longer remaining members of the influential landed nobility.

Land should always be available for rent in connection with the inherited freeholds. Otherwise the rigidity of the size of the inherited freehold restricts the expansion of the family income at the period of family growth. Perhaps the lack of opportunity to expand the farm enterprise might encourage fewer children, inasmuch as they would be less an economic asset and more a liability. The increase in the sale of agricultural machinery may mean that child labor will be less useful or devoted to more intensive cultivation, as was suggested by Loomis to have been the case with the Ohio and Wisconsin farmers studied by professors Lively and Kirkpatrick.¹⁸ This problem has been recognized by German land-settlement administrators in planning the lay-out of new settlements.

There are historical examples of the effects of these factors operating together. Both in pre-Cleisthenes Attica and in Laconia economic opportunity for the small farmers and farm laborers was blocked by the existence of a monopoly of inherited freeholds in the possession of a peasant nobility or of a landed aristocracy. Emigration was perhaps more possible than it is today in Germany. There was little opening in commerce in Sparta, although this developed gradually in Athens. These factors, plus the scarcity of agricultural land, depressed the small-farmer and farm-laborer class into the class of helots in Sparta and the class of Thetes in Attica, groups which subsisted along the edges of agricultural life and formed potential revolutionary groups within the population.

A change of policy on the part of the Reich government, which would reopen economic opportunity off the farm or shift a larger share of farm income to the small farmers, a radical change in the excess birth rates, or perhaps more likely, a major war, might prevent the depression of the small-farmer and farm-laborer class.

DISCUSSION

I agree, in all major points, with the presentation Dr. Holt has just given. I will therefore devote the time assigned to me to elaborating on some of his statements, and to supplementing them in one respect or another.

A full appreciation of the German freehold legislation can be obtained only through an understanding of the basic philosophy from which it arises. This

¹⁸ See Charles P. Loomis, "Life Cycle of Families," *Rural Sociology*, I (1936), 189.

philosophy differs fundamentally from the arguments brought forward in this and other countries in favor of a numerical increase of the rural sector of the population. It is the idea of higher-breeding of the German people to enhance its physical and mental value. While the liberal argument, as I may call it, starts more or less from environment, this one starts from heredity, from innate difference of value between human beings. It is basically aristocratic. Darré, the originator of the freehold legislation, whose influence is also traceable in some very important eugenic laws, has taken Nietzsche's command: "Thou shalt not propagate thyself onward but upward" and applied to it the principles of animal husbandry. He was originally an animal husbandman with theoretical training and practical experience on a government horse-breeding farm. His interest in racial questions is the outgrowth of studies on the races of domestic animals. His two books, *The Peasantry as the Life-Source of the Nordic Race* and *New Nobility from Blood and Soil*, written between 1926 and 1932, contain all the demands he is now carrying into practice. With a considerable effort to "co-ordinate" the history of the last 3,000 years, he derives the aristocratic social structure of the Spartans, the Romans, and the North European peoples, during antiquity and the first millennium after Christ, from their concern about the preservation of their racial value. The means to this end were the statutes and customs governing marriage and property in the land. Today, the state is to replace by law these race-preserving customs of the landed aristocracy (including the free peasantry of the North European countries), which economic and political development since the early Middle Ages has broken down.

In this light, the entire freehold legislation appears as nothing but the means for establishing a huge human breeding-farm. The breeding ideal is a physically perfect creature, with the characteristics of the so-called Nordic race. This is what Darré calls the "new nobleman." Again in line with Nietzsche, Darré expects, as a matter of course, that the new nobleman will have all the desirable mental qualities of genuine aristocracy—valor, generosity, and a wonderful balance between pride as an individual and social responsibility toward the commonwealth. Darré is not so naïve as to believe that the Nordic race now exists in Germany in any purity, nor that the peasant of today is noble. He wants to breed the new nobility in a succession of many generations. For this purpose, he needs a farm population with economic security and a fairly high standard of living. These conditions can most easily be attained on farms of medium and fairly large size. In order to insure continuation of the breeding process over a long period, it is necessary to keep the same families on these farms for many successive generations. Within this part of the farm population, improvement through breeding should apply. Inferior specimens are to be kept from propagation and particularly from succession on the farm. The best should be mated to the best until the characteristics of the Nordic race appear in purity. At the same time, the benefits of the breeding process should be conveyed to the population outside the fence through the medium of the noninheriting children. They would marry commoner stock and, by occupying responsible positions in public life, permeate the social atmosphere with the spirit of the new nobility. On the other

hand, and this is a most remarkable proposal, all the girls of the entire population would be divided into four classes according to eugenic value, and freehold farmers would be given the choice of girls in the first and, conditionally, in the second class only. Thus, a blood circulation between the breeding-stock and the common workstock would be established.¹

The freehold law and contingent legislation have carried most of this into practice. The medium and large peasant farms are established as inalienable freeholds of the families. Certain physical qualifications are already now required from the heir and shall be demanded more rigorously later. New settlers are selected by the most severe standards as to individual and hereditary health. The same aim has dictated the right of primogeniture, since the first son is considered the biologically most valuable; the practical exclusion of daughters from succession, since heiresses are believed to tend toward sterility; and the abolition of dowries for freehold daughters, since choice of the mate should be guided by eugenic, not by economic, considerations. Almost the only proposal not carried into practice so far is the eugenic classification of girls.² Instead, the government has resigned itself, for the time being, to the application of negative selection for the entire population. I may remind you of Germany's law for the prohibition of hereditarily diseased progeny, with its sterilization provisions; of the restrictions of marriage loans and child premiums to biologically unobjectionable couples only; and of the recent Marriage Health Law.

The most astounding feature of this entire structure is the fact that these dreams of a dogmatist about the indispensability of a nobility of birth are called into life by law and regulation from above, under conditions as unaristocratic as can be, conditions that could never have arisen under a genuinely aristocratic order of the kind Darré desires. Let me quote him personally, when he describes the rôle of the Germanic kings: "In this structure entirely based upon self-government everybody was leader, but never leader by virtue of a legal power outside of free self-government; in other words, the leader was never a source of right by himself or by the position he held, like the late Roman Caesar. Correspondingly and logically, every leader could be called to account by the members of the self-governing bodies, and the German peasants occasionally did not hesitate to lay the heads of their kings before their feet."³ I leave it up to you to judge how this ideal fits into the picture of the Third Reich, where every

¹ See R. W. Darré, *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* (München, 1929); R. W. Darré, *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (München, 1933), p. 163 ff.; and "Das Zuchtziel des Deutschen Volkes," *Volk und Rasse*, VI (1931).

² However, certain rules similar to the above proposals apply to marriage of members of the SS-formation. (Information from Dr. F. Ehrhardt, Washington, D. C.)

³ *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden*, p. 21. Awareness of the inherent antagonism between the aristocratic and the leadership principles expresses itself, however, when he continues: "It was the *strength* of the Germanic idea of state . . . that right was insured, and that the inner and outer liberty of the Germanic free remained untackled. Its *weakness*, on the other hand, consisted in the fact that this structure built upon a most perfect organic foundation lacked a firm outward delimitation, in fact that which we today call the *state* and the *boundary*; therewith it also lacked the closed energy against the outside, as well as any will to concentrated efforts in the outward direction in general" (p. 22).

public executive, down to the local peasant leader or the burgomaster of the tiniest village, is appointed from above and is not responsible to anybody but his superior.

Turning now to the actual changes introduced by the freehold legislation, I want to stress the features which distinguish it from the status of custom prevailing before. There is some confusion on this point. The freehold law is often presented merely as a legalization of former customs or a continuation of certain prewar laws of individual German states devised to preserve these customs. For the extreme western part of the country, where subdivision of the farm among the children had been practiced, it was a real revolution. But even for the far larger part of Germany, where closed succession had been habitual, important differences were introduced. Above all, closed succession has been made mandatory, whereas before the farmer had been free to determine the form of inheritance by his will. As to material contents, the gravest change is the deterioration of the financial claims of the nonsucceeding children, the so-called "yielding heirs." It had been customary to give the principal heir a silent privilege in the form of an especially low valuation of the farm, and/or to deduct further a certain sum for him from the total value of the property. After this, the value of the estate was divided into equal shares, the yielding heirs' part consisting either in annuities or in shares of the capital secured by mortgages against the farm. That these share mortgages sometimes were dangerously high, that they were, in some parts of the country, based on market values instead of return values, and that they could sometimes be called on short notice, had long been regarded as harmful, and legislation had been proposed to remedy these conditions. In general, however, these features had been considered merely as abuses of a basically sound institution. Particularly Max Sering, the outstanding authority on the subject, took the stand that the unique value of the customs governing closed succession lay in the equilibrium which they maintained between the preservation of the farm as the family stronghold and the concomitant satisfaction of the fair claims of *all* children to the paternal property.⁴ The National-Socialist government, on the contrary, has carried the protection of the succeeding heir to an extreme which entirely destroys this equilibrium. It has excluded the yielding heirs from all claims to the farm property, giving them merely a right to an adequate education, to financial assistance when they establish themselves in business, or to a marriage outfit in case of daughters, but always limited to "what the farm can bear." It prohibits using the farm as collateral for these claims. The yielding

⁴See Max Sering, *et al.*, *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in Preussen*, supplements to *Landwirtschaftliche Jahrbücher*, vols. 28, 29, 34, 37, 39 (Berlin, 1899 to 1910), and *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit* (Berlin, 1930). It is pathetic to read today the closing passage of his prewar work: "The finest fruit of historical study is the respect for the ethical forces that have molded the national character and formed the law for thousands of years. Whoever is aware of the action of these forces and of the close relationships existing between the national character and the traditional law of farm inheritance, will not lightly decide to discard this law in favor of a rationalistic scheme, but instead will try to further evolve the achievements of the past in a spirit of reverence."

heirs inherit on an equal basis only what may be left of the nonfarm estate after it has been used to redeem all debts encumbering the farm. They are allowed to come back in case of need and to live and eat on the paternal farm, but only if they can prove that their need was caused by circumstances beyond their control, and then in return for labor performed. Incidentally, current jurisdiction denies that this right applies also to the wife of the yielding son. Where the farm is deeded while the father is living, similar restrictions also apply to the share of the parents.

Formerly, the yielding heirs did not fare badly. This was ascertained by Sering's prewar investigations. Also, a study recently made in 69 communities of Württemberg⁵ revealed that two-thirds of the yielding heirs rose to independent ownership on farms or in business, while only seven per cent became laborers, only 2.3 per cent among these being farm laborers. This distribution is bound to be changed fundamentally under the freehold law. I mentioned before that the original idea was to lead the flow of the new gentry into public service and the professions, but this outlet is rather narrow, particularly since the lower limit of the freehold size has been established much lower than Darré originally intended. Furthermore, costs of education and equipment of a doctor, for instance, are high and may easily surmount the limit of what the "farm can bear." It has also not yet come to my attention that freehold descendants are given any privileges at the universities or in public service. So what can the younger son of a freehold farmer do?

Acquiring farms by marrying inheriting daughters is impossible because there are practically no inheriting daughters. Purchasing farms of freehold size is impossible because, aside from lack of capital, they are not saleable. Acquiring a smaller farm or establishing a business in town is made more difficult by lack of funds; besides, there is a tendency to protect the small businessman from new competition. Securing dependent jobs is subject to restrictions on rural-urban migration and shifts from agricultural to industrial labor. Thus almost the only alternative left is to stay and work on the brother's place, or to become a wage-earning farmhand. Curiously enough, the institution of the unmarried uncle is openly favored, the appreciation of a cheap dependable laborer outweighing considerations of the birth rate.

Therefore, the owners of freeholds try to evade the legal restrictions by making all kinds of silent supplements to the contracts they submit to the courts. These silent agreements vary widely in content and motives. For the most part, the succeeding heir promises additional capital payments to his brothers and sisters. Sometimes, the father, by promises of higher benefits for himself, in addition to those stipulated by contract, is practically bribed into deeding the farm to a son other than the one originally designated for succession. These silent agreements, if detected, make the entire contract null and void. But often

⁵ Peter Brugger, "Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister in mehreren Oberämtern des Württembergischen Oberlandes," *Berichte über Landwirtschaft*, 121. Sonderheft (Berlin, 1936).

the motives are so honorable and obviously so rooted in a traditional sense of justice that sensible jurists find it hard to draw this consequence.⁶

Although these mitigations of the rigor of the law may go undetected in many cases, it seems inevitable that the freehold legislation will cause even stricter birth control in the farm population concerned than has already been practiced during the last few decades. This danger is well known to Darré;⁷ hence, the frantic efforts of propaganda to make the freehold farmer conscious of his racial responsibility toward the nation. It seems to me that the government has advanced security to the freehold farmer, while the expected repayment in more and better babies is entirely uncertain, improbable, and by no means enforceable.

Another feature distinguishing the freehold legislation from former customs and laws that enabled, not compelled, entry into a freehold register in certain parts of the country, is the strict and uniform limitation of the size of farms admitted for freehold entry. Establishment of a lower limit of size formerly was the exception, not the rule. An upper limit was almost never established.⁸ The present freehold law provides for both upper and lower limits. The lower limit is drawn at a size able to sustain a family under the conditions of the region. The upper one is drawn at about 310 acres. But while the upper limit is very elastic and may easily be extended into the ranks of the large landowners by certain rubber clauses, the lower limit is interpreted very strictly, both as to standard-of-living attainable and to assumed size of the family. The aristocratic tendency is again clearly discernible. This, together with the fact that many farmers near the low limit try to escape inclusion, is the reason why the number of freeholds is falling short of the early expectations of about 850,000 and even 1,000,000. In July of 1936, only 635,000 farms were entered in the register, and 700,000 is the most that will be attained. The lack of enthusiasm of the small farmer is noteworthy, because the status of freehold farmer, or *ycoman*, as Dr. Holt calls him, involves not only social prestige and access to influential political positions, but also certain economic advantages. Especially does the debt-freeing legislation contain valuable special provisions for the freehold farmer.

Permit me now to say a few words about the status of the other groups of rural population. Dr. Holt has told you about the precarious situation of the small farmer. I would like to add that the difficulties of the small men extend

⁶ See Professor Dr. W. Herschel, "Geheime Nebenabreden und freiwillige Leistungen im Erbhofrecht," *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, Jahrgang 4, April 7, 1936.

⁷ See the chapter of his book *Das Bauerntum als habens quell der Nordischen Rasse* dealing with the reasons for Sparta's decline.

⁸ A lower limit requiring ability of the farm to sustain a family existed only in the province of Westfalia, in Waldeck, and in Württemberg. In Mecklenburg-Strelitz the limit was set at 30 acres, in Brandenburg at about 20 acres, in Silesia at about 10 acres. In the other parts of the country, practically no lower limit was established. The only case where an upper limit was set was Mecklenburg-Strelitz, with an upper limit of 370 acres. See Hermes, "Anerbenrecht," *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I, 481; G. Wagemann, *Die Anerbengesetze in den deutschen und ausserdeutschen Ländern*; M. Sering and C. von Dietze, *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, III (München and Leipzig, 1930), p. 17.

far into the ranks of the freehold farmers, for they are not so much a result of the freehold law as of the self-sufficiency policy of the Third Reich. Undoubtedly the disastrous feed shortage, which literally deprives the small man of the basis of his existence, is the most sinister feature in the whole picture. Now it might have been hoped that the feed shortage created by the enormous curtailment of imports could be overcome by increased domestic production and the organization of a domestic market on which the large owners would be the sellers and the small ones the buyers. But the government has destroyed such hopes by its determination to permit the keeping of livestock on each individual farm only within the limit of the farm's feed resources. The only explanation for this policy, which I can see, is that in case of war a narrow domestic feed market would at once be disorganized, and that it is safer for such an emergency to have livestock and feed together on the same farm. In addition, feeding of rye and wheat has, in this year of a small grain crop, been labeled as treason to the nation. Thus, the small farmer is today confronted with the necessity of reducing his livestock, the very basis of his living, or of defying grain-delivery regulations at the risk of being heavily fined or thrown into jail. Escape by leasing additional land for raising feed is likewise prohibited by the high prices of leases, which have naturally followed upon the general feed shortage. To this plight of the small man, the government coolly replies that he should economize on feed by shifting to higher-yielding animals. This argument disregards entirely that such a method requires concentrates which are not available, that in many cases pure-bred livestock is beyond the small man's reach, and that his cows are largely used for field work, making shifts to higher-yielding cows impossible. There are signs in the last livestock censuses that a shift of the livestock from the small to the large farms is already under way.

From the standpoint of farm management and of social concern about the standard of living in the country, there would be no objections to abolition of the unsound small farm, and management of the land in medium units, if an outlet for the population thus released could be found outside of agriculture. But the tendency of the National Socialist government is not in this direction. The rural sector of the population is to be increased, not decreased. The effect must be the artificial overpopulation of which Dr. Holt has spoken, and a swelling of the ranks of farm laborers by former small owners and tenants, to the benefit of a prosperous rural middle class. The expression "kulak policy," which has been used in this connection, seems very appropriate.

The relations between rural employers and farm laborers are characterized by a deliberate return to feudal conditions. Time compels me merely to enumerate the most significant features: subordination of the laborers to the employer by the leadership principle and, as a counterweight, a drive toward a social-minded attitude in the patriarchal manner on the side of the employer; reduction of the cash part of farm wages in favor of payment in kind; binding of the laborers on the employer's farm by a system of labor lease with long-term contracts. Of this program, the part increasing the employer's power has been realized very rapidly, while the social attitude seems to lag behind. Immediately after the change of

government in 1933, farm labor was exempted from the unemployment insurance. In 1934, with the Law on the Regulation of National Labor, the employers became unit leaders wielding great power over the working force. Wages fixed by government-appointed labor trustees took the place of collective bargaining, and the power of the labor courts was severely reduced. The unwillingness of farm labor to accept this deterioration of status, coupled with energetic work-relief measures and the beginning of industrial recovery, caused a severe farm-labor shortage in 1934 which has not been overcome since. The government replied with restrictions on shifts from agricultural to industrial occupation, and particularly, with the organization of an entire irregular army of farm laborers; young unemployed from the cities, male and female labor service, entire groups of the army furloughed for the purpose, and, finally, boys and girls of the Hitler Youth were sent to the farms. It seems that these measures have been used for the benefit of the freehold peasantry even more than of the large estates. In this period of recovery in agriculture, the wages paid to the categories employed on the large estates (which are mostly in kind) have been held stable, while the money wages of the "house and yard servants" employed by the larger peasants were in general cut down in 1933 and have been held on this level ever since.⁹ At present, farm labor still has some support in the favorable

<i>Region</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1935</i>
Silesia.....	369.65	342.00	342.00	342.00
Schleswig-Holstein.....	371.00	351.00	380.00	405.00
Brandenburg, district Angermünde....	373.50	373.50	373.50	373.50
Brunswick.....	532.60	488.33	486.00	486.00
Hanover, North.....	544.80	490.40	490.40	490.40
Baden.....	547.10	479.13	477.38	477.38
Lower Bavaria.....	327.78	287.22	285.22	285.22
Upper Bavaria.....	342.52	299.96	297.96	297.96

industrial employment conditions and the absorptive effect of conscription and compulsory labor service. But when these supports become ineffective, its situation will be further weakened, particularly in view of the increase of supply that must be expected from the ranks of small owners, tenants, and yielding heirs.

The reading of recent court decisions on farm-labor disputes makes one realize that the government is serious when it preaches social responsibility, but that it will have a hard time getting its idea across to the farmers whom it has so suddenly destined to nobility.¹⁰ It may find more response among the larger owners, especially in the old nobility, where remnants of the feudal feeling of social responsibility for dependent people have not yet died out. In all matters concerning return to a patriarchal, feudal order, Darré and the old landed aristocracy stand on common ground. This fact has been confirmed by an expert, a

⁹ According to the Statistical Abstracts for Germany, the yearly wages of male house and yard servants in some regions with identical territory over the period covered developed as follows (in Reichsmark):

¹⁰ See, for instance, a decision by the Social Honor Court for the trustee-district Niedersachsen of May 28, 1936, in *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, Jahrgang 4, Heft 21.

nobleman himself, Professor von Dietze. He writes: "In the Third Reich, there is no political reason for abolition of the large land-owners for reasons of their mentality."¹¹ And Darré admits, in his books, that there is still a lot of good blood in the old nobility. From this point of view, the conspicuous lack of aggressiveness against the Junkers, which disappointed many good Nazis in the early days of National-Socialist power, is not surprising. Another very material reason may be that, at a time when at short intervals political moves are made at the risk of war, the government can neither afford to lessen the grain deliveries from the large estates nor to antagonize the army, whose higher officers still are in the main recruited from the class of large landowners. In fact, positive consideration for this class is discernible in many phases of the agricultural policy. It shows up in the renouncing of aggressive land settlement, in the shift of purchases of land for settlement purposes from complete large estates to far less satisfactory sources, and, generally, in the increasingly slow pace at which settlement is marching along, or rather dying down; it is manifest in certain features of the debt-freeing legislation, as well as in the generosity with which entry in the freehold register is practically left to the decision of the large owners, provided, of course, there is no Jewish blood in the ancestry. In response to the loud outcry of the class for a political function in the new state, many large owners (and among them many noblemen) are appointed as peasant leaders, though they are not freehold peasants themselves. This is only the natural consequence of Darré's convictions about the nobleman's abilities of leadership. Thus, it was putting it very mildly when Darré stated in a speech in 1935 that the large landowners would be shown neither preference nor discrimination.¹²

With the German farm population split up into a group equipped with privileges which, though not always gratefully received, certainly aim at raising their social and economic status, and a far larger body of small farmers headed toward an impoverished and socially inferior level, is it not inevitable to ask: How does this drive toward a feudal structure agree with the efforts to mold the national society into a highly integrated community without castes or classes, divided by function only? The answer is: It does not agree. There are two ideological currents: the national, which tends toward integration on the foundation of socially restricted, though nominally private property—this is what present-day Germany calls socialist, and where agricultural planning and market regulation belong; and the aristocratic, an esoteric dogma, the adherents of which, being disciples of Nietzsche, probably secretly scorn boisterous patriotism and crude anti-semitism, merely considering them a useful camouflage. Significantly enough, when Nietzsche thought of breeding a new aristocracy, he thought of Europe, not Germany.¹³ Despite all efforts to reconcile them, the two tendencies clash. They clash in the problem of the small farmer, in the question of the birth rate, in the settlement policy. Nationalist Germany must aim at

¹¹ "Grossgrundbesitz," *Berliner Tageblatt*, No. 122, March 3, 1935.

¹² Commented on *ibid.*

¹³ See *Wille zur Macht*, chapter "Zucht und Züchtung."

having the small farmer prosperous and contented, while the aristocratic ideology sacrifices him to the coming nobility. Nationalist Germany must make all efforts to increase the birth rate, while the aristocratic tendency is toward quality of the progeny at the risk of a decrease in quantity. Nationalist Germany wants to fill the empty East with a dense farm population, while the aristocratic tendency is to preserve the large estates and to lay out the new farms in far larger sizes than before. The aristocratic tendency is even, in some ways, detrimental to the eugenic idea: making one-half of the agricultural land the inalienable property of certain families bars natural selection on the basis of efficiency exactly at a moment when a rise in the birth rate, if any, can only be expected to start in the more prosperous groups of the population.

The struggle between the two ideologies is perhaps the most exciting drama in present-day Germany. It may be that the National-Socialist state, recognizing at last that it is nursing a terrible potential enemy, will one day sweep away the aristocratic foreign substance. But it also may be that the aristocratic philosophy will reveal itself as the innermost meaning of the fascist state and break through all the temporary camouflage of German socialism and community spirit.

Resettlement Administration

MARIE PHILIPPI JASNY

Social Planning and the Sociology of Subregions

C. E. Lively

I

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE IDEA of orderly social planning has begun to take root in American thought.¹ As a people, we have practiced social planning sporadically, in time of crisis, since the nation began. Those efforts have generally been hurried, and new forms of social organization have frequently been launched without due regard for their indirect and long-time consequences.² The increasing frequency of economic depressions and other serious crises have brought increasing interest in social planning of a sort that is continuous and also of a sort that evaluates contemplated procedures in terms that are broader than their ameliorative efficacy in time of crisis.

There is considerable confusion regarding the nature of social planning in a democracy. Our traditional individualism causes many people to abhor social planning as a form of regimentation. There are many forms of regimentation already in existence, however, and much of it is the natural product of a system in which the socially weak and the socially strong are permitted to compete, individually and in groups, for an indefinite time. Furthermore, the attainment of certain desirable social ends can never be attained by competitive methods. The control of communicable disease, social security, and many other such goals can be attained only by general social co-operation and unity of action.

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¹ This paper was presented before the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, December, 1936.

² Wesley C. Mitchell, "Intelligence and the Guidance of Economic Evolution," *Science Monthly*, XLIII, 450-465.

This point is fairly clear to many people. It is not so clear how such a task may be accomplished by democratic means.

Social planning by democratic means does not consist of organizing human behavior by means of national blueprints. After being adopted, many projects may be blueprinted for execution. Such projects are not planning, however, but the result of planning. Planning by democratic society is not a project but a process—a process by which society exercises collective forethought. The essential elements in this process are: (1) determination of the necessary facts, (2) dissemination of the facts to the people, (3) intelligent discussion of the facts and their interpretation together with various proposals for action, and (4) expressed approval or disapproval of proposed policies or projects. Once proposals for action are approved, planning ceases and administrative action begins.

It is of the utmost importance to remember that social planning, in the sense of planning by society, will normally be done at different social levels (i.e., local, state, regional, national, etc.) and that the planning done at these different levels will vary qualitatively. In general, planning done at the national level will be of a broad policy-forming nature while planning at the local level will tend to be specific and detailed. Other levels will tend to yield planning of an intermediate nature. This does not prevent national determination in complete detail of such local projects as dams, or any other strictly federal projects which require only local acquiescence for their promulgation. But national, regional, and state planning which requires the active co-operation of local groups, which contemplates definite modification of human behavior in local areas, must recognize the autonomy of these groups to the extent of providing, within limits, self-determination in participation. Failure to do this not only violates the democratic principle but also encounters the grave danger of losing the sympathy and co-operation of the local people. Communities cannot be successfully built and modified at will by long-range procedure.

It is perhaps well, at this point, to emphasize a distinction that appears not to be sufficiently clear. The term "social planning" is commonly used to include both the method of planning and the results of planning. This is confusing. Planning by collective means, as contrasted with planning done by a dictator, refers to method. Planning which results in some modification of the social organization illustrates result. The American people may plan to liberate the Philippines

or to abolish the electoral college with little or no direct or indirect consequences to the social organization. The same people may plan to build a dam or to rebuild our forests and thereby exert considerable indirect influence upon the social organization. But when the American people plan to improve landlord-tenant relations or to build model communities, they are planning to modify directly the social organization. It may be too much to expect these distinctions to be incorporated into popular usage, but the student should be aware of them. Perhaps planning by society should be called *societal* planning; planning *for* a society, in the sense of the control of the physical and biological environment, should be called *indirect* social planning; and planning of the social organization itself should be called *direct* social planning. However that may be, I wish to emphasize here that while the sociology of subregions is of considerable importance in indirect social planning, it is of great importance in direct social planning.

Recently the idea of regionalism has been coming to the fore in the literature of planning. It has long been recognized that the United States is a nation varied in conditions, interests, and attitudes. More recently, study of the problems of internal adjustment confronting the American people emphasizes that certain problems and sets of problems are similar throughout broad, relatively homogeneous areas which do not conform to state lines. Hence, regionalism is of interest whether considered from the standpoint of administration or from the standpoint of natural areas.

The determination of regions and their usefulness in planning must be in terms of the purposes for which they are sought. Regions can scarcely be uniform for all purposes. The most likely regions for the control of water power, of soil erosion, of our forest reserves, may be quite different from those most desirable for the control of banking. It follows that the nation may be regionalized, and subregionalized on the basis of any single factor desired. As this is done for an increasing number of factors, however, it becomes evident that certain broad areas tend to hang together as a complex of highly intercorrelated factors, and that they tend to be set apart because of their relative internal homogeneity. The Corn Belt, the Old South, the Southern Appalachians, and the Western Plains are general terms used to designate such areas. These are broad physiographic and economic areas, the socio-

logical characteristics of which have not yet been fully determined.³ In areas of such marked physical and economic contrasts, certain sociological differences are assumed. The complete determination of differences and similarities is yet a task of social research.

But while the region is regarded as relatively homogeneous, it is both unnecessary and undesirable to assume the complete geographic determinism that is suggested. Woofter's⁴ definition of a region recognizes the importance of non-physical factors in the creation of region. He says, a region is "an area in which the combination of environmental and demographic factors has created a homogeneity of economic and social structure." This distinction is important, because, from the standpoint of social planning, the demographic and cultural factors are of prime significance. Physical factors must be analyzed for the purpose of controlling such physical factors, and the control of physical factors carries many implications for human behavior and social organization. Still, a very unsatisfactory social organization may occur in an area where control of the physical environment is not regarded as a problem. Serious social problems occur in many of our best-land areas. Abject poverty and a relatively permanent tenant class may be found upon some of the best land in the United States. Modern institutions do not arise merely because land is good. Hence, it must not be assumed that social planning is complete when satisfactory control of soil, water, and forest resources has been effected.

If it is true that the control of physical resources constitutes only one aspect of social planning, and if it is also true, as implied above, that the nature of the social organization is only imperfectly correlated with physical factors, then it follows that social planning must be based primarily upon a thorough analysis of the demographic, institutional, and other cultural characteristics of the social organization. Furthermore, the necessary social analysis may be made quite independent of environmental factors. The task of relating physical and social factors is one which logically follows the independent analysis of each. The

³ The literature of regionalism is too extensive to be cited in detail. See especially, H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1936); P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, "Six Rural Problem Areas," *Research Monograph No. 1*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, 1935; Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains*; Carter Goodrich and Others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia, 1936); National Resources Committee, *Regional Factors in National Planning* (Washington, 1935).

⁴ National Resources Committee, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

agronomist does not proceed to analyze the soil as a function of income and population fertility ratios. Neither should the sociologist proceed to study the social organization as a function of soil or topography. After having analyzed the social organization as an independent entity, it is legitimate to explore the correlations between physical and social factors. By so doing the dangers of a geographic determinism may be obviated.

II

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL PLANNING IN THE CORN BELT

The problems of social planning can be understood more readily if the discussion is narrowed to a specific area. Take for example, the general area known as the Corn Belt. Most of this region is included within the boundaries of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. For administrative purposes, these five states have been combined by the Resettlement Administration and are known as Region III. Since this administrative region does not coincide with a natural area, it is a region of contrasts. In it is to be found some of the best and some of the poorest farm land in the United States. Some of the land now being farmed should be removed from crop cultivation, and some of the best land probably should be farmed more intensively. In other sections, the type of farming should be modified to check further erosion. The region contains both highly efficient and highly inefficient farming, areas of self-sufficient and of highly commercialized farming, areas in which the percentage of tenancy is low and areas in which it is high, areas of low planes of living and areas of high planes of living, of poor rural institutions and of superior rural institutions, of low population fertility and of high population fertility, and so on indefinitely. Industrial areas and part-time farming are also sprinkled throughout much of the region.

One of the most conspicuous facts about this region is that, for many years, it has been a region of declining farm population. Not only has the farm population declined in the poor-land areas since about 1900, but upon the good land as well. During that time, the rate of natural increase apparently has declined steadily, but the failure of the farm population to grow must be attributed directly to emigration from the farms. In spite of the advantages of good land and a rising level of living, large numbers of persons migrated from the farms of these states to farms further west or to the industrial centers so prevalent

throughout the region. Aside from the comparative opportunities that confronted these migrants, we are faced with the spectacle of the people living on the best land, in one of the best agricultural regions of the world, improving their socio-economic status by shrinking the size of their population as well as by improving their agricultural efficiency.⁵ And yet, in spite of their apparent success in improving their status, the conditions of farm ownership have become increasingly difficult. Farm mortgages have increased in number and size, and the percentage of tenancy has mounted steadily throughout much of the region. It is as if the population on the land has been unable to retain its advantages but has found them progressively slipping away. In certain of the good-land sections, especially where the situation is complicated by the race problem, planes of living are definitely lower than in many sections where the land is inferior. On the other hand, in some of the sections with poorer land, farm ownership has persisted to a high degree, and farm life is characterized by a stability and comfort that is challenging.

Throughout this region marked differentials occur in the natural increase of the rural population. While the natural increase is far from what it was some decades ago, probably most of the farm population of the region still produces a surplus of children above replacement needs. These youths must either migrate into non-agricultural enterprises or attempt to locate on the farms of the region. Many such young persons, together with distressed farmers of the depression, prefer to farm and are in need of assistance in planning their future. What shall be the policy with respect to them? It is well known that youths who enter farming tend to do so within a few miles of the parental home. Many of these persons, however, are reared in poor-land sections where fewer rather than more farmers is desirable. On the other hand, in certain good-land areas farm population increase is low, and children tend to give preference to the non-agricultural occupations.

It is evident that the region just described presents a fertile field in

⁵ In 1931, I pointed out that since 1910 the farm population of the state of Minnesota had apparently increased its per capita income at the expense of the population. While by 1930 the gross cash income had increased approximately 20 per cent per farm, the number of persons per farm had decreased 10 per cent. (See "Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota," *Bulletin No. 287*, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, St. Paul, 1931, pp. 30, 46.) In some good-land areas, this phenomenon seems to be rather striking. In one Ohio county the number of farms now appears to be smaller than in 1880, while the farm population is little more than reproducing itself. During that time, the percentage of tenancy has increased from 24 to 39 per cent but, even so, the number of persons dependent upon the average farm has evidently decreased.

which to contemplate the problems of rural social planning. It seems clear, also, that little can be done administratively toward direct social planning until sociological research has provided a far richer factual basis for action than now exists. Flood control may be accomplished, erosion may be checked, crop acreages may be limited; and these improvements will unavoidably effect certain changes in the life of the people. But, if bungling is to be avoided, the direct improvement of the rural social organization of the region awaits a better understanding of the social relationships of the region than we now possess. Indication of some of the chief research problems is in order.

To what extent are the level and quality of farm life in this region a function of the physical environment? Clearly there is no perfect relationship between farm living and soil quality. In some sections mineral and other non-agricultural sources of wealth have supported a level of living that could not long be supported by the soil alone. In other sections certain factors apparently have prevented the farm population from realizing fully the fruits of an actually or potentially abundant agriculture. To what extent is family income related to the physical productivity of the soil? To what extent is family income determined by type and method of farming and by market opportunity?

To what extent is farm family living related to agricultural income in this region? In Ohio, the relationship between gross cash income and such consumption factors as value of farm dwelling, and proportion of farms reporting radios, electricity, and water piped into the dwelling is relatively low when computed on a county basis. The relationship of gross cash income to mortgage indebtedness is much higher. Would inclusion of family living obtained from the farm as income materially change these relationships? To what extent have opportunities for additional income been overlooked?

To what extent may variation in farm life and living in this region be explained by biological and demographic factors? Is the quality of the population in some sections inferior to that in other sections? To what extent is variation in quality of the population a biological problem, and to what extent is it merely a function of culture variation? In what respects, and to what extent, is the population of submarginal land also submarginal? Are there peculiarities of age distribution which account for variation in the productivity of the population? Is there marked variation in the number of dependents per gainful worker? Is there variation in the proportion of persons of gainful working age

who are gainful workers? Are there areas which are overpopulated in relation to the resources? If so, to what extent is overpopulation the result of high natural increase and limited emigration? Conversely to what extent have the favored areas attained their position by shrinking the population, either by direct or indirect means, in relation to the productive resources of the area?

Again, to what extent are institutional factors responsible for the observed variation in farm family and community welfare in this region? Do certain institutional factors, such as the form of land tenure, or the inheritance of property rights by migrants, tend to prevent the proper utilization of productive resources or the enjoyment of income from those resources? Apparently there are areas in which good land is now supporting a minimum population by means of an indifferent agriculture. Are institutional factors preventing better utilization of these lands? Other areas of good land apparently produce well while a minimum of the fruits of production are enjoyed by the resident population. Are institutional factors at fault here?

Is it not true that the availability and quality of institutions are correlated directly with the social intelligence and social competence of the population, and inversely with the rate of natural increase? If so, to what extent may these qualities of the population in the less favored sections be improved by improving the quality of institutions? Facilities for formal education are generally poorest where the production of children is highest. Because of current differentials in the birth rate, an increasing proportion of our future citizens are being born and reared in the poor-land areas where educational facilities are meagre. Whether present differentials in rate of reproduction will continue is a matter of speculation. If they should prevail for a considerable time, it may be difficult to maintain the present average level of social competence of the population unless greater equalization of educational opportunity is effected. Aside from the question of the biological competence of the population on good land and on poor land, is it not important to improve the quality of both populations as far as possible by institutional means?

To what extent have cultural factors been responsible for variation in the economic behavior of the people of this region? Have cultural factors tended to control effort, savings, spending policies, education, and the like? Recall that Baldwin and his associates⁶ found significant

⁶ B. Baldwin and Others, *Farm Children* (New York, 1930).

differences in these respects between certain rural communities in Iowa. There was considerable evidence that Community A which worked hardest and accumulated most lived less well and possessed a more limited outlook than Community B which expended less effort on economic accumulation.

III

THE STUDY OF SUBREGIONS

Enough has been said to indicate the need for a genuine sociological analysis of rural life in the Corn Belt area before any serious attempt at direct social planning is undertaken. Since complete sociological analysis of the region cannot be undertaken, except as a long-time procedure, the program should begin with extensive and proceed to more intensive methods and should be so planned that each step will yield information of value for administrative purposes. It is my opinion that the first step is clearly indicated as a determination of the subregions and subregional characteristics of this area. The sociological subregion is the modern sociological counterpart of the social anthropologist's "culture area"⁷ and the work of determining it is similar to that of the urban social ecologists in laying out the subareas of the metropolitan city.⁸ The subregion is important because, it is essential (1) for the practical planning of social programs, and (2) as a unit for the control of representative sampling procedure in the study of regional characteristics.⁹

The study of the sociological geography of a region is dependent, to a high degree, upon the availability of adequate indexes for measuring demographic and cultural factors. As you are well aware, many desirable indexes of this sort either have not yet been invented, or they have not yet been developed for local subdivisions. To substantiate this point, I need only mention that we do not have, even on a county basis, satisfactory indexes of plane of living, agricultural income, natu-

⁷ C. Wissler, "The Culture-Area Concept in Social Anthropology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (1926-27), 881-891; A. L. Kroeber, "Culture Area," *Encyclopedia of Social Science*, IV, 646-7; B. Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopedia of Social Science*, IV, 625.

⁸ For summaries of literature and bibliography see, N. P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society* (New York, 1933); Nels Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, *Urban Sociology* (New York, 1928), chaps. 2-3; Niles Carpenter, *The Sociology of City Life* (New York, 1931), chap. 3.

⁹ T. J. Woofter, Jr., "The Subregions of the Southeast," *Social Forces*, XIII (1934-35), 43-44.

ral increase of the population, mobility, and church conditions, to mention only a few. In the course of years, many indexes of economic and social factors have been developed. Some, such as the proportion of the sexes, are simple; others, such as expenditure per pupil for schooling and volume of retail sales per capita, are complex and represent a composite of variations not always evident. It is notable, however, that usable indexes of the more strictly economic factors are more numerous than indexes of factors more definitely social in nature. Certainly here is a field in which statistical minded sociologists could be very useful.

When one begins to assemble all of the available indexes of demographic and cultural factors in a region, even though the list be far from ideal, he is likely to become confused with their tangled multiplicity. Several possible courses are open. One is to assume that biophysical factors, such as topography, soil, and type of agriculture, are the controlling entities and proceed to study the demographic and cultural characteristics of biophysical areas. This procedure assumes a degree of geographic determinism to which I cannot subscribe.

A second possibility consists of assuming, as does Dr. Odum,¹⁰ that a region or subregion may be understood only in terms of the multiplicity of details which it offers. Following this assumption the investigator assembles his details, maps what he can, and leaves the student to flounder in them. While this procedure may be regarded as sound when intensive studies of local areas are being made, it is bewildering as an extensive approach to regional analysis. I submit that no reader of Dr. Odum's recent book, dealing with regionalism in the South, will lay the book down feeling that he has comprehended the significance of the 700 variable measures of physical, economic, and social status which the book catalogs and summarizes for his consideration.

A third possibility consists of studying the interrelationships in space of the various available indexes of sociological significance, quite apart from their biophysical connections. This is a familiar technique, but a laborious one. It involves determining the intercorrelations of the measures used in order to learn how the various demographic and cultural factors hang together in the region under consideration. It will generally permit the student to reduce the number of indexes employed because of high intercorrelations. Or, he may group systems of correlated and qualitatively similar indexes into composite indexes. In either case he comes out with a simplified picture which

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

probably, with justice, sacrifices some reliability in the interests of clarity. This approach also permits the investigator to locate the sub-areas in which a high degree of homogeneity of factors occurs. These areas of significant internal homogeneity may be regarded as true sub-regions.

In co-operation with the Resettlement Administration, the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station recently undertook to develop this method of subregional analysis for the state of Ohio. The project was regarded as exploratory and preliminary to more intensive studies, among which was included the determination of areas suitable for closer settlement. It was believed that subregional analysis, by means of secondary data, would reveal the local areas toward which field studies should be directed. About 175 county indexes of economic and social conditions were assembled. These were grouped according to their nature into indexes of communication, production, family living, population, education, religion, etc. By a process of elimination, based upon the reliability of the data, intercorrelation and judgment, this number was first reduced to 60 and later to 25. All of the intercorrelations within this group of 25 indexes were computed.

This correlation analysis served to show how the various cultural factors, as measured by available indexes, hang together. For example, it was found that the average gross cash income per farm for the three-year period, 1929-31, gave the following results when correlated with other indexes:

RELATION OF AVERAGE GROSS CASH INCOME PER FARM, 1929-31, WITH:

	Value of r
Density of rural population per square mile	0.1
Fertility ratio, rural population	-0.4
Gain or loss from migration, rural population, 1915-30	0.2
Per cent of farms operated by tenants	0.7
Average value of farm dwelling per farm	0.6
Per cent of farms reporting telephones	0.5
Per cent of farm dwellings unoccupied	-0.2
Per cent of farms obtaining rehabilitation loans	0.0
Ratio of 12th grade to 8th grade enrollment	0.4
Average salary of school teachers	0.1
Average expenditure per pupil	-0.1
Per cent of churches with full-time resident minister	0.4

This list of correlative relationships is sufficient to indicate that either the indexes employed are quite unreliable or the tangle of cultural

relationships cannot be predicted by any index as simple as the farmer's income. It would appear that the latter conclusion is more likely to be correct.

The next step consists of subregionalization of the state for each qualitatively similar group of indexes. The factors in each of these groups are correlated. If the intercorrelations are sufficiently high, one factor may be used, since it controls all others. As a rule, however, the relationships are not close enough to permit this. The indexes may then be combined in a composite, aggregative index. Take, for example, the matters of family living. Aside from income, the available indexes are value of farm dwelling, percentage of families reporting automobiles, telephones, radios, electricity, and water piped into the house. These may be combined into an aggregative index and the state may be subregionalized in such a way that the groupings are more homogeneous within themselves than when grouped in any other way. In like manner, the same area may be subregionalized for any single factor, say income, or for any qualitatively similar group of correlated factors. These resulting subareas may then be studied in relation to biophysical factors such as soil and type-of-farming. Also, when any special problem, such as the location of desirable areas for closer settlement, is under consideration, the special factors bearing upon the problem, such as income possibilities, age distribution of the population, and migration tendencies, will possess greater significance when studied in relation to these homogeneous subareas. They are basic to scientific procedure in regional social research.

The Story of My Drift Into Rural Sociology

Charles Josiah Galpin

II. BEGINNINGS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

A STUDY OF THE BELLEVILLE, NEW YORK, COMMUNITY

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT's Country Life Commission had for several months been stirring the press with its hearings in state after state. One of these was held at the University of Wisconsin. Soon the Commission's Report was presented to the President, and he in turn sent it to the Congress, which gave the report some publicity through a printed Senate Document. A little later the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, very much impressed by the Commission's gospel of a new country life, had the Report printed in book form, and the findings of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission became public property, far and wide, giving rise to a spontaneous movement for a new type of civilization among farm and village people.

Dr. H. C. Taylor shared in this new hope for rural life, and his conversations with me began to take on a decidedly practical turn. He constantly referred to the fact that little was known in a systematic way about the play of social forces in farm life, and virtually nothing as to the metes and bounds of rural communities. I too was aroused from a passive contemplation of the significance of farm life, and I sent my memory flying on a mission to the scene of my teaching experience in New York State; to look at and carefully note the movements of farm families, and bring back perchance a green leaf of social rationality, order, meaning. The term "social forces" sang itself over and over in my ears. "Social forces," "social forces!" "Where and what are social forces at work among these New York farmers?" And I replied thus: "The Academy is a great social force; the local Chautauqua is a social

force; the co-operative milk association; the two churches; the Grange; the Masonic Order; the Eastern Star; the Birthday Club, etc." I had hit upon the formal organizations, plenty of them, in fact something like 30 distinct groups, having membership, officers, fees, regulations, purposes. So my remembrance came back, bringing a green twig of rural social order. Whereupon (this was in the summer of 1910, while I was still a "university pastor") I laid down a simple plan of relating the membership of all the farm organizations centering in the little village of Belleville, New York (village population 600), with the farm homes and village homes lying about and in the village. I wanted to see which homes, when plotted on a road map, contained the largest number of memberships in the organization; which, the least; which, none. Then I hoped that some new kind of social meaning would be disclosed. This should be a study with which I would surprise Dr. Taylor.

I secured the services of the local librarian in the Belleville village, and she collected the required data taking about three months to do it. How eagerly I awaited word that the thing was complete. How vastly interested I was in putting the results into map form—just to see the proof of the pudding. Then I looked and looked, compared, and thought. "Homes socialized." "Contacts with social forces." "Tenant homes, poorly socialized." "Owners' homes on main roads, with more contacts than owners' homes on back roads." And so it went. I shall, I am sure, be pardoned now for the excited delight I experienced in creating something to show to my friend Taylor. It was a far different thing from broaching an opinion, or reciting the position of a writer in a book, extremely simple though it all now seems. But this map did a thing to me which came well nigh to making me burn my books and stop going to libraries.

Dr. Taylor gave me an evening to explain my study—its plan, my "hunches," the actual field work, my map. He finally said, "Galpin, this is a piece of rural social research. Show it to Ross, and see what he says." Accordingly, one day I made bold to show it to Professor E. A. Ross, who at that time was creating the department of sociology at the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Ross was very patient with my naïve explanation of the social fabric in this New York community; but I gained the impression that my *opus* did not stir any emotion in him. "After all," I said to myself, "it is just a big piece of white cardboard, showing a road map of a stretch of farm land, with little squares for

homes, and a row of colored stickers attached to each square." And I felt rather small indeed alongside of Ross's physical and mental six feet four. But Dr. Taylor thought well enough of the little white cardboard to give me a place to explain my work in a paper before the First Wisconsin Country Life Conference, in January, 1911, of which Mr. J. Clyde Marquis was the secretary. This paper was printed in full in the report of the conference.

CHOSEN INSTRUCTOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Unbeknown to me, Dr. Taylor, in the winter of 1911, began to look about for a young instructor to take a place in his department of agricultural economics in the Wisconsin College of Agriculture (University of Wisconsin) to teach courses in rural social problems and the human life factor in agriculture. After much casting about, and not being able to put his hand upon a young graduate student ready for such a position, Dr. Taylor cornered me one day and said, "I want you to take this position and try it out with me. Give me half of your time. Keep half-time for your present job, and try it a year."

Misgivings flitted through my mind as I considered this friendly offer. I was, for instance, 47 years old, nine years older than Taylor. There was no text to teach (Gillette's *Constructive Rural Sociology* was not yet printed). I was fearful that old man insomnia might get me, if I undertook a quite formal responsibility to teach again. The salary, \$600 for a half year, was not alluring. However, the friendly, hopeful insistence of Taylor won me to a job in which I had an even chance to play the man, or indeed, to play the fool. It was, I thought, a sporting thing to try; moreover, I had a sporting chance, and I had always taken the offensive in sports with its risks. So I became an instructor, attempting by teaching to explain what was going on in rural life.

But at this point, in the summer before my start, I ran into my first snag. I found not only that there was no textbook, but there was little in the library bearing immediately upon my problem. These few books, however, I must read. I quickly formed a plan of procedure. I would hire three University seniors to read these available books, come to my home, and spend an evening a week giving me a complete digest. In this way, I sifted all the ready-made books within reach, finding however only background materials of daily-life experience, opinion, and much bias. Thereupon, I decided to make the Report of Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission the basis and outline of my lecture

course in the second semester of 1911, supplemented by the more or less full reports of certain notable conferences on agriculture and rural life: 1905, Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy called a conference; 1908, Roosevelt's conference of governors; 1902, University of Michigan; 1904, Rhode Island Agricultural College; 1907, Massachusetts Agricultural College; 1907, First New England Conference, Boston; 1908, Second New England Conference; 1909, University of Virginia; 1910, Michigan Agricultural College; 1910, University of Wisconsin.

DESPERATELY TRYING A NEW YORK FLY IN WISCONSIN WATERS

In August, 1911, before I began my formal connection with the University, I rather hastily decided to go to Delavan, Walworth County, Wisconsin, where I had spent several months in 1904, visiting farmers, ballyhooing for their whole milk to come to our Cold Process Milk Factory. I was well known in town and country. I would make, I rashly fancied, an analysis of the relation of all farmers of the county to the various trade centers of the county, somewhat after the manner of my first study in the Belleville, New York, trade basin. This was a plan of desperation and some fear. I went to Delavan without a note or a new idea. In my room at the Delavan House, I spent the hours of two days thinking. Delavan was a fine trading town for farmers. The social significance of goods, services, and trade began to trickle in on me for the first time. I would make trade and services central. So the schedule grew up little by little from the New York schedule. At the end of the second day, I had my schedule in hand. The next day I had it printed in quantities—3,000 schedules. With a map of the county in hand, showing each farm house by a dot, I set out to do the Delavan area myself. I did it in a week. Then I went back to the University and wondered how I was to get the whole county canvassed in like manner; and in my spare moments before the opening of the University, I mulled this matter over a good deal. I must have a feasible plan to present to Taylor and Dean Russell.

LIVING THROUGH THE FIRST YEAR

Fortunately for my morale, Dr. H. C. Taylor and Dean H. L. Russell suggested that during the first semester of 1911, I should go up and down Wisconsin and get a first-hand acquaintance with Wisconsin farm people, their institutions, and general way of life. So I spent the fall and early winter of 1911 looking over the broad field of Wisconsin

rural life, seeing what came to hand, and searching especially for places to begin disentangling rural social forces and rural social problems, all the time, in the back of my mind, trying to make the Walworth County plan hold water. I saw enough to convince me that rural society is a reality; that it was a virgin vein for research; and that both in and for itself and for urban society, a body of knowledge about rural life was worth while.

During that spring semester, in moments of vacuous classroom "lecturing" on my part, I summoned to my aid the sights I had seen with my own eyes in rural Wisconsin. My spine stiffened, and I liquidated vacuity with up-to-the-minute local facts. The day was saved. Again and again, I resorted to my own recent contacts with Wisconsin farmers, until I found myself elucidating rural situations which fell for example into the then current phrase of "Social Centers." So "rural social centers" naturally came into discussion and the way was paved thereby for a bulletin treatise on "Rural Social Centers in Wisconsin." At the year's end, Dr. Taylor and Dean Russell were willing to take me on as a full-time instructor for another year. I had lived through one danger zone of infancy, and had arrived at the decision that rural social research alone would save the teaching of rural life social problems.

MY FIRST RESEARCH BULLETIN

During the first year, my plan to make a rural social analysis of Walworth County crystallized, and I dared to present it to Taylor. I would, as I presented it, go to Walworth County and persuade responsible persons whom I knew each to take the census with my schedule for his or her community without charge save for actual expenses. Each one would need a spot farmhouse map covering his community, and a little more. We would have a student draftsman make a base map of the county, and from prints of this furnish my canvassers with copies. When the census should be finished, I would have 3,000 filled schedules which I would plot on county maps, letting the lines fall where they would, and then we should for the first time know what these towns meant to these farmers and what these farmers meant to these towns.

I sold the plan to Taylor, and he sold it to the Dean. And I went to work. The student who drafted the base map *in toto* at odd moments was W. A. Schoenfeld, now Dean of the Oregon College of Agriculture. (His name should have gone onto that map!) I got my workers in Walworth County without difficulty, because I knew whom to pick. It

took two years to complete the field work. The total cost was about \$400, for expenses.

Then came the great days of discovering the meaning of these 30,000 separate facts, in terms of social relations fitted together into pictures and patterns which would show some of the undercurrents of rural life. It took another year to think this study through, get the maps ready for publication, and write the text. I was naturally very much pleased to have the manuscript accepted for publication in the Research Series of the Experiment Station of the University. To Andrew W. Hopkins, College Editor, is due credit for the rather clever black and whites of the maps in the text.

I took a copy of the manuscript before printing to Prof. E. A. Ross for "a glance" and a preface, if he would do it. And he did it, in his characteristic generous fashion. It was highly complimentary. He pronounced it "a good example of induction, and as much a discovery as sighting a planet." Well, this preface from the pen of Ross went to the Dean, but not to the printer; because, well, just because—well, "What has Ross got to do with anything in the College of Agriculture?" And the preface never came back to me else I would quote it now in full, for though it might make my face red with its praise, it would show plainly that Ross was a friend of *Rural Sociology* over 20 years ago. Some months after the study was printed under the caption of *The Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, I was riding from Chicago in the train with Ross back to the University. In the course of our conversation, Ross remarked, "Galpin, it would not surprise me, if that Walworth County study turns out to be the thing you will be remembered by." He certainly came near to a bull's eye on that shot; and yet the whole piece of research—inception, technic, interpretation—seemed so fairly simple to me that I thought at the time, "Preposterous! A mere Rossism! I am now ready to do something difficult and important." But somehow those "difficult, important" things I have done are remembered only by myself.

POLITICS IN SCHOLARSHIP

I have just mentioned a bulletin on rural social centers. It was printed—by accident. A purely descriptive, piece-meal treatise, prefaced by some matter of fact statements. I had written it up on the side as a bit of extension output with a practical value in Wisconsin, providing of course it would prove acceptable to the Dean. I took the manuscript

to Dean Reber, dean of Extension in the University, asked him to look it over, seeing that he was plugging for "social centers." In a day or two he sent for me. "Let me print it," he said. I wonder now that I did not hand it over; but a breeze of caution blew over me, and I replied, "I will consider it." Then highly fortified, as I dumbly thought, I went rashly to my Dean, and told him what Dean Reber had offered. How near I came to losing my head, I never knew. But when the Dean got through with me, I had learned a thing or two in the politics of scholarship. So I was amazed the next day to hear that my manuscript would soon go to the printer, as written. I thought, "Well, even a blind hog stumbles into luck and finds an acorn once in a while."

Stumbles. "Stumbles" is right. And how many times after that I stumbled and found something. For example, there was that country church bulletin. I had happened—another accident—to read the life of John Frederick Oberlin. The agricultural part of this clergyman's 60-year career in one parish smote me in the face till it smarted. I slept over it. I took the book and made a digest of 10,000 words. I wrote the author and asked him to let me use it, print it, circulate it. I haggled. He haggled. I begged. I even stood like a dog on my hind legs for it. After eight months of this maneuvering I got permission. Then I bravely, dumbly went to the Dean again and asked him to print my digest of John Frederick Oberlin's life in bulletin form for especial circulation among the rural clergy of Wisconsin, many of whom like Oberlin were Lutheran in faith.

The Dean looked the first page over, and remarked, "This is history. We can't print history." I had to learn the limits to the freedom of the college press. Sad at heart, for I had humiliated myself to get the permission to print and then couldn't print, back to Taylor I went, and told him my doleful tale. Taylor countered with a question: "Are there any country churches in Wisconsin?" "Plenty," I replied. "Select a dozen of the best," said Taylor. "Get their photographs, social methods, any special features, string them together with a preface on the church as an agent of social control and at the end, in small print, add your digest of Oberlin's life; then play the manuscript again to the Dean, under the title, 'The Country Church, A Social and Economic Force.' With a quick step and a lighter heart, I fared forth, got the stories, wrote the preface, padded the story with pictures, stuck on the addenda, and marched to the Dean, saying, "Here is a manuscript for a bulletin, Dean." The Dean read the title. "That sounds good," he said, without

looking up, meanwhile turning the pages, looking at the photos. "Wisconsin churches, I see." "Protestant and Catholic. Good. Let's get this right through the Governor" (the Governor had to approve all such bulletins) "and into the press at once." Ten thousand copies went flying free to the clergy, and by special permission I was allowed to sell at cost as many copies as I could. I sold 30,000 copies more. And this in a nutshell is the inside story of how in poverty I scattered Oberlin's poverty-stricken life of rural wonder-working far and wide. It is a source of high gratification to me that Dr. Malcolm Dana of the Yale Divinity School has recently reprinted my snapshots of Oberlin in a country parish, for another circulation to country ministers.

MY STUDENTS

After the first full-time year at the University, my courses settled into a series of practical lectures to "short course" men each winter, an elementary course in rural life, a graduate seminar, the guidance of individual graduates in research toward a doctorate, and a repetition of two courses in the Summer Session. My research went on through half-time assistants, who carried out my plans, spending a very small budget for travel and living. The most I can say for my teaching during the eight years at the University—and I knew it well at the time—is that I brought to my classroom all that I had dug up in the State—and virtually nothing more. It seemed to me foolish then (it does so now) to have labeled my courses *Rural Sociology*. They were only beginnings. They remained sketchy courses in the *Rural Life of Wisconsin*.

Dr. Taylor pushed his economics students over into one or more courses of mine. This gave me a chance to graft a little, only a little, mind you, rural social humanism upon some fine rural economic stock. One of the conventional pleasures of a teacher, rating the careers of his students as, in some sense, his own personal property, never got hold of me. My pleasure, rather, has been in seeing my former students in posts of opportunity to do something for rural life. It has seemed that my acquaintance with them has been the main possession for me, and knowing them as I do, I am happy to see their powers at work. So it is that my thoughts frequent the posts where my old Wisconsin students are or have been working, and their products and successes please me: the Colleges of Agriculture of Washington, Oregon, Utah, Colorado, Texas, Nebraska, Vancouver (Canada), Minnesota, Virginia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts; Universities—Harvard, Tu-

lane, Columbia, Maryland, Oxford (England), Wales (Great Britain), Imperial, Kyoto, Japan; colleges, high schools, normal schools, institutes; state and Federal bureaus. I have hoped that the economists among them may have been better economists for having been compelled to think about farm people in other connections than that of wealth.

MY EXTENSION WORK IN WISCONSIN

An annual country life conference during Farmer's Week, which I projected and carried through to a printed report, gave me a chance to bring to public attention farm men and women, rural teachers, rural ministers who have helped socialize their Wisconsin communities. I also brought in from neighboring states speakers from certain communities which had shown exceptional initiative in some respect, such as a consolidation of little schools, a co-operative laundry, a practical merchant-farmer policy. Then later with stereopticon, lantern slides, and a gas tank for places without electricity, I earnestly plugged for the better things in rural life. My theory was simple: show farm people what other people have done, and constantly praise farm people for what they are doing. Imitation would do the rest. I went anywhere. No place was too remote, too small. I ballyhooed like any circus barker for consolidated schools, social centers, farmers' clubs, farm and town co-operative effort, county fairs, play days for country schools, school district self-surveys, church interest in social improvement, county country-life conferences. This first-hand contact with the rural population of Wisconsin kept me close to the plane of rural thinking and was doubtless responsible for restricting my own thoughts to rather concrete situations. In fact, it was only by an effort that I could, in quiet, take an impersonal view of all these problems, and begin to link them in some systematic order, abstracted from the emotional elements involved. Probably I overdid the rural contact part in my theory. I should have possibly paid more tribute to abstraction. Dr. Taylor bought a farm, lived on it, and moved about with his neighbors in order to get first-hand contact with the economics of farming. I was impressed with his example; but I came to see that there are limits to the value of first-hand contact; fatigue, incapacity to abstract, struggle with doubt about the value of anything but *living out life*, doubt of cogitation itself, no long periods of getting up to the point of imaginative ignition.

GETTING OUT A BOOK

Upon request, I had written from time to time an article for some farm paper, principally the *Country Gentleman*. The things in the rural life of Wisconsin that struck me as good and worth imitation made good "yarns" and I was glad to spread the news. To write a book, however, had never entered my head. I knew that my experience had not yet ripened that far; but the ingratiating secretary of the Century Company Publishing House came browsing around the University, button-holed Dean Russell, and before I had realized the result, had got my name to a contract to write a book on RURAL LIFE, which would be shot like a shotgun at the mass of rurally interested readers. We were in the War. I was a member of the Home Guards. Everything was aflutter. Adventure ran high. I could even write a book. I sat down each day until 1,000 words were in a first draft. I kept faithfully this stint. The manuscript was finished before the war was. I had done what I could in much sincerity. All that I hoped as a result was the incitement of many plain people like myself to examine the current rural life about them for themselves, and do their bit toward making better things for country living. Really this book was but a collection of my trinkets—things I had found, or made and prized. Gillette had already put out a rural sociology. Vogt had issued his *Introduction*. My little book, however, was only a nudge, an urge to dig. It did show how far I had made my *Drift into Rural Sociology* by the year 1918.

I no longer felt alone in the field of teaching rural social problems. Sanderson was at Cornell, Vogt at Ohio, Hall at Purdue, Hieronymous at Illinois, Campbell at the Y. M. C. A. College, Massachusetts, Morgan at Massachusetts Agricultural College, Von Tungeln at Iowa State College, Warren H. Wilson was instructor at large, Butterfield and Bailey were still talking and writing about federating rural social forces and about the idealism of the earth and agriculture. Some of these men had passed through the skilled hands of Park and Small of Chicago, Giddings of Columbia, Carver of Harvard, Ross of Wisconsin. We used to meet once a year with the American Sociological Society. Soon we became class-conscious, and the *Rural Section* emerged with a small bang, bang, and *Research* was the one topic on our minds, which began in a few years to draw the elder sociologists into our meetings; Gillin over there; Ellwood here; Small looking in at the door; Ross plumping right down in front; Bernard standing in the rear.

LEAVING WISCONSIN

In the spring of 1919, Dr. H. C. Taylor consented to become Chief of the Office of Farm Management in the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. He persuaded Secretary of Agriculture Houston to call a conference of the outstanding men interested in rural life at Washington, for the purpose of outlining the field of a proposed Division in the Office of Farm Management to undertake the study of rural life problems. Dr. Carver of Harvard was Chairman. The conference recommended such a Division, outlined its activities, named it *Farm Life Studies*. The recommendation was accepted by Secretary Houston, and Dr. Taylor invited me to head up this division of research. My salary at Wisconsin had in eight years advanced to \$2,250. The Washington offer was \$4,500. The one big inducement to go was Taylor. He was going. I would still be with him. The arguments against my leaving Wisconsin, put up by Dean Russell and President Birge, were all absolutely valid. But I was harnessed up emotionally with Taylor, and sink or swim, I would stay with Taylor. So after 14 wonderful years at the University of Wisconsin, I left, and drifted to Washington.

Tier Counties and Delinquency in Kansas

Mapheus Smith

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE of this study was to ascertain if distance from cities is as important for juvenile delinquents as for many types of social phenomena.¹ After a consideration of the size of the State of Kansas, its relatively sparse settlement, and the absence of large cities within its borders, the following specific questions were formulated for investigation.

A. Is there any relationship between the size of the largest community in a county and its delinquent rate?

B. Is there a tendency for delinquent rates to increase or decrease as distance from the focal city increases? Is the change consistent and regular?

C. If there is a tendency for delinquent rates to decrease as distance from a focal community increases, is the change due to distance alone, or is it a function of size combined with distance?

The data employed in the investigation consisted of the average number of cases tried in the juvenile courts of each county for the five years from July 1, 1926, through June 30, 1931, obtained from the *Reports* of the State Board of Administration. Delinquent rates per 1,000 children aged seven to 17 years, the approximate ages of juvenile delinquents in the state, were calculated for each county, using 1930 Census data as a base.

METHODS, RESULTS, AND CONCLUSIONS

A. IS THERE ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIZE OF LARGEST COMMUNITY IN A COUNTY AND ITS DELINQUENT RATE?

It is evident when the 105 counties of Kansas are arranged in groups

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¹ Cf. R. E. Park, "Urbanization as Measured by Newspaper Circulation," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (1929), p. 60; E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends* (New York, 1933), chap. V; J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston, 1935), pp. 190, 192; E. H. Sutherland, *Criminology* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 122-123; P. K. Whelpton, "Geographic and Economic Differentials in Fertility," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 188 (1936), 43-45.

according to the size of the largest community in the county, as in Table I, that there is at least a rough correlation between the size of the largest community in a county and its delinquent rate for the five-year period. Furthermore, the rate of decrease is fairly regular until the 6,250 to 12,500 group is reached. The rate for the one county with a city of between 25,000 and 50,000 population in 1930, Reno, was about three-fifths as large as the average for the three counties with cities of more than 50,000 population. The counties with the next smaller cities had slightly over one-half as high an average delinquent rate as Reno County, while counties with largest cities between 6,250 and 12,500 population had a higher rate than those counties with cities of up to 25,000 population. But counties with no community above 6,250 population had an average delinquent rate only one-third as large as the counties with cities of between 6,250 and 12,500 population.

It is obvious, however, that the grouping of counties has a great deal to do with this conclusion. For example, if the division is made at 100,000 rather than at 50,000 population, there is more irregularity in the rates, since Shawnee County (Topeka) has a lower rate than Reno County. Or if the 25,000 to 100,000 cities are grouped, the rate of decrease is again fairly regular. But here we are faced with the lack of

TABLE I

DELINQUENT RATE OF KANSAS COUNTIES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION
7 TO 17* CLASSIFIED BY CITY SIZE-GROUPS

<i>Population of Largest Community in County</i>	<i>Number of Counties</i>	<i>Average Delinquent Rate†</i>
Over 50,000.....	3	10.34
25,000 to 50,000.....	1	6.52
12,500 to 25,000.....	9	3.69
6,250 to 12,500.....	11	4.46
Under 6,250.....	81	1.41
All Counties.....	105	2.20

*The population data upon which these and other rates are based were taken from the 1930 Census of Population.

†These averages were computed by summing the rates for separate counties and dividing by the number of counties. This procedure is partly justified by the fact that the counties are grouped by size which automatically takes care of a large part of the weighting required in averages not composed of units which actually are, or are assumed to be, of identical size. Other averages used in this paper are computed in the same way.

any established method of classifying cities into groups according to size. Each of the three methods is more or less arbitrary, although there is probably more justification for the first than for the others, for two reasons. First, the actual spread of cities in the "over 100,000" group

is from 100,000 to 121,857 and the spread in the "over 50,000" group is from 64,120 to 121,857. If Kansas had larger cities than Kansas City, a grouping of cities of over 50,000 would not be justified. In the second place, the breakdown of classes of counties with communities of less than 50,000 population is made so that the lower limit of each group in turn is a county whose largest community is half as large as the largest community in the lower limit county of the next larger group² (for example the "25,000 to 50,000 group" is next to the "more than 50,000" group). Even this method of constructing subclasses has not been established as the best method, but neither has any other, and it might be argued that geometrical reductions or increases by fixed proportionate rates is the best procedure to follow in classifying a continuous series into separate classes.

This method of analysis is, however, not so conclusive as the simple correlation technique which accurately defines the closeness of relationship between the size of the largest community in a county and the delinquent rate. The rank-order technique yielded a p of $.61 \pm .04$ which bears out the original conclusion obtained from the grouping technique.

B. IS THERE A TENDENCY FOR DELINQUENT RATES TO INCREASE OR DECREASE AS DISTANCE FROM THE FOCAL CITY INCREASES?

Since there is a rough positive correlation between the size of the largest community in a county and its delinquent rate, and since it is generally true that when a county is selected as a center around which tiers of counties are distributed, the largest communities in the tier-counties are smaller than in the city-county, the delinquent rate in each successive tier of counties as the distance from the city increases may be expected to be smaller. In other words, it is reasonable to suppose that distance from a central city is positively related to smallness of delinquent rate. This hypothesis is also in agreement with the well-known fact that urban communities have higher delinquent and crime rates than rural communities.

Before this question can be answered satisfactorily another important question must be discussed. If separate analyses of this sort should be made around each county as a center, each county would be in some tier-county of every other. This in turn would mean that many counties

² Another method of approach would be to begin with the Census definition of 2,500 and work both ways by doubling and halving to obtain city-size classes.

are considered tier-counties of counties whose largest communities are smaller than those in the tier-counties. Such a method would immediately defeat one of the prime interpretations of any consistency in the relative average rates of various tiers of counties, namely, that the differential rates are indices of the gradient influence of the focal counties on the counties surrounding them. Since such influence is probably related to size differentials of the central cities, the inclusion as tier-counties of counties with larger communities would destroy the usefulness of the hypothesis.

In fact, the only useful method of studying concentric tiers would be to include as members of any given tier only those counties which are at least reasonably likely to be influenced by the cities around which they are distributed. Such counties are not always easy to determine, but they certainly do not include those having communities larger than that in the focal county, and in some cases not even communities in the same general size-group, but only smaller ones. Also, acceptable counties must not be obviously under the influence of any other city than the one in the focus of attention. In order to insure these prerequisites, it is necessary to eliminate all counties having communities of a larger size than the focal community, as well as those clearly dominated by communities larger or closer or both larger and closer than the focal community.

As examples of what has been done in the determination of the tier-counties of each city-county, we shall analyze the counties focusing around Dodge City. Table II illustrates the arrangement of tiers, the calculation of averages for each tier around Ford County (Dodge City), and the adjustment of tiers to eliminate counties with cities larger than those of the city-county, or otherwise not dominated by the city-county.

Although Dodge City has a population of only about 10,000, it is in a part of the state which is so sparsely populated that it offers a good example of the effect of the city-county upon surrounding counties. In the first tier no county contains a community as large as 2,500.

In the second tier, five counties should be eliminated, Stafford, Pratt, Barber, Seward, and Finney. Stafford County contains no community larger than about 1,600 people but it is only one tier away from Hutchinson, which would influence it more than Dodge City. Pratt County contains the City of Pratt (6,322) and is also in the first tier of Hutchinson. Barber County contains no town larger than about 1,600

but is in the second tier from Hutchinson and also in the second tier from Wichita. Seward County contains Liberal (5,394) and would therefore probably not be influenced by Dodge City. Finney County contains Barton City (6,121). When these five counties are eliminated the adjusted average delinquent rate becomes 1.47 instead of the original 1.48 per 1,000. Another county that might be eliminated from consideration is Pawnee, containing the city of Larned (3,532) and

TABLE II
TIER COUNTY ARRANGEMENT AROUND FORD COUNTY, KANSAS,
AS A CITY-COUNTY

<i>City-County Ford (Dodge City)</i>		<i>Delinquent Rate per 1,000 Population Aged 7 to 17 - 2.90</i>					
<i>First Tier</i>	<i>Delinquent Rate</i>	<i>Second Tier</i>	<i>Delinquent Rate</i>	<i>Third Tier</i>	<i>Delinquent Rate</i>	<i>Fourth Tier</i>	<i>Delinquent Rate</i>
Tier Average.	0.92	Tier Average.	1.53	Tier Average.	1.44	Tier Average.	2.38
Hodgeman...	0.00	Ness.....	1.25	Trego.....	0.72	Morton.....	0.00
Edwards....	0.50	Pawnee.....	1.00	Ellis.....	1.33	Greeley.....	0.00
Kiowa.....	0.20	Stafford....	1.90	Rush.....	0.00	Wallace.....	1.20
Clark.....	3.53	Pratt.....	1.13	Barton.....	2.15	Sherman....	2.71
Meade.....	0.30	Barber.....	0.51	Rice.....	0.40	Thomas.....	0.12
Gray.....	0.97	Comanche...	5.41	Reno.....	6.52	Sheridan....	0.10
		Seward.....	3.00	Kingman....	0.80	Graham.....	0.15
		Haskell.....	0.00	Harper.....	2.08	Rooks.....	0.90
		Lane.....	0.24	Stevens....	2.10	Osborne....	0.07
		Finney.....	0.93	Grant.....	1.00	Russell.....	0.87
				Kearny.....	0.40	Ellsworth...	1.70
				Wichita....	0.40	Stanton.....	0.40
				Scott.....	0.71	Hamilton....	2.40
				Gove.....	1.50	Logan.....	2.00
						McPherson..	0.56
						Harvey.....	11.04
						Sedgwick....	15.36
						Sumner.....	3.31

being in the second tier from Hutchinson. The elimination of Pawnee County, however, would have no effect upon the average rate.

In the third tier, for one reason or another, Ellis, Rush, Barton, Rice, Reno, Kingman, Harper, and Gore counties have been eliminated in obtaining the adjusted rate. Ellis County contains Hays (4,618) and is in the third tier from Salina, a city twice as large as Dodge City. Rush County is in the second tier from Hutchinson; Barton County contains Great Bend (5,548); Rice County contains Lyons (2,939) and is in the first tier from Hutchinson and Wichita. Reno County contains the city of Hutchinson; and Kingman County is in the first tier from Wichita and Hutchinson, in addition to containing the City of Kingman (2,752 people). Harper County is in the second tier from Wichita, and Gore

County is only two tiers away from Ellis County (Hays, 4,618 people). When these counties are eliminated the delinquent rate for the tier becomes 0.88 compared with the original figure of 1.44.

In the fourth tier all counties may be eliminated with the exception of Morton, Greeley, Thomas, Sheridan, Stanton, Hamilton, and Logan. Wallace County is in the first tier from Goodland. Sherman County should be eliminated because it contains Goodland. Rooks County is more likely to be influenced by Salina, which is only three tiers away, than by Dodge City. Osborne County and Russell County are in Salina's first tier. Graham County is in the first tier from Hays and the fourth tier from Salina. The adjusted rate for this tier is 0.71, compared with the previous rate of 2.38.³

Even after the adjusted analysis is employed as the most defensible method for the study of distribution around a central county, there are still three different methods of approaching the problem of change in delinquent rates accompanying increase in distance from a focal city. One is to study each of the 105 counties separately as a city-county. Another is to combine all counties which are of such a size that they can have tier-counties in a smaller city size-group than themselves. According to the city size-groups already used this would include all counties with cities above 6,250 population, or a total of 24 city-counties. In the same way will be grouped all first-tier counties which contain communities of the same size as, or smaller size than, the largest community of these city-counties or are probably not influenced by any other than the city-county. All second-tier counties similarly qualified will be grouped, and so on through the other tiers, all of which will be summarized by general location in reference to cities, regardless of the actual size-group of the largest community in the city-county. A third method of study would be a breakdown of the second method, in which each city size-group would be treated separately.

Each succeeding one of these three methods, in order, is better than the preceding. The first alone would add nothing of general value to what has already been brought out in the discussion of Ford County. The second is of more general significance and will now be examined

³ There is no objective justification for some of the tier arrangements mentioned. Some of the counties have been eliminated in the final computation which in the opinion of some people might deserve to be left in, while some others have been left in which according to some people might be eliminated. At present the method of selection is admittedly in a tentative stage and is subject to critical evaluation and subsequent revision.

further, while the third will be applied to the third question originally asked and discussed in the next section of this paper.

When the rates for the various city-counties are combined into one average rate, and the same thing is done for the first-tier counties and for the counties in each other tier, it appears that city-counties have a larger average delinquent rate than the first-tier counties, and that the reduction follows out through the third tier (Table III). Examination shows that the rates of reduction give an irregular series of proportions from about 1.00 to .45 to .85 to .70, through the third tier.

TABLE III

AVERAGE DELINQUENT RATES FOR 24 SELECTED KANSAS COUNTIES HAVING COMMUNITIES OF MORE THAN 6,250 POPULATION, AND OF THEIR TIER-COUNTIES (ADJUSTED ARRANGEMENT*)

Area	Average Delinquent Rate per 1,000 of the Population Aged 7 to 17†			
City-Counties	4.99	1.00		
First-tier Counties	2.33	.45	1.00	
Second-tier "	2.00		.85	1.00
Third-tier "	1.38			.70
Fourth-tier "	1.59			

*In this table all counties which have communities larger than the largest in the city-county or are for other reasons probably not influenced by the city-county are eliminated.

†The trend is rather similar when all counties are left in and when the averages for each city size-group are multiplied by the frequency of the city-size and the summated products are divided by 24. The rates are then as follows, when carried out to the seventh tier which could not be done for the adjusted arrangement: 4.99; 2.12; 1.65; 1.24; 0.75; 1.18; 1.02; and 1.32.

Does the same trend hold if the age-group of the general population upon which the delinquent rates are based is 10 to 19 instead of 7 to 17? In order to answer this question the differences in rates for different tiers from 12 central counties were studied: Wyandotte (Kansas City), Sedgwick (Wichita), Shawnee (Topeka), Reno (Hutchinson), Saline (Salina), Riley (Manhattan), Ford (Dodge City), Finney (Garden City), Norton (Norton), and Morton, Cheyenne, and Lane. Although there were some slight variations in the rates for each city, the sequence of increase and decrease by tiers was the same for each central county when the age-group of the general population was seven to 17 years as it was when the age-group was 10 to 19 years. No counties were eliminated in this analysis, regardless of their position in relation to other counties.

Does the same trend hold for each sex? This question was examined

by reference to data on the same 12 counties, the age-group 10 to 19 being employed because data on the 7 to 17 group are not available by sex in the Census reports. Sex is found to affect the trend of most of the various counties, at least to a slight extent. Only in Reno County and Wyandotte County do the rise and fall of rates correspond even roughly for all tiers. And when the 12 counties are combined it appears that the trends vary somewhat from one sex to the other (see Table IV). The rate for males follows the same trend as that for the total of both sexes, declining in the first tier, rising in the second, declining in the third, and rising in the fourth. The female rates, on the other hand, declined to the third tier and rose again in the fourth. As is to be expected, the rates for males were more than twice as large as those for females. This holds for all tiers as well as for city-counties. And there is apparently little consistent relationship between distance from the city-county and increase or decrease in the ratio of female to male delinquents per 1,000 population, since the differences between male and female rates are between two to one and three to one except for city-counties, where the difference is more than three to one.

C. IS THE DECREASE IN DELINQUENT RATES ACCOMPANYING AN INCREASE IN DISTANCE FROM A FOCAL COMMUNITY A FUNCTION OF DISTANCE ALONE OR IS IT A FUNCTION OF THE SIZE OF THE CENTRAL COMMUNITY ALSO?

The data for Kansas do not give a clear answer to this question but do suggest on the surface that size is not a factor in decline of delinquent rates with distance from the central community. Table V shows that there is the same tendency toward decline with distance through the first three tiers in the combined rates for the two cities of over 100,000 population as in the combination for the 24 counties of the state whose largest communities have over 6,250 population. There is, however, considerable difference between the sequence of rates around Shawnee County (Topeka) and Reno County (Hutchinson) and that of the 24 central counties. The smaller cities, however, show the same declining sequence as the cities of over 100,000 population.

Very much the same sort of result is obtained when all counties are left in the computation, regardless of the size of their largest communities or of their domination by any other than the focal community of each study (see Table VI).

The failure of Shawnee and Reno counties to exhibit the general trend of rates that the other size-groups exhibit demands further com-

TABLE IV

AVERAGE DELINQUENT RATE BY SEX PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION 10 TO 19 YEARS OF AGE FOR 12 SELECTED CITY-COUNTIES, AND OF THEIR TIER-COUNTIES (UNADJUSTED ARRANGEMENT*)

<i>Counties</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
City-counties.....	5.40	8.21	2.48
1st-Tier Counties.....	1.99	2.62	1.20
2nd-Tier Counties.....	2.08	2.90	1.09
3rd-Tier Counties.....	1.99	2.79	1.03
4th-Tier Counties.....	2.57	3.62	1.37

*Average rates of this table are computed without the omission of any counties as tier-counties regardless of whether or not they are influenced by a given city-county.

ment. These two exceptions do not refute entirely the general rule. Exceptional conditions seem to operate in these two distributions, although the fact that each is the sole representative in its size-group helps to account for its failure to support the general trend. This irregularity is noticeable in marked differences between the Wyandotte and Sedgwick rates which, however, disappear when combined. There are, as should be expected, some differences between the rates for tiers around each central county and those around others. But the general

TABLE V

AVERAGE DELINQUENT RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION 7 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE BY SIZE-GROUP OF KANSAS COUNTIES CONSIDERED AS CITY-COUNTIES, AND OF THEIR TIER-COUNTIES (ADJUSTED ARRANGEMENT*)

<i>Size Group of Largest City in County</i>	<i>Number of Counties</i>	<i>Rate in City Counties</i>	<i>Rate in Tier Counties</i>						
			<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
100,000 and over.....	(2)	13.88	4.46	1.82	1.43	1.43	1.64	1.29	0.79
50,000-100,000.....	(1)	3.26	1.35	3.01	1.48	2.96	1.79	1.74	1.14
25,000- 50,000.....	(1)	6.52	1.00	1.97	1.62	0.95	1.14	1.70	1.53
12,500- 25,000.....	(9)	3.69	2.00	1.44	1.32	0.42	1.02	0.80	1.44
6,250- 12,500.....	(11)	4.46	1.96	1.63	1.09	0.68	....	....	....
Under 6,250.....	(81)	1.41	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

*Cf. footnote Table IV.

tendency shows the reduction of rates with increasing distance from the focus. Hence the lack of compensating distributions may be a major factor in the failure of Reno and Shawnee counties to support the general tendency. Or the position of Hutchinson as a sort of satellite of Wichita, and the anomalous position of Topeka as the state capital but approximately 65 miles from Kansas City may produce irregularities

that defeat the tendency to decline. There are also the important factors of difference in juvenile court organization and practice in commitment of offenders. Some combination of these and perhaps other factors explain the departure from the general pattern.

TABLE VI

AVERAGE DELINQUENT RATES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION 7 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE BY SIZE-GROUP OF KANSAS COUNTIES CONSIDERED AS CITY-COUNTIES, AND OF THEIR TIER-COUNTIES (UNADJUSTED ARRANGEMENT*)

Size of Cities	Number of Counties	Rate in City-Counties	Rate in Tier Counties						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
100,000 and over.....	(2)	13.88	4.46	1.71	2.33	2.81	.....	.....	.....
50,000-100,000.....	(1)	3.26	1.35	2.91	3.31	3.69	.....	.....	.....
25,000- 50,000.....	(1)	6.52	4.48	2.55	1.71	2.77	.....	.....	.....
12,500- 25,000.....	(9)	3.69	2.84	2.96	2.18	1.09	.....	.....	.....
6,250- 12,500.....	(11)	4.46	1.96	1.75	0.93	0.91	.....	.....	.....
Under 6,250.....	(81)	1.41	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Cf. footnote Table III.

Other data unmistakably dovetail with the theory that cities of large size exert more influence on nearby regions than small cities. For example, the smallest communities seem to exert no influence on nearby counties. Thus counties having no communities of more than 6,250 people, and which are entirely surrounded for only one tier by counties of the same sort, have an average rate of 2.02. This figure is above the average of the counties having no community of more than 6,250 people (1.41), and below the average of all counties in the state (2.20). In comparison with the average rate of 2.02 those counties surrounded for two tiers by the same sparsely settled type have a still lower average rate (0.74). The rate for counties still farther removed is 0.88, still very low although higher than those surrounded by only two tiers. This indicates in general that the farther a county is located from a city of above 6,250 population, the lower is its delinquent rate.

Also bearing out the same general conclusion are a few other facts. Some of the counties with no community as large as 6,250 population are surrounded partly by counties of the same size-group and partly by counties having cities of between 6,250 and 12,500 population. The average delinquent rate for these counties was 1.20. Counties of the same size-group, surrounded partly by counties of the same sort and also by counties having cities of between 6,250 and 25,000 population, had almost twice as large an average rate—2.34.

There is some support then for the logical interpretation that the size of a community is related to the amount of influence of the community upon delinquent rates in the surrounding territory. But in the face of declining rates through the third-tier counties of small communities, more investigation is needed before the effect of the size of the community upon the extent of declining rates can be accurately determined.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN DECLINE OF RATES FROM COMMUNITIES OF
DIFFERENT SIZES

When the 12 cities for which sex differences were studied are grouped by city-size (Table VII) we find that for the two cities of more than 100,000 population the rate for males declined through the third tier and then rose, while the rate for females declined for two tiers and then rose. There was also some disagreement between the sex trends in the tiers from the one city between 50,000 and 100,000 in population. The two counties with cities of between 20,000 and 50,000 population had the same trend for each sex except for the fourth tier. The two counties with cities of between 10,000 and 20,000 population showed declines through the third tier for females, but irregularity for males. The counties with communities of less than 10,000 population showed variations between the sexes, but there was a tendency for the rates to rise as distance from the central community increased.

The trends for males agree with the trend for the total in the counties having cities of over 100,000 population, in those having communities with between 20,000 and 50,000 population, and in those having communities between 10,000 and 20,000 in population. In the other two size-groups neither sex corresponded with the total of both sexes and in the outer tiers the rate for females declined more than either the rate for males or the total rate.

Male rates again surpassed female rates for each tier of counties around counties having communities of each size-group. The rate for males was for most categories more than twice as large as that for females, and ranged as high as almost 10 times as large in city-counties with communities of from 10,000 to 20,000 population. This variation does not require a special interpretation, however, because only two counties are concerned. The data examined on sex differences are so limited, in fact, that any further conclusions or any attempts at explanation could not be given a foundation in evidence. The suggestion of a greater divergence in sex rates for city counties, however, does deserve further attention in future studies.

The conclusions of this study of Kansas may be reviewed as follows:

1. There is a moderate positive correlation between county juvenile delinquent rates and the size of the largest community in the county.

2. There is a tendency for delinquent rates to decline as tier-distances from a focal county increase. The decline continues through counties of the third tier. The tendency is the same, whether the age group of the general population with which delinquent data are compared is 7 to 17 or 10 to 19 years.

3. The trends are not the same for both sexes; but, because the male delinquent rates throughout the various tiers are more than twice as large as the female rates, the male trend corresponds more closely to that of the total than does the female trend.

4. Most evidence on the effect of the size of the largest community in a county upon the tendency for tier-county rates to decline suggests that the size of the community is not an important factor. Some bits of evidence suggest that size is a factor of slight importance. Further research will be required before this question can be answered conclusively.

At present, therefore, as a general summary we may say that (1) *size of delinquent rates is related to distance from urban communities*, and that (2) *regardless of the absolute size of the focal community, so long as the surrounding regions contain communities not known to be independent of the focal community, the relationship holds*. These findings agree with data on rural-urban differences in crime and criminals, and with studies of the concentric distribution of social phenomena around points of focus or centers of influence and inhibition. In turn, the results may be interpreted as an extension of the theory of pace-setting, and dominance in living things, a theory applicable to life in the simpler and more complex biological organisms, to the geographical distribution of social phenomena, and to a certain extent to social organization in general.

Notes

SOME NOTES ON RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH¹

The South is woefully short on concrete, factual information concerning its social machinery. True, it is known that there is a farm tenant problem; that natural resources have been ruthlessly destroyed and land misused; the South is aware of the biracial composition of its population; the people realize, to their great chagrin, that illiteracy is broadcast in the area; and they are familiar with the low per capita incomes—rural and urban, white and colored. What is the underlying basis of these problems? What are the factors and conditions associated with them? What are their interrelationships? Not enough is yet known to get at a complete understanding of these basic problems, much less to offer concrete solutions for them.

But new social techniques are coming to the rescue. Modern scientific research has entered the social and economic fields. Research and fact-finding agencies are penetrating these complexities and are attempting to get at the roots of the social and economic ills of the region. The younger people of the South are more critical today than ever before; they are willing to put the whole structure, political and all, under the microscope of social research. Armed with basic facts and ample data the Young South is ready to go forward.

Southern educational institutions are at a point of transition. Dominated in the past by local tradition and inertia to change, they now stand ready and willing to advance along new frontiers and to create social programs commensurate with the demands of the age.

While research data in the social and economic spheres are deplorably inadequate to the needs of the South, many institutions, educational and otherwise, are using such data as are available. Principal among these may be mentioned: (1) Colleges and Universities, especially in classwork, (2) Agricultural Extension Service, (3) Vocational Agricultural Teachers, (4) Public Schools (5) Public Press, (6) Local Community Agencies and Organizations, (7) Departments of State Governments.

Through this network of agencies and institutions the people are being reached along many fronts, some more effectively than others. It would seem that today the South is better able to undertake constructive development than it has ever been. The radio, the automobile, and the paved road—agencies of mass impression and communication—have opened new channels that run counter to the old isolationistic and individualistic framework. No longer can the South remain

¹ Abstract of paper read before Conference of Officers of the General Education Board and representatives from the Southern States at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., October 30, 1936.

submerged in its own culture; it must take its place as a region in the larger pattern of national culture.

It is much more efficacious, when dealing with emotional, high-toned, and tense situations, to speak through definitely measurable facts. One hesitates to say to a person that his child is dumb; but he can say that a test was given and the child showed an I.Q. of 70. Then he can explain what that means and the parent will not be offended. The latter may not believe in the test, but a factual, objective approach avoids the shock that attaches to subjective matters, and puts the matter on a relatively unchallenging basis. Many of the South's most touchy and delicate problems must be so handled. The region should turn to calm and deliberate research and fact-finding as the avenue of approach to its social and economic problems.

In the last few years the Federal government has initiated two research agencies that have accomplished substantial results in the South. The first is the Tennessee Valley Authority. This organization has conducted social and economic research on a wide scale, and has demonstrated the value of the regional approach in carrying on broad research projects. The factual data obtained by the T.V.A. will serve a great purpose in making interpretations of social and economic problems in the area in which it operates.

The other agency is the Rural Research Unit of the W.P.A. This agency established, temporarily, a Supervisor of Rural Research in several of the South-

TABLE I

NUMBER OF BULLETINS DEALING WITH AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, RURAL SOCIOLOGY, AND HOME ECONOMICS PUBLISHED BY THE EXPERIMENT STATIONS OF 14 SOUTHERN STATES, BY PERIODS FROM 1881 THROUGH 1934*

State	Number of Bulletins Published by Periods					Total
	1881-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1934	
Alabama.....	2	0	0	0	4	6
Arkansas.....	1	0	1	15	17	34
Florida.....	2	0	0	3	9	14
Georgia.....	0	0	0	4	3	7
Kentucky.....	0	0	11	17	21	49
Louisiana.....	0	1	0	0	15	16
Maryland.....	1	4	0	6	12	23
Mississippi.....	0	0	1	11	9	21
North Carolina.....	1	4	4	10	15	34
Oklahoma.....	0	0	0	12	8	20
South Carolina.....	0	2	1	13	18	34
Tennessee.....	1	1	0	0	1	3
Texas.....	2	0	1	13	9	25
Virginia.....	0	0	1	14	16	31
Total 14 Southern States.....	10	12	20	118	157	317
Per cent of total published in each period.....	3.2	3.8	6.3	37.2	49.5	100.0

*Source: "List of Bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Stations for the Calendar Years," 1881-1934, *Department Bulletins*, United States Department of Agriculture, published at intervals.

ern States, and a small staff of workers was made available. The major function of the unit has been to study the relief situation in rural areas, but it has functioned as a co-operative project with state experiment stations and some excellent by-products have resulted. Considerable interest in rural social research has been stimulated in several states.

The Agricultural Experiment Station has been the long-established agency for doing research in the states. These agencies have made good use of Purnell and other Federal funds in conducting social and economic research. The Purnell funds became available with the passage of the Purnell Act by the Federal Congress in February of 1925. This was the first Federal act specifying that funds were specifically intended for research in Agricultural Economics, Rural Sociology, and Home Economics. That the funds stimulated research in these fields in the South may be seen from Table I. Not many bulletins had been issued prior to the 1920-29 period, but during that time and since there has been a steady and wholesome improvement.

TABLE II
NUMBER AND PER CENT OF BULLETINS PUBLISHED BY 14 SOUTHERN
EXPERIMENT STATIONS, 1881-1934, DISTRIBUTED BY CLASSES
OF SUBJECT MATTER*

<i>Subject-Matter</i>	<i>Number of Bulletins Issued</i>		<i>Per Cent in Each Subject</i>	
AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.....	238		75.1	
Marketing, Financing, Prices.....		85		26.8
Credit, Mortgages.....		17		5.4
Taxation.....		17		5.4
Farm Organization and Management, Costs.....		114		36.0
Land Utilization.....		3		0.9
Miscellaneous.....		2		0.6
RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND HOME ECONOMICS....	79		24.9	
Farm Tenure and Mobility.....		11		3.5
Rural Social Organization and Institutional Participation.....		24		7.6
Health, Sanitation, Nutrition, Recreation.....		23		7.2
Home Economics and Management.....		6		1.9
Standards of Living.....		13		4.1
Miscellaneous.....		2		0.6
TOTAL.....	317	317	100.0	100.0

*Source: Same as in footnote for Table I, and for same states.

These bulletins present results that are based upon careful investigation and research into many of the rural social and economic problems of the South. A further classification of the bulletins, however, reveals that little has been done in many of the most important fields of social and economic research. Such a classification is presented in Table II.

Table II indicates that 238, or three-fourths, of the bulletins issued were in the field of Agricultural Economics. The remaining 79 bulletins, or one-fourth

of the total, were in the fields of Rural Sociology and Home Economics. Two subheads in Agricultural Economics include 62.8 per cent of the total bulletins published, namely, (a) Marketing, Financing and Prices, and (b) Farm Organization and Management and Costs. These subheads are broad and include several aspects of the field. But such important topics as Farm Tenancy, Land Utilization, Taxation, Farm Credit, Health, Sanitation, Farm Housing, Nutrition, and Recreation had produced few bulletins up to 1934. Here is a fertile segment of the rural social and economic life of the South that has been only superficially investigated. What has been done merely points the way to greater needs.

A further bit of evidence may be presented to indicate what the situation is in the South. The report on the Agricultural Experiment Stations for the United States in 1935² shows a total of 1,697 active Purnell Projects. In summarizing "Some Results of Recent Station Work" the report mentions specifically certain projects in the field of rural social economics as outlined below.

<i>Project</i>	<i>Number in United States</i>	<i>Number in South</i>
Land Use and Conservation.....	9	1
Food Habits and Economics.....	10	2
Housing.....	4	1
Farm Business and Finance.....	21	8
Rural Life Development.....	18	3
Rural Health.....	12	0
Total Projects Mentioned.....	74	15

It may be seen that, of the 74 projects selected for mention in this classification, only 15, or about 20 per cent, were in the Southern States. This is a disproportionately small number, as compared with the South's rural population in relation to the Nation's total, and this is especially true with reference to some of the projects—namely, Rural Life Development and Rural Health, in which there were 30 projects mentioned and only three from the South. These figures, while not conclusive, indicate that the South has lagged in the scientific investigation of its rural problems and suggest, perhaps, a partial explanation for the degree of backwardness which prevails in the region.

The dual system of schools for whites and Negroes is a millstone around the necks of the Southern people in practically all educational undertakings. Unquestionably as time goes on there will be more unilateral activity and less duplication of effort. It is incumbent upon white institutions and agencies to include the Negro population in their research programs. Most research will include the Negroes, and most classifications of social and economic research will be made by racial categories. In this way it will be possible to develop factual knowledge and data pertaining to racial interrelationships and to discover internal factors relating to each of the races.

² J. T. Jardine *et al.*, *Report on the Agricultural Experiment Stations* (1935), U. S. Department of Agriculture, July, 1936.

The South labors under very definite limitations of a financial character. The cotton boll weevil and the postwar deflation of the early twenties placed the South in a financial strait jacket, long before the Great Depression of the thirties set in. Many of the banks closed and many farmers lost their farms during this early catastrophe. Then followed a severe drouth in the Southeast in 1925 and another in 1926. The depression came as an almost fatal blow to the South in 1932. Perhaps this event will mark a turning point in the Old South. Certain social and economic forces were unleashed that could not have been budged under normal circumstances. The old traditions, folkways, and mores were thrown into confusion. Economic insecurity and uncertainty make strange bed-fellows, as does politics.

The collapse of the economic and financial structure in the South forced all research agencies to rely almost altogether upon the Federal Government and private sources for funds with which to carry on. Were it not for the Federal funds coming regularly to the Experiment Stations, there would have been and there would now be little research work going on in the social and economic aspects of rural life in the South. The region has been at a very low financial ebb. Coupled with this is the large farm population and a continuing high birth rate among whites and Negroes, which results in the low per capita incomes on farms.

TABLE III

SUMMARY OF AVERAGE TEACHING LOADS BY RANKS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR A SAMPLE OF 98 AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 1931-32*

Region	Number of Teaching Weeks in Academic Year	Average Number of Teaching Hours per Individual for the Academic Year				Average Number of Teaching Hours per Teaching Week for the Individual			
		Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	All Ranks Combined	Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	All Ranks Combined
Entire 47 Southern Universities and Colleges.	31.7	404	424	418	413	12.8	13.3	13.2	13.1
For 51 Northern and Western Universities and Colleges.	30.8	306	323	321	320	9.9	10.4	10.3	10.3

*Source: Wilson Gee, *Research Barriers in the South*, New York: The Century Company, 1932, p. 81.

An established agricultural system, with its cotton and tobacco nucleus, with its "one-horse" farming, its low yields, and exploitative, soil-robbing methods, continues to exist in the South. The system seems to offer little stimulation to those in the lower brackets and little reward to those in the upper. Poor health, thwarted ambitions, shiftlessness, self-contentment seem to result. The "content-

with-my-lot" attitude and the complacent frame of mind are foes to social and economic progress. These clusters of attitudes characterize a surprisingly large segment of the submarginal, near-marginal, and marginal population of the rural South, and this is a great limitation to educational and research activities. At the same time it presents one of the South's greatest needs, namely, a detailed and careful study of the conditions specified and a bold presentation of the facts.

The preceding statements have set forth some of the limitations to education and research in the economic and social fields in the South. There are many others, some of the more important of which will be emphasized.

(1) Most teachers in the colleges and universities of the South are overburdened with heavy teaching loads and have little time for research. Wilson Gee, of the University of Virginia, has made a study of this, the findings of which are presented in the table on the preceding page.

The data in Table III speak for themselves. The southern college professor has a distinct handicap as compared with his professional co-workers in other regions.

(2) Salaries for college and university instructors in the South are low. This makes it difficult for them to take advanced training, to purchase books and periodicals, or to otherwise equip themselves properly for both teaching and research. Gee's study sheds some light on this also, as may be seen in Table IV.

TABLE IV

SUMMARY OF AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES ACTUALLY PAID FOR INSTRUCTION
BY RANKS IN A SAMPLE OF 99 AMERICAN COLLEGES AND
UNIVERSITIES; 1931-32*

Region	Average Salaries Paid (cents omitted)			Salary Range		
	Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors	Professors	Associate Professors	Assistant Professors
Entire 47 Southern Universities and Coll. ges.....	\$3,663	2,843	2,324	3,131-4,370	2,602-3,248	2,060-2,724
Entire 53 Northern and Western Universities and Colleges.....	\$4,994	3,637	2,986	3,841-6,421	3,244-4,245	2,400-3,645

*Source: Same as in footnote for Table III, p. 49.

Whereas the southern instructor has longer hours to devote to his teaching, he is paid considerably less in annual salary than similar teachers in other areas. Table IV shows that southern teachers are definitely limited from the standpoint of remuneration, as compared with teachers in other regions. It might be explained that Professor Gee found little difference in living costs for college teachers as between the different regions.³

³ See work cited in footnote of Table III, pp. 52-67.

(3) Additional and better trained staff members and investigators are greatly needed in the social sciences in the rural South. In six or eight Southern States there are no rural sociologists attached to the Experiment Stations. In only two or three instances do the rural sociologists have the Ph.D. degree.

(4) Library facilities for research are very inadequate in most southern institutions. Especially in the last five years, when social and economic conditions have been changing so rapidly, the librarians of the South have had little, and in many instances no, funds with which to purchase books.

(5) Most institutions in the South are short on research equipment, materials, and supplies.

(6) Some plan is needed whereby Southern college and university teachers might have sabbatical leaves and shorter leaves of absence for advanced study. Research methods are developing rapidly and efficiency can be maintained only by the individual keeping abreast of the changes. The South needs one or more Graduate Training Centers to which students and teachers from the South and elsewhere might go for intellectual stimulation and training in subject matter.

(7) Research activities in the social sciences throughout the South need to be co-ordinated. Many, if not most, of the rural social and economic problems of the South are regional in character. By the co-ordination of activities through timely conferences among investigators this regional approach may be utilized. The subject matter of bulletins that have been issued in the South, as presented in Tables I and II, emphasizes the fact that many similar problems are being attacked by Southern researchers. These efforts should be co-ordinated and integrated.

(8) There is need for a well-financed medium for the publication of timely research findings throughout the South as well as additional funds for the publication of the results of research in Experiment Stations.

(9) As has been pointed out, there is a substantial shortage of factual information and data dealing with major social and economic problems of the rural South. Accordingly there is needed a great amount of field work and surveys to collect such data.

(10) Few states in the South have made substantial appropriations for research work. Federal funds are definitely limited. The culture of the South is in a state of flux and transition. Funds are greatly needed to study and analyze the concomitant problems thus being precipitated in the region. The problem is made more serious and deserves the more consideration because of the unequal distribution of age-groups in the Nation, which makes the South a training ground for an excessively large proportion of the young people of the Nation.

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B. O. WILLIAMS

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF A SUBSISTENCE SETTLEMENT IN THE SWAMPLANDS OF GERMANY

The large industrial city until recently has been the center of popular interest in Germany, as in many other countries. Whenever possible, children from the

villages and rural sections were sent to the cities to be educated. The rural youth dreamed of the alluring comforts and vivacious life of the city, and sooner or later thousands of them moved to the urban centers to be swallowed up in the surging stream of life. Large numbers of them never experienced the fulfillment of their dreams, but instead, thoroughly disillusioned and disheartened, eventually settled down to a life of resignation and hopelessness to await final release through death.

However, all is different now, we are told. During the long years of depression, the German people have come to realize that country life offers privileges and opportunities that have not yet been sufficiently appreciated. All over Germany, today the trek back to the country has come to be a subject of major interest. Already thousands of young men and women, not to mention the middle-aged group, have voluntarily moved into the numerous subsistence settlements which have been widely developed under the direction of the federal government.

Naturally, the transplanting of thousands of urban people to newly established rural habitats has introduced numerous problems with which these homesteaders have been obliged to cope. Perhaps the most pressing of these is the problem of enriching the exhausted soil which of necessity becomes the basis of livelihood for these homesteaders. Among other problems which have been encountered are: the preparation of palatable and nourishing foods; the designing and manufacture of clothing which will outwear factory-made garments; how to render first aid in accidents and the caring for young children and the sick; the planting and cultivation of gardens; and in many cases the care of domestic animals. These and scores of other problems must be intelligently dealt with day by day in the subsistence settlements, wherever they may be located.

It is apparent that to be successful in such a common enterprise the people of a settlement must be socially minded. Rugged individualism, so well typified in the traditional German farmer and his wife, has no place in a subsistence settlement where the motto "all for one and one for all" at once becomes the basic principle of existence.

There are many interesting features in the plan of education provided in a typical subsistence settlement. In a very real sense, the educational program centers around problems of adjustment. These require the judicious balancing of work and recreational activities for children at all age levels. That this balance seems to have been achieved to a remarkable degree is evidenced by reports of surveys that have been made. For the purposes of this article only a brief account of the most important aspects of the educational program need be given.

The youngest children of the settlement are cared for during the spring and summer in nursery schools and kindergartens which are centrally located and are designed primarily for the supervision of the children whose mothers work in the fields with their husbands. The children are gathered up in the morning and returned to their homes by six o'clock in the evening. The older children, however, are not returned to their homes until half past seven. Usually the homes are scattered along the main canal for a distance of four or five kilometers, so

those living farthest away must be transported to and from the school center, called the *Hort*.

In these preschool departments the children are kept busy in ways which are noticeably different from those of the city kindergartens. Play and work are happily correlated and there is a greater degree of informality and freedom. All the children are taught to work in the gardens which surround the school and to participate in many kinds of simple chores and group activities of a constructive nature. Among other things the children are taught how to prepare the soil for various kinds of seeds, how to plant vegetables of all kinds as well as how to lay out flower beds and lawns. It is the general aim to supplant the children's home experience by teaching them improved methods, the use of new tools and the importance of careful planning.

In the summer and early fall the crops are gathered and the produce distributed equitably among the children. It is customary in the fall for the children to invite their parents to a feast at the *Hort* prepared mainly from the products of their garden. Since it is the aim of the schools to counteract as much as possible the individualistic spirit which permeates German rural life, great emphasis is placed on the development of community interests and activities.

Quite naturally seasonal changes bring about certain modifications in the educational activities of the subsistence settlement. During the spring and summer, boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 14 are assigned to duty in the fields and gardens, while the younger children are sent to the *Hort*. During the winter months the older children are sent to the school and the little folks are kept at home.

In order to avoid overcrowding in the school, which of necessity is limited in facilities, the pupils are divided into four shifts—younger and older girls, and younger and older boys—each group attending two days per week. During the school term the older boys are taught manual skills of various kinds while the girls receive instruction in sewing, mending, and other domestic duties, in addition to the customary elementary school subjects. As a rule, one afternoon each week is devoted to singing, declamation, and organized play. During the summer months swimming in the canal forms a part of the organized activities of both older and younger children. Swimming instruction is given free to all who have not learned the art before coming to the homestead.

During the winter months regular meetings are conducted at the *Hort* for the benefit of parents. Courses of lectures on such subjects as home management, care of children, and thrift are given. Community nurses make regular visits to homes where parents need help and advice in home problems, especially in health matters. In cases of confinement a servant girl is placed at the disposal of the family until the mother has recovered sufficiently to assume the duties of the household. Medical and dental services are furnished at a minimum cost to all.

Another important phase of the educational program is the practice of weekend excursions which are conducted for the benefit of the older children. Trips are made to nearby cities, factories, museums, forest preserves, and in some cases to mountains. On such trips the boys and girls are entertained at some of the

numerous *Jugend Herbergen* (youth hostels) which are scattered throughout the country.

While the educational programs of the various subsistence settlements vary according to the climate and topography of the region as well as according to the customs of the people, the general aims are much the same throughout the country. As a social experiment, the plan of subsistence settlements in Germany seems to be fairly successful in coping with the problems of overcrowding and unemployment in large cities. The National Socialist government is planning to continue the program on a considerably larger scale in the future.

Wittenberg College

H. J. ARNOLD

NOTE ON RELATION OF PLACE-OF-BIRTH TO PLACE-WHERE-REARED

One of the items of interest and of fundamental importance in population studies is that of the origin of the population. Geographic origin is ordinarily expressed in terms of place-of-birth, yet for some purposes place of birth may be of less significance than place-where-reared. For example, it may be desirable to know whether certain individuals have been reared on farms so that they may have absorbed rural culture as a childhood experience. For some purposes, the childhood environment may be regarded as more important than the place-of-birth. In such cases, is it necessary to obtain both items of information? To what extent may place-of-birth and place-where-reared be used interchangeably?

In connection with studies of rural population mobility conducted in several states, in co-operation with the states and with the Works Progress Administration, both of these items of information were obtained. The following table shows the results obtained when the two items are related. It shows that place-of-birth and place-where-reared are not identical, though they are closely related. In Maricopa County, Arizona, where many of the original settlers are still alive, the percentage of persons who were reared in the county of birth is only 66.4. In the older counties, the proportion of persons born and reared in the same county is much higher.

Residents of the open country are more often born and reared in the same county than residents of the villages. In no case is the percentage higher for villagers except in Maricopa County, Arizona, where possibly the villages were settled before the open country.

These figures, limited though they are, indicate that place-of-birth and place-where-reared may not be used interchangeably. In a rough way, this could be done for well-established open-country populations, but such a procedure would be unsafe when comparing open-country and village populations or when comparing recently settled areas with well-established localities.

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C. E. LIVELY

**RELATION OF COUNTY-OF-BIRTH AND COUNTY-WHERE-REARED: RURAL
PERSONS AGED 16 YEARS OR OVER IN SEVEN SELECTED COUNTIES**

County	Open-Country Residents				Village* Residents		
	Number of Households	Number of Persons	County-of-Birth and County-Where-Reared†		Number of Households	Number of Persons	County-of-Birth and County-Where-Reared†
			Number	Per Cent			Number Per Cent
Total.....	1,753	7,076	6,335	89.5	775	2,577	2,059 79.9
Maricopa, Arizona.....	200	584	370	63.4	50	134	107 79.9
Magoffin, Kentucky.....	201	845	807	95.5	47	68	53 78.0
Morgan, Kentucky.....	284	1,274	1,118	87.8	49	186	157 84.4
Garrett, Maryland.....	497	2,099	1,938	92.3	489	1,654	1,255 75.9
Somerset, Maryland.....	181	667	624	93.6	55	218	203 93.1
Avery, N. C.....	165	686	628	91.5	29	121	103 85.1
Haywood, N. C.....	225	921	850	92.3	56	196	181 92.3

*50-2,499 Population.

†Place lived longest between ages 8 and 16.

AESTHETICS AND DECIMALS

With the growing use of statistical analysis there seems to be an increase in the attention paid to the form of presentation. In large numbers of manuscripts, statistical considerations appear to have been subordinated to the aesthetic feeling that percentages are not balanced figures unless they are given to one—or even two—decimal places. The degree of accuracy indicated by such a procedure may be gratifying—provided it is accuracy which is indicated. It is obviously meaningless to carry percentages based on less than 100 cases to one or more decimal places, for each unit has a value of one per cent or more. Thus, if 43 cases in a sample of 93 exhibit characteristic *A*, it may be said that 46.2 per cent of the total exhibit characteristic *A*. However, if there had been 44 cases, the percentage would have been 47.3. Clearly the digits to the right of the decimal place have no significance.

In studies which involve sampling, it is customary to describe statistical measures in terms of their standard errors. For percentages these are computed by the use of the formula $\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{n}}$. It is apparent that for any value of n , σp

is least when $p=.01$ (1 per cent) and $q=.99$ (99 per cent) or vice versa. (We need not concern ourselves with values of p of less than .01 here). The standard error of a percentage of 1 (or 99) based on 100 cases is $\pm .010$ and that based on 200 cases is $\pm .007$. The standard error of the difference between 1 and 2 per cent (or 99 and 98 per cent) when each sample contains only 100 cases is $\pm .017$. The difference may be written as $.01 \pm .017$. If each sample contained 200 cases the difference between 1 and 2 per cent would be $.01 \pm .012$; that between 49 and 50 per cent would be $.01 \pm .049$. In such cases differences of less than one per cent lose all statistical significance. In fact, with samples of 200 cases differences of 10 per cent are not always statistically significant. For samples based on 200 cases the smallest difference that exceeds three times its standard error is that between 8 per cent and 1 per cent (or 99 per cent and 92 per cent), which becomes $.07 \pm .020$. However, the difference between 50 per cent and 43 per cent (or 50 percent and 57 per cent) is $.07 \pm .049$.

The difference between 1 and 2 per cent (or 99 and 98 per cent) exceeds three times its standard error only if the number of cases is at least 3,000; it then becomes $.01 \pm .003$. A difference of one at the opposite end of the scale, between 50 and 49 or 50 and 51, exceeds three times its standard error only if the number of cases is at least 45,000; then it is $.01 \pm .003$.

Unless one intends to make comparisons of differences of less than one per cent the apparent accuracy gained by utilizing the last digit is illusory, and a waste of time and paper. Statistical analysis is a well-tempered tool which can be used only within the limitations permitted by the data. To disregard these limitations makes statistical analysis a less useful tool and may reflect discredit upon it as well as the user.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, U. S. D. A. CONRAD TAEUBER

THE COUNTRY BUTCHERY: A CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTION

There is at the present time a widespread interest in the co-operative activities of rural people. Much of this, of course, has been aroused by recent governmental encouragement. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has relied not only upon co-operation of the farming groups, but was organized along lines designed to stimulate co-operation. The ill-fated Division of Subsistence Homesteads was a conscious attempt to bring about collective activities among portions of the rural population. Co-operative elements also play very important rôles in such agencies as the Farm Credit Administration, Resettlement Administration, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Many of our people know from personal experience, or by knowledge gained from reading, something of early Arcadian days when neighboring and mutual aid adequately served to maintain the security and general welfare of all the members in small communities of neighbors and kinsfolk. The severe adversity which beset so large a portion of our population while we were in the depths of the great depression has also served to revive interest in co-operation among rural groups. The so-called "Agrarian" movement in certain intellectual groups is an excellent illustration of this tendency.

At a time when interest in the subject is so great, it is particularly fitting to study more thoroughly the basic co-operative activities of rural people. Such a study can serve two very worthy purposes: (1) it may greatly increase our knowledge and understanding of social life in rural communities; and (2) it may provide prototypes that can serve an immediate utilitarian purpose in current programs of activity.

Of all rural people, the Acadians of southwest Louisiana appeared to the writers to be most important for a study in this connection. They are a homogeneous people of French descent set apart from neighboring groups by language, religion, and customs, and have maintained in unaltered simplicity many of the ways and manners of their forefathers. While holding tenaciously to the lands settled by their progenitors, these people have resolutely resisted cultural influences which have been impinging upon them from surrounding groups. Indeed, they have shown an almost unlimited capacity for absorbing the extraneous population elements coming among them. In many cases they have stamped the offspring of intermarriages with their own customs and traditions, the change from an Anglo-Saxon to a French cultural heritage sometimes taking place in a single generation. The degree to which members of this group have retained old forms and customs, and the success they have had in repelling influences from other population groups, make them a particularly significant group to study. They have only slight connection with urban centers and depend almost wholly upon agriculture and the gifts of nature for their subsistence. One might expect to find here more unchanged and virile co-operative institutions than in almost any other section of the country.

The country butchery, *boucherie de campagne*, is the outstanding co-operative institution still maintained by the Acadians of southwest Louisiana. It calls for no exchange of money, although it has a definite organization on a contractual

basis. Its function is to supply fresh meat to rural families, a highly important service in a rural area where economy is largely self-sufficing, ice scarce and expensive, and the summers long and hot.

The working arrangement of the typical butchery is as follows: In early spring the butcher, who usually learns his trade as an apprentice to his father, announces that he will run the butchery as usual again this year. The participants, his neighbors within a radius of about two miles, agree to "take" again. Agreeing to take signifies willingness to accept weekly portions of fresh meat, and in turn to furnish an animal to be killed. Before the season starts an assembly is held at which lots are drawn to determine dates on which each participant shall furnish the beef. There is some trading of dates, but one never fails to bring his beef to the butchery on the Friday finally agreed upon. It might be added that the members are all land-holders or croppers. These people never move until after harvest time and are therefore a stable population during the entire butchering season. Ordinarily 23 families or participants enter into the organization, and 10 pounds of meat is the weekly portion each receives. For his work the butcher receives 20 pounds, thus accounting for the entire weight of the average beef of the section.

The butchery is conveniently located near the road. The butcher supplies the site, the pen, the scales, the knives, a grindstone, and his labor. Shortly after midnight on Saturday morning the beef brought in the preceding evening is killed. By 3:00 A.M. it is cut up and distributed into 23 lots of 10 pounds each and the butcher's own lot of 20 pounds. If there are more than 250 pounds, the man who furnishes the beef takes the surplus. He also receives the hide. Many butchers keep account of the cuts distributed to the various individuals, rotating them so that in the 23 weeks each participant receives practically the equivalent of one beef. Others are prone to forget, and some are said to play favorites. The successful operation of many individual butcheries for several decades indicates impartial and satisfactory apportioning of meat.

By killing early, the meat is distributed while the air is cool and before the flies are about. Also, those participants who have work to do can be home before daylight, an important feature in a section where the early hours are best for work in the fields. About the time the meat is ready for distribution, the participants begin to arrive. On foot, on horseback, in buggies, in wagons, and, at present, even in automobiles they come. The butcher furnishes neither wrappers nor containers. Each person must bring his own, and they come with a motley assortment of pails, tin pans, and flour sacks. In some butcheries, 46 families take part. If so, the usual portion is five pounds on each Tuesday and Saturday.

As a social institution the butchery also plays an important rôle, serving much as the post office or general store in other rural localities. There is no better place for hearing and disseminating the news among these people, many of whom do not read or write. Some men come early and stay late, hearing as much news and participating in as much gossip as possible. The sick, the unfortunate, the weather, the crops, the oil fields, all are discussed. All conversation is, of course, in French.

The casual observer who is not on the country roads between three and six on Saturday morning will not become very familiar with these little butcheries, as they are rather inconspicuous features in the landscape. For this reason it is difficult to estimate their number, but in the cotton-and-corn sections of the parishes of Acadia, Lafayette, St. Landry, and Vermilion, approximately 100 of them are now operating.

The present distribution of the institution tends to substantiate the explanation of its origin given by some of the oldest inhabitants. The section of the old Attakapas and Opelousas prairies where it is found was for a long time an open-range country in which the cares of cattle-raising consisted of little more than branding the calves. Co-operative butchering by the Acadians is said to date back to those days when little attention was paid to whose beef was killed. As the prairies were divided into peasants' farmsteads, the home-grown or bought beef replaced the "free" beef, and the institution was placed upon its present contractual basis—one in which it becomes necessary to weigh the meat.

It is interesting to note that the known distribution of the butchery is confined to southwest Louisiana and practically coincides with the present-day use of the horse and buggy. However, one isolated case—a sort of "sport," perhaps—has been reported from the extreme northeastern part of the state in a non-French community.

Although neighborly exchanges of fresh meat have long played an important rôle in American rural life, it seems that such informal types of mutual aid wither away before the consistent onslaughts of urban mores and commercial farming. We are of the opinion that the strictly contractual form or element in the co-operative associations, such as are exemplified in the country butchery, is necessary for their survival in a commercial, contractual type of social organization. Such a co-operative institution as the country butchery might be copied widely with very effective and practical results. It is especially well adapted to the South.

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Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

A Virginia study¹ describes occupational characteristics of one-half the rural relief population as recorded in case records in 13 sample counties. Of workers under 25 years of age, 41 per cent of the females and 35 per cent of the males had never been employed as long as four consecutive weeks on a single job. Almost half the workers of all ages in the open country and 84 per cent of all workers in the villages had been employed in nonagricultural occupations. Most workers were employed in agricultural pursuits as usual professions, one-fourth of all workers being farm laborers, and one-fifth farm operators. Farm owners were oldest, as is the case in the general population. Next in order came farm tenants and croppers. Farm laborers were youngest.

Next after agriculture, the largest number of workers reported manufacturing and mechanical industries or domestic and personal service as being their usual professions. Proprietary and skilled workers were oldest. Nearly 45 per cent of all workers on relief had nonrelief employment. The agricultural occupations were more stable as demonstrated by the fact that shifts out of usual occupation among nonagricultural workers were over eight times more frequent than among workers in agriculture. Also, employment opportunities in agriculture had contracted much less than in other industries.

Another Virginia bulletin² deals with the mobility of the heads of rural relief households. It was found that 64 per cent of the heads of families had lived all their lives, and 73 per cent had lived for 20 years or more, in the county of present residence. Judging from the first criterion, the Virginia relief households were somewhat more mobile than those for Tennessee but less than for the country as a whole. Farm operators and unskilled servants were least mobile, whereas semiskilled industrial workers were more mobile. Tenants and croppers were the most mobile element in the farm population.

"Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation"³ is based on a study of the relief case

¹ B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, "Industries and Occupations of the Rural Relief Population in Virginia, June, 1935," *Rural Relief Series No. 6*, Works Progress Administration of Virginia, Blacksburg, Va., December, 1936.

² B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, "Mobility of Heads of Rural Relief Households in Virginia, June, 1935," *Rural Relief Series No. 2*, Works Progress Administration of Virginia, Blacksburg, Va., May, 1937.

³ Berta Asch and A. R. Mangus, "Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation," Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph VIII*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1937.

records of 53,000 farm operator and farm laborer families in 300 counties, receiving relief grants or rehabilitation advances in June, 1935. Thirty states were represented.

Farming on poor land, excess birth rates in poor land areas, overcropping and other soil erosive practices, the small size of farms in areas where only large-scale methods are profitable, the one-crop system, the tenancy system especially as found in the South, overcapitalization of farms in boom years, the decline of mining, lumbering, and other rural industries, and the low wages paid to farm laborers are cited as contributing to the dependency of farm families.

Farm families on relief were concentrated in drouth and poor-land areas. More than half of the farm families receiving aid in June, 1935, were located in 14 states which contained only one-fourth of all farms in the United States. New Mexico and South Dakota had the heaviest relief loads, with about one-third of their farmers receiving aid. Next in order were North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kentucky, Florida, Idaho, Montana, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Wyoming, with from 10 to 27 per cent of their farmers on relief or rehabilitation rolls. In the country as a whole, the proportion of all farmers on relief or rehabilitation averaged nine per cent.

The concentration of relief in these states primarily reflects the effects of the 1934 drouth and the long-standing ills of the Appalachian-Ozark Area with its poor soil and abandoned industries.

A noticeable finding was the small size of acreages operated by farmers on relief. Among farm owners the acreages operated by those on relief were less than one-third of the average size of all owner-operated farms in the areas. Farms of tenants on relief were also much smaller than the average tenant farm. At the same time the farmers on relief had larger families to support than did those in the general farm population.

A Missouri Experiment Station bulletin⁴ presents data concerning ages, place of birth, place of present residence, educational status, marital status, occupational experience and preference, and dependents supported by 553 women employed in the Works Progress Administration sewing rooms in 12 selected sample counties.

South Dakota State College has published two reports dealing with the relief population in that state. The first of these reports, "Public and Private Assistance Extended to Households in Rural and Town Areas in South Dakota, January 1, 1936, to March 31, 1937,"⁵ presents tabular data for nine selected counties. "Size of Farm and Relief Status in South Dakota,"⁶ the second report, is the revision of a master's thesis. The investigation covers four counties and reveals

⁴ E. L. Morgan, J. D. Ensminger, and M. W. Sneed, "Rural Women and the Works Progress Program," A Partial Analysis of Levels of Living, *Research Bulletin* 253, University of Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbia, Missouri, April, 1937.

⁵ W. F. Kumlien and Robert L. McNamara, *Cooperative Rural Research in South Dakota*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration and South Dakota State College co-operating, May 26, 1937.

⁶ Zetta E. Bankert, *Social Research Studies, Mimeographed Circular No. 9*, Social Research Division, Works Progress Administration, June, 1937.

through tables and graphs that: (1) higher proportions of persons living on farms of less than average size had received relief than those on larger farms; (2) smaller proportions of owners than tenants were on relief; (3) older farmers were less frequently operators of larger farms; (4) the greater the farmer's formal educational achievement, the less the chance that he would be on a relief roll and farm a holding of less than average size (this relationship was not so close as those previously mentioned owing to the fact that the older farmers possessed less formal education but nevertheless had larger holdings than the younger farmers); (6) the greater the number of children over 16 years of age at home, the smaller the proportions of farmers on relief and the larger the farm. Throughout the study the influence of small farms as a contributing factor responsible for distress is evident.

A description of relief activities from 1927 to 1934 in seven counties chosen to represent type-of-farming areas of Nebraska is presented in an Experiment Station bulletin⁷ which does not reveal the identity of the counties. The relief activities before the intrusion of the New Deal Federal agencies are described. In these by-gone days some county officials thought "the only way to handle paupers" was to "shoot the whole lot." With the advent of the New Deal agencies, relief expenditures increased and professional social workers less frequently became *persona non grata*. The itemized relief expenditures per county and the many other relief agencies is given for the seven counties.

A chart showing the trend of expenditures for each of the four major types of relief—that to Social Security classes, General and Veteran classes, that in the form of Resettlement emergency grants and private assistance—in selected rural and town areas from January, 1932, to December, 1936, has been published by the Works Progress Administration.⁸ The base of the index is average monthly expenditures from July, 1935, to June, 1936. Brief histories of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, Works Progress Administration, and Resettlement Administration expenditures are included. For January, 1937, the aggregate expenditures for relief were 62 per cent above those for January, 1936. The number of cases aided was 41 per cent above that for January, 1936.

"Survey of Workers Separated from W.P.A. Employment in Eight Areas During the Second Quarter of 1936" is the title of a research study⁹ made from Works Progress Administration records, from files of local relief agencies, and from interviews with workers or other members of their families. The 4,552 cases located for study were divided into three groups on the basis of the source of the greater part of their July incomes. One-half derived the major part of

⁷ L. H. Stott, "A Study of Relief Activities in Seven Nebraska Counties, 1927-1934," *Nebraska Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin* 89, Lincoln, Nebraska, February, 1937.

⁸ *Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas for December, 1936-January, 1937, and for the Years 1932-1936*, Vol. 2, No. 1, March, 1937, Division of Social Research, Rural Research Section, Works Progress Administration.

⁹ Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Series IV, Number 3*, Washington, 1937.

their incomes from private employment, one-fourth received their incomes chiefly from relief or miscellaneous sources or received no incomes, and one-fourth had been transferred to work projects operated by government agencies other than the Works Progress Administration. The study had as its objective, determination of (1) the amounts and sources of income received by families of workers subsequent to their separation from W.P.A., (2) the proportions of these workers who secured employment in private industry, and (3) the extent to which loss of W.P.A. employment necessitated reapplication for direct relief. Characteristics of the three groups of workers, such as age, size of family, and employability, are depicted.

DROUTH AREA STUDIES

"The People of the Drought States"¹⁰ is the title of a bulletin prepared in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and appearing as second¹¹ of a series of three Works Progress Administration publications concerning the Great Plains States. The 10 states are: Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska. Data relevant to population growth and migration within and in and out of the area have their chief sources in the Federal Census and estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Also, findings of several state investigations are used. Series of maps which depict the progressive settlement of, migration to and from, and shifts in the population within the area, are included in the bulletin.

The people of the Great Plains Drouth States are described as a relatively youthful population engaged chiefly in agriculture. The rapidity with which the Great Plains Area was settled is unprecedented. Fifty years ago only three and one-half million persons lived in the area, whereas today its inhabitants number 15 million. Although the total population of the area has increased each decade (from 274,139 in 1850, to 15,075,690 in 1930) the farm population has not changed greatly since 1910, when it was estimated at 6,067,119.

The vast majority of the migrants came from an area bounded on the west by the eastern limits of the Great Plains States and on the east by the Appalachian-Allegheny Mountains. This area, together with the agricultural areas of Western Europe, from which many other migrants came, is dominated by intensive agriculture, chiefly of the row-crop type. The migrants knew only the moldboard plow culture. They came from areas where practices such as the use of the disk-harrow and the disk-plow, which would prevent erosion by allowing stubble and clods to remain on the surface, were considered slothful. Their cultural heritage, along with the quarter-section pattern of settlement forced upon them by the early homestead act of the Federal Government, resulted in maladjustments of incalculable damage to the individuals and the natural resources of the area.

The Great Plains civilization is built upon the foundation of a highly mobile

¹⁰ Conrad Taeuber and Carl C. Taylor, *Bulletin No. 2, Series V*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Washington, March, 1937.

¹¹ The first bulletin of the series was reviewed in the June, 1937, issue of *Rural Sociology*.

people with such a high birth rate that the area "exports" migrants. Drouths, light soil, pests, high winds, and blizzards are some factors to which the people must adjust. Speculation in land and ignorance of the nature of the area must be overcome if a stable culture is to develop.

Alternating periods of high precipitation and extreme drouths have always characterized this section. During periods of drouth, the people are optimistic and patiently await better conditions even at the cost of deprivation.

Federal aid from various sources has been poured into the section during the present drouth, and the farm population decreased only 1.0 per cent from 1930 to 1935. However, there were greater decreases in areas most acutely affected. There were increases in other areas.

That farm families rather than nonfarm families were the chief sufferers in the drouth area during the period 1934-36 is emphasized in the report, "Relief and Rehabilitation in the Drought Area,"¹² the third and last report in the series.

In June, 1935, almost seven-tenths of the heads of rural relief households in the eight drouth states were farmers or farm laborers. In North Dakota, Kansas, South Dakota, and Colorado, the effects of the drouth were particularly severe in the case of rural households living in the open country.

Conditions directly attributable to drouth were responsible for almost three-fifths of the June rural relief cases, which were on relief for the first time, in the eight drouth states surveyed. Loss of job was responsible for only 14 per cent of the applications for relief by rural households in these states.

In the month the study was made, more than seven-tenths of the farm operator heads of households on relief rolls in the eight drouth states were tenants. The percentage of farm operators on relief who were tenants was highest in Oklahoma (87 per cent), and amounted to over 70 per cent in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. In each of the eight states, tenants were greatly overrepresented on relief. Moreover, displacement of tenants was a serious factor in the drouth situation. Large proportions of tenants in the eight drouth states were no longer on farms in June, 1935.

Only a little more than two per cent of the heads of households whose usual occupation was agriculture had shifted to nonagricultural employment by June, 1935, but the shift from nonagricultural to agricultural employment was slightly greater. This shift was greatest in Oklahoma, where 14 per cent of the non-agricultural workers had become farmers.

In February, 1935, one-fifth of all rural households in all sections of the Great Plains Area, with the exception of the Western Corn Belt, were receiving Federal emergency relief. A year later, in spite of a good crop yield in 1935, there was only a slight decrease in the households receiving public assistance; and by August, 1936, the total load again included one-fifth of all rural families.

¹² Irene Link, "Relief and Rehabilitation in the Drought Area," *Research Bulletin Series V, Number 3*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, 1937.

FARM LABOR

A Works Progress Administration bulletin¹³ presents an analysis of records of work histories and itineraries of 500 unattached migratory-casual workers registered for relief in transient bureaus in 13 cities in 1933 and 1934. The field records were taken by a staff of interviewers in these cities, three-fifths of the histories coming from the four cities Seattle, Denver, Memphis, and Minneapolis. Workers were classified as (1) agricultural, (2) industrial, and (3) a combination of these two types of occupation, for comparison with respect to migration, employment, and personal characteristics.

Not least among the contributions of the study is a series of maps indicating the patterns of travel during employment of the individuals of the three groups. Other charts and tables portray periods of seasonal activity, migration, and idleness of the workers in the three groups and major types of workers within these groups. Attitudes of workers and their occupational, physical, and temperamental characteristics are illustrated by personal histories.

Agricultural-casual workers were found to be less mobile and to have more regularity of work patterns than the other two groups studied. Jobs in agriculture were shortest, the average being two months. Over three-fourths of the 500 workers held only one, two, or three jobs in each of the years 1933 and 1934. This short duration and paucity of jobs account for the average net income of \$250 per year (\$110 and \$124 for agricultural, \$257 and \$272 for industrial workers, and \$223 and \$203 for workers in combining agriculture and industry in 1933 and 1934, respectively).

The median length of the migratory period was 41 weeks. On the average, over 20 weeks of the migratory period were spent in employment. The off-season period was longest for agricultural workers, averaging 13 weeks. Cotton, fruit, sugar beets, grain, general farm work, vegetables, and berries engaged most unattached agricultural workers.

Seasonal activity for all three groups is at its maximum from May to September, and at its minimum during the remainder of the year, indicating the difficulty of dovetailing jobs to avoid off-season idleness. Employment office direction and public works projects are advocated as possible means of aiding these workers. The author maintains that existing unemployment relief measures will assist indirectly.

The publication, "California Farm Labor," by Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey,¹⁴ includes two articles published in *Rural Sociology*, September and December, 1936.

¹³ John N. Webb, "The Migratory-Casual Worker," *Research Monograph VII*, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, 1937.

¹⁴ Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "California Farm Labor," *Reprint Series Bulletin No. 2*, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, January, 1937.

POPULATION

A study of the relation of size of community to marital status¹⁵ concludes that ". . . the proportion of persons 15 years of age or over who are married, tends to decrease with the size of the community, and that the proportion of such persons who have ever been married—that is, who are either married, widowed, or divorced—has the same trend. Conversely, the proportion of persons who are single or who have never married increases with the size of the community. The age at marriage, in the case of white persons, tends to increase with the size of the community, for all classes except males on farms and in suburban cities of 25,000 to 50,000 population. The proportion of broken homes, whether the result of divorce or of widowhood, also increases with the size of the community."

Special tabulations from, and printed data of the United States Bureau of the Census were used to show the proportions of persons over 15 years of age who were married, widowed, and divorced and single in various-sized communities ranging from rural farm to metropolitan cities of 500,000 inhabitants or more. Analysis of crude data indicated that sex ratio, age, nativity, and race were important factors which were related to the proportion of persons in communities of different sizes who were of a given marital status. The populations were standardized in respect to age and sex and the marital status of different race and nativity groups in communities of various sizes was compared. A special analysis of a sample of residential, industrial, and mixed suburban cities of 25,000 to 50,000 population was made.

Age of marriage and the proportion of the population married in the communities of various sizes were treated. The number of persons who were divorced was found to be related to such characteristics of the population as age, sex-ratio, and marital status. Differences in the proportion of divorced persons in various-sized communities were not computed for standardized populations, but farm and nonfarm data were compared.

During the year 1936 the farm population increased 80,000 according to estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.¹⁶ On January 1, 1937, the farm population was 31,729,000, as compared with 31,809,000 one year earlier, and 31,801,000 in 1935. The net loss of 80,000 persons was the first net loss reported since 1929.

According to the Bureau's estimates, the net migration from farms to towns and cities was 447,000; 1,166,000 moved from farms to villages, towns, and cities; and 719,000 moved to farms.

¹⁵ Dwight Sanderson, "Relation of Size of Community to Marital Status," *Memoir 200*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, N. Y., February, 1937.

¹⁶ "Farm Population Estimates," January 1, 1937, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, *Mimeographed Release*, June 24, 1937.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

A social and economic study of the Granger Homesteads in Iowa is a printed Doctor's dissertation.¹⁷ The investigation included data for the year 1933, previous to resettlement, and the year 1936, after one year's residence on the resettlement project. Incomes of settlers, both from regular occupation and from the gardens and small landholdings, and certain living conditions and facilities for the two years were compared. The source of data was personal interviews with 49 settlers, project records, general Resettlement Administration and Subsistence Homesteads reports. Consideration was given to the educational program, social and recreational life, co-operative enterprises and the attitudes of settlers toward the subsistence homesteads, and other factors relevant to resettlement.

For the year's residence on the project the value of family living from livestock and landholdings (which average 3.5 acres of cultivable land) was \$84.75 per household. These same families produced and consumed only an average of \$57.53 from farms and gardens during 1933 before settlement, although three were operators of larger holdings. Housing costs were higher on the project (\$14.75 per month) but landholdings were greater on the average, and payments were inclusive of amortization on both house and landholding. Most settlers were miners by occupation. Age, size of family, and educational characteristics vary greatly.

The second segment¹⁸ of an analysis of the activities, interests, and problems of rural youth in Tompkins County, New York, adds findings relative to the lives of unmarried youth from 15 to 29 years of age to those already presented in a previous bulletin concerning married youth of the same age. The field study included, in addition to the data for the married youth, information concerning 758 unmarried persons, 53 per cent of whom were male. The analysis involves averages and percentages.

Although three-fourths of all unmarried young people included in the study have some high school or college training, as many had received no vocational training for a specific occupation. Of those out of school and without employment, 98 per cent were dependent upon their families for support.

Over 60 per cent of the young people living on farms had resided in the community for 10 or more years, exhibiting more stability of residence than the rural nonfarm.

Report of the Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe, 1937,¹⁹ is the publication of an investigation by a commission of six on the co-operatives in 10 European countries. Although the committee finds most of the aims and ob-

¹⁷ Raymond P. Duggan, "A Federal Resettlement Project, Granger Homesteads," *Monograph No. 1*, School of Social Work, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1937.

¹⁸ W. A. Anderson, "Rural Youth: Activities, Interests and Problems—II. Unmarried Young Men and Women 15 to 29 Years of Age," *Bulletin No. 661*, Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, January, 1937.

¹⁹ Jacob Baker, Leland Olds, Charles E. Stuart, Robin Hood, Clifford V. Gregory, Emily Cauthorn Bates, *Report of Inquiry on Cooperative Enterprise in Europe*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

jectives of co-operatives in the various countries to be similar, there are differences in policy in the various countries. The report indicates that there is a divergence of opinion among the members of the committee concerning the value for America of the European experience in co-operation. The report does, however, describe (1) the operation of European co-operatives, (2) their origin, history, and growth, (3) their consumer policies, (4) their labor policies, (5) characteristics differentiating them from private business, and from governmental and municipal enterprise, (6) their political attitudes, (7) their relations with and effects upon government, agriculture, and private business, and (8) their influence on the national economy.

The compendium includes case descriptions of nine co-operatives in different countries. The history and growth of co-operatives in eight countries is presented with specialized sections on co-operative housing and rural electric co-operatives in Europe generally.

An Experiment Station and Extension Service bulletin from Illinois²⁰ discusses methods of financing organization and control, planning and erecting of community buildings. Several model plans and pictures of buildings are given.

FAMILY LIVING

From State and Federal Census data, indices of the extent to which the inhabitants of 69 South Dakota counties possessed various educational qualifications and standards of living were improvised in an attempt to ascertain the extent of relationship between educational status and the standard of living.²¹ Indices representing the educational attainments of persons of a given county were based upon proportions of individuals 18 years of age or older who had not entered school, finished common school, high school, entered college, and completed college. The average educational status of individuals was estimated. The index of standard of living is based upon the proportion of farms reporting autos, farm homes having water in the bathroom, electricity, radios, and telephones. The mean value per acre of farm land and buildings was used as an index of wealth.

There is little relation between the estimated average number of years of education of persons over 18 years of age in a county and the standard-of-living index. When the average value of farm land is held constant, this relationship is negligible. The relationship between average value of farm land and the index of standard of living is represented by the correlation coefficient $+ .79$.

The author finds the per cent of persons who are college graduates to be related with the standard-of-living index as shown by the coefficient $+ .50$. No mention is made of possible spurious correlations due to using percentages. Also, there is no statement concerning difficulties resulting from using complex indices in correlation problems with only 69 cases.

²⁰ D. E. Lindstrom, W. A. Foster, and Max G. Fuller, "Rural Community Buildings," Circular 470, Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service, University of Illinois, Urbana, March, 1937.

²¹ T. C. Donahue, *Education and the Standard of Living*, a Thesis presented for the Degree of Master of Arts, Ohio State University, 1936.

The findings of an Ohio study by Hall also indicate little relation between educational status and indices of the standard of living, but those of a study of the City of Denver revealed high relationships.

LAND TENURE

An Experiment Station bulletin²² which describes the operations and tenure practices on 89 Arkansas plantations in the cotton growing fertile areas of the state represents a follow-up study of an investigation made in 1910. The typical plantation studied had an average area of 1,306 acres, of which 691 were in crops. There was an average of 27 tenant families, 19 of which were sharecroppers, four other tenants, and four wage hands. Croppers and share tenants produced goods consumed at home evaluated at \$67 and \$131, respectively. It was calculated that if each tenant family "had produced as much as possible of the food supply on the farm, each would have released approximately \$80 in income for the satisfaction of other wants." Seventy per cent of the total net income of tenant families was expended for common food items.

"Facts on the Farm Tenure Situation,"²³ and "The National Farm Institute Symposium on Land Tenure,"²⁴ are the second and third bulletins in a series entitled "Farm Tenure in Iowa." Maps, charts, and tables based chiefly on census material and partially on special studies depict the extent of tenancy, type of leases, types of landlords, instability of tenure, tenure in relation to farming systems and housing conditions, mortgage indebtedness, and land values for Iowa. The last publication includes papers presented at the Des Moines meeting of the National Farm Institute. Papers by experts in the field of land tenure as well as officials of governmental and private agencies treat such subjects as the agricultural ladder, farm tenure in the cotton South, credit policies as related to the agricultural ladder, and stability in agriculture.

"Recent Policies Designed to Promote Farm Ownership in Denmark,"²⁵ is the title of a Resettlement Administration circular. The report sets forth in concise form the objectives, techniques, and historical background of Danish governmental assistance to land-ownership. The legislation has resulted in providing 20,717 families, who had previously possessed little or no land, with holdings, thus increasing the proportion of small holdings (from 1.33 to 37 acres) by 18 per cent from 1899 to 1934. The small holding ranges in size from 7.4 to 19.8 acres; the small farm ranges up to 37 acres; and the horticultural holding, from 1.25 to 7.5 acres. For the small holdings 2.25 per cent is paid

²² H. W. Blalock, "Plantation Operations of Landlords and Tenants in Arkansas," *Bulletin* No. 339, Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Fayetteville, Arkansas, May, 1937.

²³ Rainer Schickele, "Farm Tenure in Iowa—II. Facts on the Farm Tenure Situation," *Bulletin* 356, Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa, February, 1937.

²⁴ R. E. Buchanan, "Farm Tenure in Iowa—III. The National Farm Institute Symposium on Land Tenure," *Bulletin* 357, Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Ames, Iowa, April, 1937.

²⁵ Elizabeth R. Hooker, "Recent Policies Designed to Promote Farm Ownership in Denmark," *Land Use Planning Publication* No. 15, Resettlement Administration, Washington, March, 1937.

semiannually for 93 years on 90 per cent of the value of the land (not to exceed 8,500 crowns or \$2,278) and 90 per cent of the value of buildings. Since there is an initial five-year period during which no amortization is paid, the length of the loan is 98 years.

During the preceding quarter the following additional reports and bulletins have been received:

- Charles E. Allred, Selmar R. Neskaug, William E. Hendrix, "How the Swiss Farmers Operate on the Cumberland Plateau," *Monograph No. 33*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 1, 1937.
- Carl P. Heisig, "A Graphic Presentation of Changes in the Agriculture of Washington from 1930 to 1935," *Bulletin No. 341*, Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, Washington, December, 1936.
- Cornelius J. Claassen, *Better Tenant Farming*, Omaha, Nebraska, 1937.
- Economic and Social Survey of Buffalo County*, State Planning Board, Brookings, South Dakota and Buffalo County Planning Board, March 1, 1937. (Mimeographed.)
- E. L. Bishop, *The Health Program as a Contribution to the Population Engaged in the Economics of the Tennessee Valley*, Address given before a meeting of the Tennessee Valley Home Economics Council, Knoxville, Tennessee, February 1, 1937. (Mimeographed.)
- C. R. Hoffer, "Some Characteristics of Rural Families in Three Michigan Communities," *Special Bulletin 283*, Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, Michigan, April, 1937.
- Marshall Harris, "Compensation as a Means of Improving the Farm Tenancy System," *Land Use Planning Publication No. 14*, Resettlement Administration, Washington, February, 1937.
- Esther M. Colvin, "Large Scale and Corporation Farming," a Selected List of References, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No. 69*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., April, 1937.
- O. E. Baker, "A Graphic Summary of Physical Features and Land Utilization in the United States," *Miscellaneous Publication No. 260*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., May, 1937.
- Chastine Gardner, "Periodicals Issued by Farmers' Marketing and Purchasing Associations," *Miscellaneous Report No. 5* (Revised), Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C., March, 1937.
- R. H. Ellsworth, "Statistics of Farmers' Marketing and Purchasing Associations, 1935-1936 Marketing Season," *Miscellaneous Report No. 12*, Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D. C., February, 1937.
- The Fourth Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, 1936*, Washington, D. C., 1937.
- Helen I. Slentz, "Recent Trends Toward Diversified Farming in Southern Cotton Areas," *Land Use Planning Publication No. 17*, Land Utilization Division, Resettlement Administration, Washington, D. C., March, 1937.

- Mary A. Agnew, "Workers in Subjects Pertaining to Agriculture in Land-Grant Colleges and Experiment Stations, 1936-1937," *Bulletin No. 254*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., March, 1937.
- Walter H. Gaumnitz and Martha R. McCabe, "Good References on Supervision of Instruction in Rural Schools," *Bibliography No. 3* (1936 edition), U. S. Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., 1937.
- E. D. Tetreau, *Unemployment Relief in Arizona from October 1, 1932, through December 31, 1936, with a Special Analysis of Rural Relief Households*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, June, 1937.
- I. G. Davis, "Types of Farming and Type of Farming Areas in Connecticut," *Bulletin No. 213*, Connecticut State College, Storrs, Connecticut, December, 1936.
- "Farmers' Five Foot Shelf," *Discussion Bibliography No. 1*, Extension Service, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, May, 1937.
- Wm. M. Smith, Jr., "Games for 4-H Clubs, Home Bureaus and Groups in the Home," *Bulletin No. 369*, Cornell University Agricultural Extension Service, Ithaca, New York, February, 1937.
- Helen Canon and Mabel Rollins, "Index Numbers of the Cost of Goods and Services Bought by Farm Families in New York, 1920-1935," *Memoir 199*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, January, 1937.
- "List of Publications Issued by Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station," *Bulletin No. 47*, Revised, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, April, 1937.
- Amalie K. Nelson, "Guiding Behavior of Children," *Bulletin No. 184*, Agricultural Extension Service, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, November, 1936.
- W. F. Kumlien, *A Graphic Summary of Relief Trends in South Dakota, 1930 to 1935*, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota, June, 1937.
- C. E. Allred, P. T. Sant, and C. M. Smith, "Index Numbers of Prices Received by Tennessee Farmers, 1910-1936, with Comparisons," *Monograph No. 41*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, May, 1937.
- Dan E. Vornholt and Amy A. Gessner, "Music Making in the Rural Community," *Stencil Circular No. 188*, University of Wisconsin Extension Service, Madison, Wisconsin, April, 1937.

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

Pioneering in Agriculture, One Hundred Years of American Farming and Farm Leadership. By Thomas Clark Atkeson and Mary Meek Atkeson. New York: Orange Judd Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. 7, 222.

This book is not a history of American agriculture as the title implies, but the autobiography of Thomas Clark Atkeson posthumously completed by his daughter, Mary Meek Atkeson. Most of the subject matter was originally published serially in 11 issues of *The Country Gentleman* from December, 1924, through February, 1925. In consequence, its style is journalistic, being almost entirely composed of reminiscences on the experiences of Thomas Clark Atkeson during his 83 years as a participant in American rural life.

Thomas Clark Atkeson has been called the "dean of American agriculture." For over a half century he was a leader in the agricultural affairs of West Virginia; more than a third of a century, a torchbearer in the National Grange. He was the founder and promoter of agricultural education in the University of West Virginia, and the first Dean of the College of Agriculture. From this position he launched out into pioneer leadership in many activities now considered essential in the maintenance of wholesome rural life. Throughout his busy public life he did not lose contact with his farm or lose sight of the fact that agricultural education should be for the benefit of the farmer and his family, more than mere technical instruction in agricultural subjects.

The lives of the authors covered the period in our history from the settlement and development of the Ohio Valley and the West to the invalidation of A.A.A. by the Supreme Court. The early chapters give a good account of rural life on the Ohio Valley frontier; more specifically in the great Kanawha Valley of West Virginia where the Atkeson farm is located. In the telling of Thomas Clark Atkeson's experiences the authors unfold many chapters in American Rural Life: frontier isolation, Civil War and Reconstruction, the rise of the Granger Movement, the fight for and establishment of agricultural education in American universities, organizing the farmers for social and economic action, extension education, the intensive short course, farmers' institutes, agricultural representation in Washington, the agricultural lobby in the years following the World War, intimate glimpses of the inner workings of political appointments, and finally, retirement.

Although there is nothing new in this book for the mature student of rural life, it can be recommended as good reference reading for students in history,

economics, politics, and sociology. Its sweep will give the student a view of farm movements both from the side of the farm leader and the outside observer. Throughout its pages runs a homely philosophy; this alone is enough to recommend it. The many reflections on the mechanics of social control will interest the student of this subject, especially the parts that deal with the social types represented as leaders and followers of radical farm movements.

Indiana University

AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD

Son of Han. By Richard LaPiere. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. Pp. 314. \$2.50.

The author, a Stanford University sociologist, has herein set forth a personalized tale of Confucian ideals and teaching as they were reflected in a Chinese family of an earlier day. The narrative is written with considerable insight into the broader social setting of the rural familial scene.

The fictional main spring is one of conflict between the value system of the men of the household and the ideal of the old Matriarch; excellence in classical learning versus progeny production and the performance of family duties. The old Patriarch and his sons had been unable to advance beyond the First Order of Confucian scholarship and were determined that the youngest of the family, Han, should have every opportunity to rise to the estate of Third Order scholars and a position in the learned council of the Son of Heaven, thereby bringing honor and prestige to the family. As far as the elderly Matriarch was concerned, the early marriage of Han Te-Lin was imperative for,

Can books talk and laugh and work and bring more sons to the family?

Han Te-Lin's scholarly career was analogous to the Greek tragic pattern. Ambitious, intelligent, highly sensitive, he fell victim to circumstances and ritualistic demands which neither he nor his elder champions could successfully combat. He gained the title of a First Order Scholar but a broken finger nail produced an uncorrectable calligraphic error and his failure at the Second Examination. After three years he was not permitted to take the next examination owing to deference to ceremonial obligation. Te-Lin wanted another opportunity, but the Matriarch refused all excuses for the postponement of his marriage. The scholarly career interrupted by marital interferences suffered complete destruction with the birth of a son. Te-Lin turned his every effort to the scholarship of the boy, his father now having learned from Lao-Tzu and his own experiences, that,

. . . men mistake the symbols for the feelings, make the rituals all important in themselves . . . He could not fight against them anymore. But he could guard his son from the torment of the rituals!

LaPiere has ably described a segment of traditional Chinese life in a time when the rote mastery of the ancient classics was the gateway to fame, honor, and civil employment. The novel, in spite of its resemblance to Oriental style and interpretation, leaves an impression of similarity to contemporary American

life. This is either because of the universality of the theme or the failure of the author to maintain the psychological flavor of the milieu. Vestiges of the author's social psychological analyses are recognizable. Yet a sociologist might desire a broader societal backdrop with less emphasis on mental states and more on situations and collective behavior. *Son of Han* is not in the Pearl Buck manner, nor is it a melodramatic adventure. Hence it is unique among novels of Chinese life. One may doubtless master more quotable facts in less time by the perusal of other literature, but here is the insight peculiar to the novelist and of unquestionable value to the sociologist.

Harvard University

NICHOLAS J. DEMERATH

The Speech of East Texas. By Oma Stanley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. x, 135. \$2.50.

Although this monograph is phonetic in its approach to one variety of American dialect, it contains much specific material which should be of value to the sociologist who is interested in regional differences. The purpose of the study is to describe the common speech of the whites of East Texas, an area in which the hill type of southern speech predominates rather than the plantation variety of the Old South.

Common usages and gradations, as well as survivals from the past and similarities between the speech of East Texas and that of other sections, are drawn from intimate observations through field work and phonograph recordings. The author shows that while education has improved the grammar of the more literate strata of the population, it has had little influence upon pronunciation. An opportunity was afforded to study American speech in a form untouched by recent foreign influences, for East Texas was settled by immigrants from the other southern states and the population elements (excluding Negroes) have remained Anglo-Saxon. Population sources of the region are given in an appendix, but no attempt is made to relate linguistic manifestations to their broader social background.

Comparatively little definitive work has yet been done to synthesize regional standards of English in America; hence, this type of treatise is a definite contribution to groundwork in the field. Whereas a factual study of this sort is of primary concern to the linguist, it embodies a source of data which may be utilized fruitfully by the social scientist for other purposes.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

The Arts Workshop of Rural America. By Marjorie Patten. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. viii, 216. \$1.50.

This publication, as the subtitle indicates, is a study of the rural arts program in the United States, particularly as carried on by the Agricultural Extension Service. The study itself was made possible by a grant from the General Education Board and was supervised by the Department of Adult Education of Teachers College, Columbia University. Analyzing an approach that has for two

decades been struggling for a place in the Agricultural Extension Service, this book appears just at a time when that approach is coming into its own. In other words, the publication is well timed to add impetus within the Agricultural Extension Service to a rapidly expanding phase of rural life—the cultural arts.

The underpinnings for this book are based on experiences in nine different and widely scattered states: Colorado, Iowa, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Their programs and experiences in drama and play writing, puppetry, choruses and orchestras, folk dancing, painting, spinning, weaving, pottery making, gardening, and even grooming a calf are interestingly reviewed. The spirit of the book is such as to give renewed courage and stimulus to those who are on the firing line—folks who in their impatience to see nice things take expression in rural areas are at times inclined to get a bit discouraged that things happen so slowly. The author writes in the spirit of the optimist—one who has seen many things come about in the development of the arts in rural America, and one who expects much more in the near years ahead. The story is of the best developments in nine of the most experienced states.

The book itself develops two points of view: that of the sociologist who is concerned with the development of rural people through the arts, and that of the artist who is concerned with the beauty and perfection of the finished product. The reader can almost classify the sponsors by the programs described in the various states. In the main, where the program is carried through the Agricultural Extension Service, rural sociologists are at the helm; and where the program is sponsored through the general university, artists are at the helm. The states of Ohio, New York, and Wisconsin, on the one hand, and North Carolina and North Dakota on the other, are cases in illustration. There is a corresponding difference in extensiveness versus intensiveness of the programs. Evidence is limited, but it seems that Iowa through its music is one state that has bridged the gap, combining the artistic and the social, and making the intensive also extensive.

To those who have watched this arts program in rural America from a distance, the first 20 chapters of this book are both an eye-opener and an inspiration. To those increasing numbers of people who have become a part of the program itself, chapter 21 is most challenging and most revealing. The need for more clearly defining objectives and function; the problems of securing adequately trained leadership on state, county, and local levels; the need for good "text" and "supplementary" materials, efficiently prepared and yet adaptable to greatly varying local conditions; and the necessity for still further popularizing and demonstrating the cultural arts in the vast unreached "wildernesses," outline many years of work ahead. In the words of the author, this is going to need much more than "shoe-string financing" if the arts are to take their place beside other specialized fields in the Agricultural Extension Service.

This work is interestingly and carefully written, and its method of approach is well timed to meet the needs of the arts field at its present stage of development. The critique can well come later. This book should be widely read.

American Family Laws—Vol. IV. *Parent and Child*. By Chester G. Vernier. California: Stanford University Press, 1936. Pp. xxi, 496. \$5.00.

In a five-volume work (I. *Marriage*, II. *Divorce*, III. *Husband and Wife*, V. *Incompetents and Dependents*) summarizing and criticizing American family law, this is Volume IV, *Parent and Child*. America has many books on the family but few of a comprehensive nature on family law. Each section gives (1) a statement of the common law position for the particular trait, (2) general summary of positions taken in American statute law, (3) detailed table by jurisdictions for local reference, (4) cross references, notes and annotations, and (5) Vernier's opinions as to needed reforms in American statute law of the family. This volume covers chiefly custody, control, emancipation, support, domicile, inheritance, legitimacy, seduction, adoption, torts, stepchildren, and miscellaneous. The importance of family law to sociologists cannot be challenged. No group of intelligentsia has at this time greater influence upon legal changes and are as much less informed on the total content and philosophy of law as they. Law is the fundamental social organization.

Of the five parts to each section, the general opinion of legal reviewers is that Vernier has established himself in the first four. He has covered the common law, the major statutes, the important details by jurisdiction, and the cases. This leaves for chief critical discussion Vernier's philosophy of family law, which is given in Volume I and at places all through each volume, but which is sufficiently covered in this volume for a critical sample. Concerning this the reviewer wishes to make the following assertions: (a) Vernier takes an individualistic and not a familistic point of view when discussing family law; (b) he takes this position for particularistic details (e.g., as in the case of legitimacy of bastards) when by so doing the laws he proposes or praises mean a decline in the individualistic position of other persons whose improvement he so firmly advocates (legitimate spouse), and (c) as a result the changes he proposes (in line with changes in family law generally during the last century) would make our social structure (if the family were not ruled primarily by the mores) almost completely inimical to the family.

With few exceptions in these first four volumes and in this one under review does the author show himself even mildly sympathetic with the familistic principles codified from common law. Thus in spite of the fact that common law has a longer historic tradition (and certainly a more familistic one) than statute law, common law to Vernier is barbaric, harsh, and inequitable. States near the common law are to him archaic (e.g., South Carolina); but let a state advocate some principle completely antithetical to common law; e.g., Arizona and North Dakota where the "doctrine of illegitimacy" is cast from the eyes of the law, and immediately these states become "advanced" and progressive. He fails to recognize that the common law doctrine of *coverture* was an equalizing principle for husband and wife because if man and wife or *baron* and *feme* were one, obligations to either come in the vast majority of cases to both. Thus the "modern" trend, with which the author seems to have sympathy, of equalizing the "rights"

of the two parents, does not enter into the *Gestalt* of the author as a broad statutory struggle which might end itself by returning to the fundamental doctrine of *coverture*. The author shows his most extreme antifamilistic position in his section on *suits* where at various places he recommends modifications to permit suits between parent and child as in the case of an automobile accident. Where the parent is driving and the child is hurt the child can sue the parent. This of course puts the parent in a very embarrassing situation. In states of compulsory automobile insurance a driver hardly dares give a ride to a stranger now. With permissive interfamily suits the situation could technically become so involved that the careful parent could hardly afford to drive his own child to school. On the contrary, in the one outstanding case where the author stands by the common law, in that he is apparently opposed to the modern trend which permits unmarried females themselves to sue for damages from seduction, his summary (p. 10, paragraph 1) does not clearly show whether he holds with the reasoning of the text or has changed his mind between the text and the summary.

Nevertheless, the social scientist owes the author and the Stanford University Press congratulations for this work. In the opinion of the reviewer these works should be used as supplementary reading for every course on the sociology of the family. If the student of the family would approach it through such a rich background as this, many of the present conflicting ideas would perhaps resolve themselves into two broad doctrines, familism and anti-familism, the balance between which is now so badly disturbed in our culture.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Consumption and Standards of Living. By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1936. Pp. xvi, 602. \$3.75.

It is impossible to summarize the contents of this book within any reasonable limits of space. Suffice it to say that it relates (1) all the important known facts of family expenditures, including a history of the work in this field, (2) all important doctrines concerning the significance of the amounts and proportions spent for food, shelter, clothing, sundry expenditures and savings, and (3) many relevant facts concerning both (a) the reasons why certain goods and services are bought and (b) the benefits which may be expected from them. It also includes three chapters concerning economic theories in relation to consumption. In contrast to the rest of the book these seem to me rather sketchy and oversimplified. Except possibly for these chapters the book promises to be the standard text and reference for students of family expenditures here and abroad.

Students interested in human welfare, indeed, students interested in human ways of life from any point of view, will find a wealth of instructive fact, especially in the chapters on food, housing, the family, clothing, and spending or saving. Dr. Zimmerman's work is in general objective and impartial. It is free from sentimentality. He does not hate the rich for being rich nor love the poor because they are poor. Unless I have read carelessly, "social justice" and the "exploitation" of such and such do not appear at all in his 600 pages. He

does not let the unconscious logic of hopes and fears mislead him. He has certain prejudices, for example, against statistical refinements and in favor of the old-fashioned family, but he keeps them under control. His work is thoroughly honest. Indeed he goes so far as to include footnotes quoting the vigorous objections of a certain critic or critics of the book in manuscript.

Dr. Zimmerman's own general doctrines about present-day family expenditures are, in part, as follows: A vast amount of ingenious detailed work after the general plan of Le Play must be done to explain them. "There appear to be about as many costs of living as there are people." It is extremely risky to use them apart from other features of the lives of the families in question to account for anything else. In particular the relation between the general goodness of life for a family's members and either its total expenditures or their allotment to food, shelter, clothing, sundries and advancement, and saving is much less and looser than many social reformers have thought. In the case of housing, for example, he concludes,

. . . some of the fundamental influences upon human behavior generally attributed to housing are often functions of the family and the home, and not of the house. It is probable that much of this behavior attributed to housing is due to changes in the family or to variations in strength or weakness of the home as a social institution. Poor houses may contain weak families or so-called "undesirable" home conditions, but these may not be due primarily to the housing structure. Variations in the standard of living can only be attributed to the house itself if it is proved that the housing structure or type is closely related to changes in home and family life.

. . . House ownership in itself is unimportant unless the discipline of acquiring the house has built up family solidarity, increased the stability of the people, and knit those mystic and sentimental attachments between people and place called "home." . . . Socialist measures for the immediate transferal of homes from the landlords to the tenants do not attain the social objectives generally implied in home-ownership programs.

A "higher" standard of living in the sense of eating more meat, having a more comfortable place to sleep, wearing more fashionable clothes, and otherwise enjoying a more pleasant sensory life is inadequate and may be dangerous. Zimmerman views with some alarm the emphasis on creature comforts (which he calls "sensationalism") and on the satisfactions which a person can have as a social "atom," with few or no family, church, or neighborhood ties.

A system of living is an involved organization of acts, thought, and belief including not only the capacity of the individual to produce the things he needs but also the capacity of institutions, such as the family, the community, the religious authorities, the government, and industry, to keep order and to discipline the individual into the pathways of production. The materials which compose a man's living come from his daily activities and are directed by the knowledge gained from centuries of painful mistakes. The social organizations and institutions attempt to guarantee that the daily

activities of the individual will protect him not only now but in the future. The social organization attempts to preserve habits of industry. It guarantees with as much certainty as possible that if an individual does not consume his income today he can use the surplus when he is old or make secure the livelihood of his heirs. Consequently, three types of acts are essential to the long-time development of the system of living: the individual productivity of today; the provision that some of today's productivity will be saved and will be available tomorrow; and the ability of the social institutions which discipline man, such as the family, the church, the state, and the other organizations which inculcate the mores, to integrate the system so that the individual can work and produce or can live from his or others' savings tomorrow.

A final opinion on this matter is only a debatable judgment and liable to all the fallacies which the human mind is heir to. However, from this study of the standards of living, I have reached the opinion that a system of living includes absolute values to be found in the social organization as well as the goods of life. Consequently, it is my present belief that we have gone so far toward an over-emphasis of sensationalism, individualism, and conspicuous consumption that we will be forced sometime in the twentieth century to emphasize many anti-sensational characteristics of life which are not popular now. As a matter of fact, I am convinced that much of our present difficulty has arisen through immanent changes in our life which we have as yet been unwilling to recognize or which we are unable to comprehend.

The reviewer may be permitted to add two comments upon the traditional treatment of family expenditures. It seems that the time is ripe to work on a more fundamental level. Why should we continue to put together under "food" whatever people put into their alimentary tracts, whether it be fuel, tissue builders, tasty pleasures, or drugs? Why should we put together under "shelter" what protects us, what rests us, what permits social pleasures, what entertains us, what displays our stations in life, and what debauches us? Why should we put together under "clothing" what prevents us from using food to heat the atmosphere, what satisfies decency, what attracts attention to us, and what distracts attention from us? A treatment of family expenditures according to the fundamental wants which they satisfy seems desirable for many reasons.

It seems also that some of the labor now spent in increasing the number and variety of records of family expenditures might better be spent in obtaining facts concerning the goodness of the life procured. The bookkeeping is now all debits; we need records of the health, happiness, education, skill, and virtues produced with the aid of the expenditures in question.

A Study of Fluid Milk Prices. By John M. Cassels. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xxvii, 303. \$4.00.

This book deals with the factors influencing fluid milk prices prior to 1932 in the dairy and industrial section of the United States, an area lying east of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. While attention was concentrated upon the New England and New York milksheds, price relations between these sheds and others included in the dairy and industrial section were also explored. The first five chapters are devoted to a qualitative analysis of supply and demand relations for market milk and other dairy products under conditions of assumed perfect competition. In the remaining 12 chapters (including summary and conclusions), quantitative data are introduced to amplify and modify the qualitative analysis. The text contains 46 figures but only nine summary tables. The detailed tables, 52 in number, are relegated to Appendix B. In Appendix A are presented details of the various primary milksheds in the area covered in the study.

The study is a concise and logical treatment of the economics of fluid milk prices digesting most of the various other studies and presenting new material on the New England markets. It has even greater merit as a contribution in the field of price theory. Cassels' approach is typically classical; yet he avoids the confusion arising from the disputes as to the relative merits of the classical and the so-called institutional approach to the study of economics. It starts by presenting the more direct and simple hypotheses relative to fluid milk prices and then proceeds to modify and expand the analysis by introducing gradually more and more involved hypotheses. The analysis is also realistic, in that it traces clearly the manner in which institutional policies, such as railroad rates, city sanitary regulations, and bargaining programs of producers' associations, have altered and distorted the pattern of prices from those that would prevail under conditions of assumed perfect competition.

To one trained in the classical school, the book is a delight. The handling of regional price patterns, intermarket competition, and product disposal (an aspect of rival demand) is masterly. The reviewer predicts that the work will remain of interest to students long after its quantitative material is out of date. But enthusiasm for Cassels' method does not imply complete agreement with all his conclusions or emphases. Several unfortunate gaps exist. The book would be of more general interest if it covered even briefly other important milk markets outside the dairy and industrial section and if the analysis had been extended into the years 1933-1935, a period during which monopoly conditions in milk markets tended to break down. The methods could be applied equally well to southern and western markets where many new factors different from those prevailing in the dairy and industrial section would perhaps modify the conclusions. An extension of the analysis beyond 1932 would have shown complete demoralization of prices and marketing conditions in most milksheds which led to a clamor for government regulation. The consequences of the monopoly power shown by Cassels to have characterized milk markets between 1920-1929 are ably stated by Henry C. Simons (*American Economic Review*, Supplement, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, March, 1936), who says: "The real monopoly problem thus

derives from the prospect that the state rarely will permit private monopolies to bear the consequences of their own actions;" and that: "Competition, once long suppressed, threatens awful disturbances when it reappears, and calls for readjustments which, while clearly required for the general welfare, are too painful for legislatures, with their infinite solicitude for articulate minorities, to endure." Cassels' work would have been strengthened by a chapter on the consequences of this breakdown of producers' bargaining monopoly.

The author presents data (pp. 174-175) to show the monopoly element in fluid milk prices in a number of markets and indicates that a premium of from 20 to 30 cents over cream prices would appear to be sufficient to induce producers to maintain the market quality required and that anything more should be attributed to the monopolistic positions of the producers. On this basis the monopoly benefit would range from six cents in the Minneapolis market to \$1.01 in Hartford, Connecticut. Most students of milk marketing will agree that there was a considerable element of monopoly benefit in producers' prices in most milk markets prior to 1929. Cassels' computations probably reflect fairly accurately the monopoly element in the Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Chicago milk markets but his data may tend to exaggerate the monopoly element in the prices in many eastern markets. The premium to overcome inertia would surely increase the greater the distance of consuming markets from the areas of supplementary supply. Fixed transportation costs tend to absorb a larger percentage of f.o.b. city prices the farther producers are located from the city and increase the risk of loss that might result from price declines. Furthermore, part of the price received by producers of market milk is necessary to cover the higher additional costs (mainly for feed) of maintaining a more uniform supply of milk the year round. The reviewer disagrees with the author primarily on the extent of monopoly benefit involved in the prices of some of the eastern markets.

The analysis of dealers' margins and chain store differentials (Ch. X) has not received sufficient emphasis. Figures 21 and 22 show that dealers' margins (which constitute over half the price paid by consumers for store or wagon milk) in Boston and New Haven tended to remain relatively rigid over long periods. The same is true for other markets. Margins should be analyzed in the light of the trend in unit costs of processing and delivery. Since 1920, technological improvements and increased volume of milk per plant (fewer plants and growth in total amount consumed) have been important factors in reducing unit operating costs of distributors. While there are undoubtedly other factors which tended to increase distribution costs, the net result should have been lower costs. Yet margins of distribution remained unchanged or were even increased, indicating an even greater element of monopoly in distributors' margins than in producers' prices. In many markets a large part of these monopoly gains was capitalized in the form of good will during the so-called merger movement. There is undoubtedly much public misconception regarding distributors' profits and distribution inefficiency, but the subject is one of such importance that an adequate analysis of the whole problem seems justified.

In spite of these criticisms, the reviewer finds himself in general agreement

with the author's method of presentation and conclusions. Certain aspects, especially dealers' margins, still need study. Such a study, however, if adequate, will require of distributors time and a more co-operative attitude than in the past. It is a part of the wider problem of margins and costs which is now engaging the attention of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The work is recommended highly both to persons interested in milk marketing and economists and sociologists. Monopoly power has grave social consequences to consumers and to producers. Improvements in standards of well-being and prevention of periodic economic collapses seem to depend to a considerable extent on our economic system's passing on to the mass of the people, in the form of lower prices, the benefits of technological improvements. Persons interested in the social sciences need to know and study the origin and effects of institutional and other forces which prevent the smooth functioning of our competitive economy.

University of California

J. M. TINLEY

Studies in Massachusetts Town Finance. By Eugene E. Oakes. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937. P. 237. \$2.50.

This study of nine Massachusetts towns (townships) is essentially one of the relations between the small municipal corporation and its financial difficulties under conditions of decentralized industry. In the New England town, poor relief, road construction and maintenance, and public schools are to a large extent taken care of by and through the town as contrasted with the county, the incorporated village or city, or the special tax district in other regions. In Massachusetts, in particular, the situation is made more complex by the fact that decentralized industry, which is now spreading rapidly over the rest of the country, has had at least a hundred years of history. The rise of an industry in a town ordinarily has led to a rapid increase in taxable values and in public expenditures. This has led in turn to a struggle for control of the situation by numerous elements, such as the local mill owners (of a paternal disposition), absentee mill owners (of the pure entrepreneurial types), industrial workers (poll taxpayers only), and the nonindustrialized, semiagrarian populations of the towns. The local mill owners have exercised a very conservative influence, but unfortunately in the process of growth and decay of firms, they are gradually dying out, or selling their interests to outsiders. The relations between the outside owners and the workers very often tend to turn into a struggle in which the employer is under the control of undisciplined workers organized through the municipal corporation. This worker control is abetted by the fact that the state government has often permitted separations of the wealthy manufacturing parts of old rural towns from the remainders so that the chief voters in the industrial towns are the mill workers and the chief taxpayers are the mills themselves. The agrarian groups, who would ordinarily follow a middle-of-the-road policy, are segregated into separate towns. When the workers gain complete control, they oftentimes, particularly during periods of unemployment, increase taxes for municipal purposes so rapidly that the mill moves into another jurisdiction where it can bar-

gain for more favorable treatment. Extreme illustrations are the movement of the textile mill of Blackstone a hundred yards across the state line into Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and the gradual flight of the textile industry from New England to the South. Between these extremes there are thousands of cases where the workers have won the battle at the polls and lost at the factory. As a result, Massachusetts shows abundant evidence of the Aristotelian principle, as the author points out (p. 41 footnote), of the degeneration of the old constitutional government into a form of rule in which the worker no longer has either a job or a solvent town to support him.

This is the essence of Dr. Oakes's study. While he does not at all times see his theme clearly, he repeatedly comes back to its essentials. The rural sociologist who is going to meet this problem more and more with the spread of rural industry to the South and West would profit greatly by a perusal of this work.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Die Bevölkerung Europas: Stadt und Land im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert (The Population of Europe: City and Country in the 19th and 20th Centuries). By von Helmut Hause. Berlin: Junker and Dünhaupt Verlag, 1936.

The aim and purpose of this study, in the words of the author, grew out of "the recognition, especially in Germany, that (European) nations are confronted by a fundamental change in population movements. Not only will the 'high point' of development, in a quantitative sense, have been reached, but qualitative changes in population movements (and characteristics) and associated factors will result." The study includes all European nations.

The section on methodology sets forth the statistical techniques used in distinguishing between "Stadt" and "Land," and in assigning size of population to territories whose political and nationality affiliation has changed during the period of study. The study makes no contribution in this field, resorting to methods followed in America when similar problems are involved.

Historically, the study dealt with two population periods: (1) the period 1815 to 1870, and (2) the period 1870 to 1925. Historical events made possible and desirable this division. During the first period, population movement was confined largely to settling the "land." In the latter period, associated with industrialization, the movement was to the cities. The growth of cities was the outstanding population phenomenon.

The study itself, in addition to presenting methodology, was largely descriptive. The data were classified to show (a) areas of population growth, (b) areas of population stability (relative), and (c) areas of population decrease for each of the periods. Occasionally, more detailed classifications were used. Only infrequently were explanations given for trend differences.

Three main conclusions, developed in the summary, were stressed. First, emphasis was placed on the following general "Urbanization law" for industrial Europe: "The greater and the more recent (the urbanization process) the more rapid the growth." This applies in a positive as well as a negative sense. Ger-

many and England exhibit the positive trend. France shows the negative trend, i.e., the historically earlier village and town economy meant that urbanization would not develop rapidly. The village and small city economy tended to prevail in spite of the industrial and urbanization movements in Germany and England.

The second main conclusion sets forth that a nation's arrival at a political and economic crisis tends to result in "population stability." This was true of most European countries about 1870 and again prior to 1925. France, with its practice of controlling population growth, was cited as typical. The third conclusion related to the association between industrialization and the cityward movement of population. The growth of city population is explained largely by such migration as well as by the excess of births over deaths. This latter was the result of the decrease in death rate and lengthening of the span of life, a consequence of medical advances.

The study makes its greatest contribution by way of presenting a concise, coordinated, and composite picture of population movements and growth trends for all of Europe. The fact that it was largely descriptive adds to its usefulness in the sense of eliminating bias. From this standpoint it can serve as a useful reference and source book. The original thesis that Europe has reached a "peak" development in past population growth and movement trends is indisputably supported.

Montana State College

CARL F. KRAENZEL

All Good Americans. By Jerome Bahr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. Pp. viii, 273. \$2.50.

The author of *All Good Americans* has done such an unsparing job in depicting the doings and misdoings of the polyglot life of Hillon, Wisconsin, that if he ever returns to its actual counterpart he is more likely to be met at the station by a band of vigilantes than by a welcoming committee of the chamber of commerce. Mr. Bahr is careful to point out, however, that "The characters and situations in this book are imaginary, and the state of Wisconsin is used merely to give a Midwest setting." The verisimilitude which is spewed out in these 13 short stories will certainly be received with more ire than praise in the region which it depicts, for here is neither admiration for the exploits of the immigrant settlers nor pity for the banal existences which their descendants are supposedly leading. Despite Mr. Hemingway's commendation of these stories for "their solid, youthful worth, their irony, their humor, their pleasant lustiness," the young writer gives no promise of the artistry of a Willa Cather or even the deftness of a Sinclair Lewis. Yet he has seized upon a neglected aspect of the American scene and sets it forth in a fashion that is worthy of more than passing notice. As a first volume, it can stand on its own lusty legs without the prop of Ernest Hemingway's preface.

An eminent sociologist has remarked that there is more insight in *Main Street* than in *Middletown*, and in the realism which strides through the pages of Mr. Bahr's book one will find pertinent revelations of small town life in the Midwest

such as are not treated in the usual sociological monographs or survey. His fiction is not recommended to squeamish readers, for the writer unmincingly sets forth his Poles, Germans, Irish, and Norwegians in all their vulgar humanity against a raucous background, which is almost completely lacking in those pastoral touches that gloss over the less pleasant phases of indigenous literature of a more genteel nature.

Those who know the Midwest (that region popularly regarded as typically American) will find much verification in these stories of the thesis that many of its communities have as yet developed no substantial native culture. Uprooted from their European heritages and settled on the plains and timberlands of America, these varied ethnic elements have still to blend into a harmonious whole and form a basic culture which would lend itself less readily to irony. The Middle West is no longer the young frontier, and in its middle age finds its people economically uncertain and aesthetically unsatisfied.

Harvard University and the University of Texas

LOGAN WILSON

The Gang. By Frederick M. Thrasher. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. Pp. xxi, 605. \$4.00.

The Gang is a well-known sociological treatise, having first appeared in 1927. In addition to the source material and the discussions of principles deduced from the basic data which appeared in the original publication, this second edition has a discussion of crime prevention based on the experience of the author within the last few years. The book itself is a study of 1,313 gangs in Chicago. Emphasis is placed on the milieu of gangs, that is, gangland. Like a true scientist the author discusses types, forms, and the functioning of these units of study; and, as a sociologist who is more concerned with performing a service to society through the use of the scientific method applied to a grievous social problem than merely producing something that may be termed a work of science, he has suggested ways of meeting societal problems inherent in the gang maladjustments.

Both the objective—that is, the overt actions—and the subjective, or the psychological, aspects of gangs are given consideration. Gangs are expressions of new experiences which adolescents seek; gangs and the individuals in them frequently find their patterns in the movies and novels. Boys seek adventure through this self-formed group, and the experiences partake of the romantic. Part of the adventure is fighting, and gang life affords numerous opportunities.

The gang as a group is a true sociological unit. It follows rather definite patterns of action; its group controls conform to well recognized methods. Sometimes gangs become definitely organized with a set of rules, or a constitution with elected officers. On the other hand, the group may be just as definitely organized with a recognized leader but without a formalized or conventionalized organization. Quoting from an account of one specific gang, "The real gang is a close, secret organization, operating on a business basis. Meetings are held in secret; plans and campaigns are formulated; tasks are assigned to members especially trained by their leaders for their particular jobs." The unity of the gang depends

somewhat on the opposition that the gang encounters in its activities. Factors that play a part in the vertical mobility of the individual within the group seem closely related to those that operate in our so-called society. Of course, some traits such as competition and conflict ever present in society are exaggerated in the gang.

The author recognizes the prevalence of wholesome and normal gangs among boys but he places greatest stress on the gangs which are anti-social. Indeed, ganging on the part of boys is normal, but it is the falling into anti-social actions that makes the gang an abnormal group. The problem for society is to see that the boys have a chance to play with other boys in groups—let the groups be gangs, clubs, societies, scouts, or associations—but let these groups be such that the boy comes through the experience the better prepared to take his place as an adjusted individual in society.

Though the study belongs to the field of urban sociology, the review has been made for *Rural Sociology* with a specific purpose. The central theory underlying the whole discussion is a challenge to the rural sociologist. In the preface written by Dr. Park there appears this sentence, "Every village has at least its boy gang, and in the village as in the city, it is composed of those same foot-loose, prowling, and predacious adolescents who herd and hang together, after the manner of the undomesticated male everywhere." The habitat of the gang is in the interstitial areas, areas in transition, a poverty belt, a region of deteriorating neighborhoods, zones of shifting population. "It is present in every American city where the disordered conditions of the intramural frontier have developed . . . Even in rural areas the gang tends to appear when community life breaks down and opportunities are present for boys to congregate" (p. 367).

After reading the many stories of the city's gangs as given in this publication and having some acquaintance with rural life, I am inclined to question these broad generalizations concerning the village and rural communities. It may be that both Dr. Park and Dr. Thrasher are right. My doubts, however, are sufficiently strong that I should like to see some studies of gangs and their relation to juvenile delinquency in rural communities. Indeed, certain information has reached my desk in the course of studies on rural youth that confirm their position. Moreover every student of rural life today knows that rural America contains vast areas which are in process of disintegration. As a sociologist interested in the human side of rural life, which in so many large areas is in transition, I think there are few more challenging subjects for research than gangs in rural communities.

Works Progress Administration

BRUCE L. MELVIN

News Notes and Announcements

American Sociological Society:—The annual meetings of the American Sociological Society will be held at the Claridge Hotel, Atlantic City, New Jersey, December 29-31. The tentative program of the Rural Sociology Section is as follows:

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00-12:00 A.M. George H. Von Tungeln, Iowa State College, Chairman

Topic: The Field and Function of Rural Sociological Research

Committee Report

Committee Personnel: C. E. Lively, Ohio State University, Chairman;

Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University; and Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota

Discussion: From the floor

12:30-2:30 P.M. George H. Von Tungeln, Iowa State College, Chairman

Joint luncheon meeting of the Section on Rural Sociology and The American Farm Economics Association

Topic: Disadvantaged Rural Classes

Dr. L. C. Gray, Assistant Administrator, Resettlement Administration,
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Discussion: Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

9:00-10:00 A.M. George H. Von Tungeln, Iowa State College, Chairman

Business Meeting

10:00-12:00 A.M. R. A. Polson, Cornell University, Chairman

Topic: The Field and Function of Extension Rural Sociology

Trends in Extension Sociology

Howard W. Beers, Rutgers University

Some Problems of the Extension Sociologist

D. E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois

Discussion: From the floor

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31

9:00-10:00 A.M. R. C. Smith, Resettlement Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Region III, Chairman

Topic: Tenancy, Resettlement, Relief, and Social Security

The Social Status of Farm Tenants

Edgar A. Schuler, Louisiana State University

Resettlement, with Particular Implications and Prospects for Youth

Aubrey Williams, National Youth Administration

Social Security as a Function of Society

J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin

Discussion: From the floor

The Italian Institute for the Study of Rural Social Science:—The Italian Institute for the Study of Rural Social Science (Istituto Nazionale di Economia Agraria) has corresponded with the editors hoping to establish friendly scientific relations between the Institute and members of our group. This Institute has also sent a number of monographs about Italian rural families which will be reviewed in forthcoming issues of this *Journal*. The Institute has been in operation since 1924 for the purpose of scientific research concerning the social problems of Italian agriculture. It consists of a directing committee, a president, a general secretary, and a scientific committee. The directing committee includes the Italian director generals of agriculture and of the Central Institute of Statistics, two professors of Rural Social Sciences from the faculties of agriculture of the Royal Universities, and three other economists also named by the director general of agriculture. The scientific committee is composed of all the professors of Rural Social Sciences of the faculties of agriculture of the Royal Universities in Italy. The funds of the Institute are furnished by the Italian Government and by revenues from publications and services by the members of the Institute. A central office is established in Rome and various regional offices are at Turin, Milan, Florence, Pérouse, Portici, Vérone, and Palerme. The organization has published a number of general studies in the Rural Social Sciences as well as specific studies applying to different regions. Some of these studies deal with new farm buildings in Italy, the problem of the agricultural manual laborer, the use of land, irrigation, depopulation of the mountain districts, economic problems of Italian agriculture, reforestation, and rural family life. The problems are all studied qualitatively as well as by the use of statistics to determine the needs and conditions of living in rural Italy. American rural sociologists who visit Italy or are interested in these developments can probably make arrangements through this Institute for first-hand contact with the problems of Italian agriculture.

Louisiana State University:—Edgar A. Schuler, who was granted a leave of absence for the session 1936-37 to conduct a study of the "Social Correlatives of Farm Tenure" for the Resettlement Administration, will return to the University in September.

Fred C. Frey, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and professor of sociology, attended the Conference on Education and Race Relations held from July 30 to August 7 at Blue Ridge, North Carolina.

Vernon J. Parenton, graduate student in sociology, has been appointed research assistant in rural sociology in the Agricultural Experiment Station for this year.

Homer L. Hitt, graduate student in rural sociology at Louisiana State University for the past two years, will continue his study at Harvard this fall.

Midwestern Conference on Rural Population Research:—In April the department of rural sociology of the University of Missouri, co-operating with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, conducted a two-day conference on

rural population research. It was the purpose to review the various rural population research projects now in progress and to consider studies for the immediate future.

The topics of particular consideration were Population Composition, Rural Population Migration, and Regional Population Research.

The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life was represented by Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Dr. B. Youngblood, Dr. Conrad Tauber, and Dr. O. E. Baker. There was a total attendance of 50, representing the experiment stations of the mid-western states and certain others particularly interested in the subject.

A committee on research policy, with Dr. C. E. Lively of Ohio State University as chairman, presented a report as a basis for research in rural population.

Proceedings of the conference are being prepared for publication.

University of Oklahoma:—Dr. Theodore G. Standing, Ph.D. at the University of Iowa, 1932, and formerly assistant professor of sociology at Iowa, becomes associate professor of sociology and will begin his duties here on September 1. During the recent Summer Session he was a visiting instructor in sociology.

Mr. William H. Sewell, formerly instructor in sociology at the University of Minnesota, assumed his duties as assistant professor of rural sociology here on July 15. Mr. Sewell holds the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Michigan State College, and completed his residence requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Minnesota in June of this year.

Texas A. and M. College:—The North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station has just published Bulletin No. 309, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families," by C. Horace Hamilton, who is now with the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station. This Bulletin is based on studies of approximately 3,500 rural families in seven North Carolina counties. General subjects covered by the bulletin are changes in farm tenure status, the agricultural ladder, changes in crop acreages and incomes, population composition and characteristics, trends in marriages, births, and migration, and trends in educational status. The above subjects are analyzed in relation to farm tenure and color.

Copies of the bulletin may be obtained free of charge from the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, State College Station, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Books Received

- American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLII, No. 6, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. \$1.00.
- American Medicine—Expert Testimony Out of Court*. New York: The American Foundation, 565 Fifth Ave.
- The Irish Countryman*. By Conrad Arensberg. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937. \$3.00.
- Pioneering in Agriculture; One Hundred Years of American Farming and Farm Leadership*. By Thomas Clark Atkeson and Mary Meek Atkeson. New York: Orange Judd Publishing Co., Inc., 1937.
- The Folk High Schools of Denmark*. By Holger Begtrup, Hans Lund, and Peter Manniche. Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Ancient Indian Colony of Siam*. By Phanindra Nath Bose. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass. Pp. 170. Rs. 3/8/-.
- Manual for Southern Regions*. By Lee M. Brooks. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. \$1.00.
- The Population Problem in Egypt*. By Wendell Cleland. Lancaster, Pa.: Science Press, 1936.
- Recent Trends in Rural Planning*. By William E. Cole and Hugh Price Crowe. Prentice-Hall, Inc.: New York, 1937. Pp. 579, \$3.50.
- Studies in Group Behavior*. By G. L. Coyle. New York: Harper & Bros., 1937. \$2.75.
- Newcomers and Nomads in California*. By William T. Cross and Dorothy Embry. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937. \$1.50.
- Sugar; A Case Study of Government Control*. By John E. Dalton. New York: Macmillan Company, 1937.
- Die Veränderung der Bevölkerungsverteilung in Berlin-Brandenburg 1875-1925*. By Gerhard Deissmann. Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachf. 1936.
- Length of Life: A Study of Life Tables*. By L. I. Dublin and A. J. Lotka. New York: The Ronald Press, 1936. \$5.00.
- Four-H Club Work in the Life of Rural Youth*. By Mary Eva Duthie. A thesis submitted to the University of Wisconsin for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Chicago: National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work.
- New Mexico's Own Chronicle*. By Maurice Garland Fulton and Paul Horgan (Ed.). Dallas, Texas: Banks, Upshaw & Co., 1937. \$3.50.
- The Theory of the Land Question*. By George R. Geiger. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. \$2.00.
- Land System in South India*. By Dr. K. M. Gupta. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass. Rs. 10/-.
- Perilous Sanctuary*. By D. J. Hall. New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. \$2.50.

- Country Men.* By James Hearst. Muscatine, Iowa: The Prairie Press, 1936. \$2.00.
- Dynamic Causes of Juvenile Crime.* By N. D. A. Hirsch. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1937. \$3.25.
- Sod-House Days.* By Howard Ruede. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. \$2.75.
- Mabel Tarner: An American Primitive.* By Harry Kemp. New York: Lee Furman, Inc., 1936. \$2.50.
- Social Work As Cause and Function.* By Lee. New York: Columbia University Press.
- The Study of Man.* By Ralph Linton. New York: Century Publishing Co., 1936. \$3.00.
- Middletown in Transition.* By Robert S. Lynd and Hellen Merrell Lynd. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937. \$5.00.
- Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East.* By R. C. Majumdar. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass. Rs. 15/-.
- Coral Gardens and Their Magic.*—A study of the Methods of tilling the soil and of agricultural rites in the Trobriand Islands. Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: American Book Co., 1937. Two volumes. \$8.00.
- Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands.* By Allen H. Eaton. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937. \$3.00.
- Education in a Democracy.* By Alonzo F. Myers and Clarence O. Williams. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. \$3.00.
- Official County Publications.* By James G. Hodgson. Colorado: Fort Collins, 1937.
- Mortality Trends in the State of Minnesota.* By Calvin F. Schmid. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937. \$3.50.
- And So Goes Vermont.* By Vrest Orton (Ed.). Weston, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1937. \$2.50.
- A Puritan Outpost.* By Herbert C. Parsons. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937. \$5.00.
- Diminishing Returns and Planned Economy.* By George M. Peterson. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1937. \$3.00.
- Population Problems.* By E. B. Reuter. Chicago, Ill.: Lippincott Co., 1937.
- The Chisholm Trail.* By Sam P. Ridings. Guthrie, Okla.: Cooperative Publishing Co.
- Wild Tribes in Indian History.* By B. A. Saletore. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass. Rs. 5/-.
- Creative India.* By B. K. Sarkar. Lahore, India: Motilal Banarsi Dass. Rs. 15/-.
- Children of Strangers.* By Lyle Saxon. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937. \$2.50.
- Man and Society.* By Emerson P. Schmidt. (Ed.). New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937.
- Income Received in the Various States, 1929-1935.* By John A. Slaughter. New York: National Industrial Conference Board. \$3.50.

20,000 Homeless Men. By E. H. Sutherland and H. J. Locke. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1937. \$2.50.

Technology, Corporations, and the General Welfare. By Henry A. Wallace. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. \$1.00.

Economic Backgrounds of the Relief Problem. By J. P. Watson. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1937.

The Hindu Jajmani System. By W. H. Wiser.

Rural Sociology



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Sociology on the Spot

Carl C. Taylor

I

SOCIOLOGY is on the spot primarily because of three things.¹ The order in which I state these things is not necessarily the order of their importance or significance.

First, sociology or the sociologist is at this time as never before being given opportunities to offer counsel and to render service in great public, especially governmental, programs. These opportunities automatically place the sociologist and his science on the spot.

In the second place, the sociologist and his science are today being seriously criticized and even censured by other social scientists, especially the economists, because the sociologist refuses to answer dogmatically some of the specific inquiries put to him, and he fumbles considerably in his answers when he is willing to give them.

In the third place, the sociologist is finding it difficult to reduce his knowledge to sufficiently lucid terms to convey to administrators and officials, and he finds it even more difficult to apply his knowledge to the specific situations with which he is confronted.

I propose to discuss these three conditions both critically and sympathetically and to offer my own suggestions on how the sociologist can get off the spot or how he can stay on the spot and prove his worth.

The sociologist has for a number of decades been called upon to render practical service in fields of social maladjustment, especially in the fields of crime and poverty, and has for many years conducted researches and written books in the fields of normal social behavior and conditions, but by and large, it has been only during the last eight years, beginning with the Hoover Commissions, and greatly increasing during

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¹ This article is adapted from a paper read before the Washington Chapter of the American Sociological Society. Its orientation, therefore, is slightly different, and its topic different, than it would have been had the same been prepared as a scientific paper. The author offers it for publication only because a number of his sociological colleagues urged him to publish it.

the New Deal, that he has been called upon to render actual counsel and service in studying and guiding large public activity programs. The sociologist should be glad to be thus put on the spot because it is better to be called on than to be ignored or ridiculed, and because science develops not in a vacuum, but only by being useful. The sociologist therefore will probably deliver considerably more than he would if he were left to deal in what Veblen called his esoteric environment. Furthermore, I am bound to believe that he will make some contributions that no other scientist can to a number of issues and situations now confronting different segments of our society.

The sociologist is today not only asked to analyze and interpret social trends, study great public institutions and movements, and furnish social statistics in many fields, but he is being asked a large number of specific questions about normal and effective social organization and behavior. I can make my point here most emphatically by listing a few of the specific questions which I know sociologists here in Washington are being asked, and I want you to keep in mind that I said I was going to discuss these things both critically and sympathetically. I am in sympathy with the idea of having sociologists called on for such specific inquiries, even though when I list them I am sure that they will sound ludicrous. Here they are:

1. What is the normal and effective social organization for a county which is having added to its previously normal activities an ever-increasing gamut of new programs—A.A.A., S.C.S., Rural Rehabilitation, Farm Credit programs, relief and welfare programs, and social security programs?
2. What are the attitudes of farmers toward the various agricultural programs and the economic and social adjustments which these programs seek to effect?
3. How can public opinion be made to function and other democratic processes made to work in programs which are promoted, partially at least, and in some cases quite dominantly, from above?
4. At what point, or at least under what circumstances, do old leaders give way to new leaders in the process of social change?
5. What is happening to individual initiative and enterprise under promoted programs and under widespread relief?
6. How far and how fast can improvements be made in the material standard of living by artificial stimulation or imposed demonstrations?

7. What is happening to the old rural neighborhood and folk attitudes and habits under the impact of mechanization and commercialization?

8. How can the plantation civilization of the Mississippi Delta be changed to allow those who till the soil to participate more fully in the economic and social dividends which the rich soils of the Delta are capable of producing?

9. How can the piling up of population on poor lands be stopped?

10. Will persons not born and reared on the farm make successful settlers on rural resettlement projects?

These are not artificially concocted questions; they are propositions that have either been specifically put to sociologists within the last four years or which have arisen and been dealt with upon the assumption that specific answers could be given to them. I want to repeat that it is not exceptional for any science to be thus placed on the spot by laymen, and all persons not professionals in a given science are laymen in that field of science. Similar questions put to other scientists might be: To the chemist—what are the ingredients in this pill and why does it affect bodily functions the way it does? To the botanist—why does the lumber from this particular pine forest have more knots in it than that from the average pine forest? To the economist—how much money will I make on this field of tobacco next year?

Each of these other scientists, just like the sociologist, will tell you that he cannot answer your specific question specifically, but can tell you the general principles and laws at work, and that if you will listen to him long enough and will learn the principles and laws of his science, you may be able to approximate an answer to your own question, especially if you will add a lot of knowledge from your own experience and from other sciences. The sociologist many times will have to make this same type of answer. I suspect, in fact I know, that he will have to be more indirect than these other scientists in his answers because of the complexity of social phenomena. He should, however, be willing to stay on the spot and strive to deliver rather than offer alibis or abandon the field to others who are less capable of answering than he. The sociologist should be pleased with his predicament and not too reticent about assuming his just rôle as counselor to practical men.

II

Concerning the criticism and censure of sociology and the sociologist by other social scientists, there are probably two broad generali-

zations which will cover the situation. In the first place, sociology is always dealing with phenomena, which are also at least partially the phenomena of other social sciences, and sometimes with biological phenomena. The sociologist must therefore expect and should welcome the critical judgment on his work of these other scientists. In the second place, he will have to recognize that it is not uncommon, and is to be expected, that scientists dealing with more specialized phenomena are not aware of the complexity and subtleness of social phenomena.

As von Wiese says: "Behind the alleged obscurity of sociology there often lurks the mental obscurity of pseudo-sociological writers: they mouth the word without comprehending its actual meaning. In some cases, they derive their intellectual credentials from other sciences, but like to demonstrate their intellectual superiority by dabbling in sociology and then casting aspersions on it."

In other words, quite contrary to general opinion, the sociologist is less willing than most other scientists to give answers where answers cannot be sure. Contrasted with this, numerous other persons, some of them scientists in other fields and some of them the rankest of laymen in sociology, presume that they know sociological answers. With these attitudes of others dabbling in his field, the sociologist will simply have to be patient. With his own unwillingness to be placed on the spot by other scientists and by administrators, he should be continually impatient.

It would probably be well for him to follow the dictum of Herbert Spencer when he said concerning the scientist: "The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter, knowing that let what may come of it, he is thus playing his part in the world—knowing that if he can effect the change he is aiming at, well; if not, well also, though not so well."

Furthermore, rather than being too impatient with the insistence on the part of the economist, for example, who criticizes him for not giving answers or for being vague in the answers which he does give, he should be appreciative of the fact that the economist recognizes the necessity of answers to the sociological questions being given. In other words, the sociologist will become practical and therefore useful only to the extent that he is put on the spot by other scientists and the public.

III

It is to the third thing that places the sociologist on the spot that I want to give considerable time, namely, the difficulty which he has in reducing his knowledge to lucid terms and the greater difficulty in

applying his knowledge to specific situations. I am convinced that he will get over his inhibitions only if he follows the two principles laid down by Auguste Comte: (1) that "the practical application of sciences increases with their complexity," and (2) that "phenomena grow most susceptible to artificial modification with the increased complexity of the phenomena."

If Comte was right, then the complexity of his phenomena, rather than making his science impracticable, makes it the most practicable of all sciences. For as Ward says: "That sociology may become an applied science no one will dispute who believes that it is a science at all. And although its phenomena are the most complex and the most difficult to understand, when understood, if they ever are, the results their study promises in the direction of their modification in the interest of men are beyond calculation."

The important part of this quotation from Ward is that which has to do with the understanding of social phenomena, for it is just as much the task of the sociologist to convey this understanding to other scientists, to administrators, officials, and the public as it is for the sociologist himself to have an understanding of the phenomena. In other words, if the sociologist reduces his occupation to an indoor sport because he follows, and probably misinterprets such sociologists as Max Weber, he may be expected to be placed on the spot continuously and stay there only with a degree of dishonor to himself. Weber says: "If you approach science in the expectation of receiving solutions for your most urgent problems, if you imagine that science can guide you in life, you are mistaken and you will be grievously disappointed."

The reason I used the phrase "misinterpret Weber" is because Weber goes on to say, "Science can teach you the conditional form; if you wish to produce this particular effect, then you must use this particular means." That is, he does not say that the sociologist has no contribution to make to the solution of practical problems; he simply states that when the sociologist makes too specific a contribution, he has abandoned the field of science and entered the field of reform. Ward makes the same point when he argues that there must be a distinction between science and an art. Politics, social reform, and administration are arts, but they should be based upon the understanding of the phenomena with which pure and applied sciences deal. Both Weber and Ward, and I quote these two sociologists because they are so far apart in many of their theories, would argue that just as an engineer needs an under-

standing of physics, so the politician, the administrator, and the reformer need an understanding of sociology.

Having started out with a determination to be extremely simple in what I have to say, I hesitate to take this next step. I believe, however, that it is necessary to set forth briefly the difficulties which confront sociologists themselves in developing a science of sociology. No one, not even the laymen or social reformers, would argue that he wants conclusions from the sociologists based on anything less trustworthy than a body of scientific knowledge and principles. It is when a sociologist attempts to make a contribution, either theoretical or practical, that he finds himself in hot water because of the lack of agreement on what sociology is and what its tasks are. I am therefore going to attempt to set forth the history of the development of sociology in about three paragraphs and then state a few of its fundamental principles in an even shorter space. I do this not only because time will not permit a different type of presentation, but because I believe that a physicist, a biologist, or even an economist would be willing to subject himself to such an undertaking.

Auguste Comte, the so-called father of sociology, and his school of social philosophers in France, set out with the deliberate purpose of superseding legislative enactment and similar artificial formulae for social institutions by discovering the "laws of human behavior." They argued that sociology, following chronologically in the footsteps of mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and psychology, would and should attain the status of a positive philosophy or a natural science. Comte believed that government could be made a technical science and looked forward confidently to the day when legislation and administration would be based on the known "laws of human behavior."

Even before Comte, Montesquieu had said, "I have first of all considered mankind; and the result of my thoughts has been that amidst such an infinite diversity of laws and matters, they are not solely conducted by caprice and fancy." Herbert Spencer attempted to reduce caprice and fancy and even philosophy to system by a series of organic analogies. Giddings claimed to have discovered the common denominator in social behavior in "like stimulus to like response." The statistical or purely quantitative school today still follows pretty definitely in his footsteps. Emile Durkheim added a distinct step when he insisted that human groups were more than aggregates of individuals, that it was impossible to understand social groups by merely analyzing like

stimuli and like responses, and that social groups had real corporate existence, not because they were organisms and not because the individuals within them acted alike, not even because they had similar purposes, but because they have common and corporate and even interacting purposes.

I have run this brief gamut of the development of sociology in order to be prepared to say that in the fifty years from Comte to Durkheim, it appears to me that sociology passed from the stage of metaphysics to the stage of realism, and since that time has on the one hand been in an era of debate, and on the other hand been busy with the study of concrete phenomena, piling up myriads of data without, in many cases, being concerned with "prevision" which was the concern of the sociologists from Comte to Durkheim. Today sociology is on the spot because other scientists, administrators, and officials are calling on it to state "the laws of human behavior" and to rescue programs of action from the caprice and fancy which Montesquieu said was possible. In other words, I think sociologists can be indicted for quarreling over definitions, scope, and methods when, as a matter of fact, there is a large body of common ground upon which there is almost complete agreement among them.

I believe that there are only two broad approaches to sociology, and that social processes can be catalogued under two types. If this is even approximately correct, it should furnish a starting point for agreement and this agreement should furnish a starting point for the practical application of sociological knowledge.

The two broad approaches to sociology are: (1) to mark off special fields or types of phenomena which can be claimed as the special jurisdiction of sociology, and (2) to synthesize the knowledge of social sciences in an attempt to get a complete picture of social phenomena. I think it is unfortunate that there should be sharp and everlastingly prolonged argument between exponents of these two approaches, for their basic findings will probably be about the same whichever approach is used.

The two broad classes of social processes to which all will agree are: (1) folk-life processes, and (2) rationalized processes. If the sociologist could contribute an understanding of these two psycho-social processes to administrators of the great public and official programs now under way or being projected, his contribution would be immeasurable, for the greatest fallacy in much of our present giant planning is that

the plans are projected on the assumption that social processes are all rational and therefore rationalized plans, if correctly conceived, are sure to work.

Fortunately, the sociologist has more to offer if he can develop an understanding of what he knows in the minds of those dealing with activity programs. He knows, as Cooley says, that even "an institution is simply a definite and established phase of the public mind," or as Sumner and Keller say, it is "a framework of disciplinary habit," and according to Hertzler, comes into existence on the basis of the "need of insuring proper group functioning; of providing security of life, persons, and things; of establishing and protecting rights; and of regulating and standardizing the various relationships between individuals and groups within society in the interests of social order and well being." A knowledge of these facts contributes much to programs that seek to set up or change institutional life on any measurable scale.

The sociologist should contribute the knowledge that every social phenomenon has a multiple origin; that all parts of social life are not only interrelated but interwoven; that every social pattern tends to persist by means of crystallization or institutionalization; that social patterns are products of trial, error, and success in the attempts of generations of people to make adjustments to and utilizations of their environment, and are therefore vital and real to those who either consciously or unconsciously live by them; that mores still constitute the sanctions and taboos by which systems or programs of action are promoted or thwarted, and that the cultural or psychological process of converting folkways into mores must be allowed to work even when the folkways have their origin in science; that *vox populi*—the voice of the people—must ultimately be listened to, either through forms of democracy or revolution, and that even the Supreme Court can't forever claim exemption from the impact of public opinion.

IV

I want to offer my suggestions on what sociologists, as living men, can and should do to become practical and useful helpers in the drama of everyday life. I have three such suggestions to make.

First, I think the sociologist must become convinced that science, as a set of mores, always has moved and always will move forward on a pragmatic and practical basis, and that sociology and sociologists must reconcile themselves to this fact; that there is, as Znaniecki says, "a ceaseless pulsation from concrete reality to abstract concepts and from

abstract concepts back to concrete reality." The real sociologist must, therefore, for the sake of his science, if nothing else, be willing to deal with "concrete reality."

Second, the sociologist should welcome, and in fact insist on, being consulted by practical administrators; he should be a counsel, operating in an even higher capacity than legal counsel, on every one of the 10 issues or questions stated early in this paper and many others. But he won't even be consulted unless he is willing to share the field with other social scientists and if he has the idea that most experienced laymen and all politicians and public officials are ignoramuses and knaves.

Third, he should be willing, if his temperament and personality permit, to assume the rôle of artist, administrator, reformer, and even politician and use his superior knowledge of human relations to guide human affairs toward ends in which he as a citizen believes, and by the use of means and methods which he as a social scientist knows, will work toward those ends.

The Disadvantaged Farm Family in Alabama

Harold Hoffsommer

MUCH EFFORT has been wasted in the past by attempting to solve complex social problems by the so-called "unilateral" approach.¹ It is now generally recognized that no single factor can be made entirely responsible for a given social situation and by the same token that no single solution may be offered as its corrective. Despite the widespread acceptance of these fundamentals, it now appears that under pressure of social planning, social scientists are tending toward a regression to the unilateral method of offering single correctives for the solution of complex social situations.

The much discussed problem of farm tenancy exemplifies this tendency. Not a few students of rural life are coming to regard farm tenancy as the source of all farm deficiencies and its solution as offering the open sesame to the solution of all farm problems both economic and social. Although tenancy is possibly the most important single farm problem of the present time, a great danger lies in centering attention on it to the exclusion of other important factors. It is with this general thought in mind that the subject of the disadvantaged farm family is approached.

What are the characteristics of the disadvantaged farm family? Certainly these characteristics cannot be encompassed by any single item, such as tenure status, race, age, type of soil upon which these families live, or any other single attribute. But a careful examination of its various characteristics ought to give some clues as to the best points of attack in alleviating its deficiencies. The following discussion makes no attempt to completeness, but is intended to be suggestive in giving a proper perspective in dealing with the problems of these families.

So far as the writer knows, no one has ever carefully defined what is

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meant by a "disadvantaged" farm family. For purposes of this presentation all those farm families are included who were in need of relief as judged by the Alabama Relief Administration in September of 1934. The following discussion is based on a study of the total number of these families. It would seem that there could be no reasonable question that this group comprises what in the minds of most people constitutes the bulk of the disadvantaged or problem families of the state.²

NUMBER AND RESIDENCE

In the first place, what is the number of these families and where do they live? Of the 273,773 rural farm families in the state (1930), 30,028, or 11 per cent, fall into this disadvantaged group. Approximately 85 per cent of these resided in the open country, 11 per cent in the villages, and 4 per cent in towns and cities.³ The greater part of those living in villages and towns and cities were presumably displaced from their farm residences by the depression and although they were not living on the farm at the time of the study, their background and experience were that of the farm; hence, they are as truly farm people as those who remained in the country. They should therefore not be forgotten in plans for rehabilitating farmers, though at present they have no tenure status or in fact even the status of regular farm laborers. In general they are newcomers to the villages and cities. Although those living in the open country had lived there on an average of 38 years, those residing in villages had lived there but an average of three years, and those in towns and cities but one year. In this same connection it may be noted that the residents of the open country show a considerably longer continuous residence in the county than those in the villages and cities.

² In October of 1934 the Alabama Relief Administration adopted a policy of withholding all relief to farm families excepting through rural rehabilitation. In order to determine the placement of these families in the new program, the writer, as State Supervisor of Rural Research, Works Progress Administration, was asked to draw up a schedule, a copy of which was filled out for each farm family in the state securing relief during September, 1934. The information on these schedules furnished the basis for the classification or rejection of the individual families for the rehabilitation program as well as the basis for the present study. The schedules were filled by the various county case workers and were edited and tabulated under the general supervision of the writer with Mr. John H. McClure, Temporary State Supervisor of Rural Research, Works Progress Administration, in immediate direction of the work. The case load for the state for September, 1934, represents the peak load for the year, comprising a total of 113,959 households. August and April follow next in order. December shows the smallest load for the year with a total of 60,609 households.

³ The following population classification was used: open country, 0-99; village, 100-2,499; town, 2,500-4,999; city, 5,000 and over.

With an average of 28 years for the whole group, these living in the open country show a continuous residence in the county of 29 years, those in the village of 28 years, and those in the towns and cities of but 20 years. It appears that these displaced farmers have first moved to the villages fairly close at hand and from there a number have found their way to the towns and cities, using the village as a kind of stepping stone. Naturally the moves from village to city often cross county lines, hence the shorter length of continuous residence in the county for city residents as well as the definitely short term of residence in the city itself.

The Negro households show no appreciable variation from the white in length of time lived in open country, village, and city, although it appears that the displaced whites moved to the villages and cities slightly earlier than the Negroes. The Negroes, however, show a considerably longer continuous residence in the county than the whites. Whereas the average continuous residence for the whites is 25 years, that for the Negroes is 36 years. This same relative situation holds for open country, village, and town and city alike, showing in general a somewhat higher mobility for the whites than for the Negroes.

The proportion of disadvantaged families among the whites is slightly but not significantly greater than among the colored, 67 per cent being white and 33 per cent colored. Of the total families of the state, 62 per cent are white and 38 per cent colored. It appears, however, that although the displaced white families from the open country preceded the Negro households to the villages and cities, the Negroes were there in proportionately greater numbers at the time of study than the whites. Although less than 33 per cent of the total disadvantaged families were colored, 35 per cent of the total of these families living in villages and more than 37 per cent of the total of those living in towns and cities were colored. It is possible that this may be partially accounted for by the greater eligibility of the whites for jobs in the villages and cities, thus releasing them from the relief rolls.

SEX OF HEAD

Approximately nine out of every 10 of the disadvantaged households have male heads, but the whites show a higher proportion than the Negroes. Whereas 92 per cent of the white households have male heads, the comparable figure for the Negro households is but 83. The explanation of this probably lies largely in the relatively loose organization of the Negro household which gives rise to a number of broken families.

Female heads among the Negroes are approximately as numerous in the town and city households as in the open country, but among the whites female heads in the town and city are rare, comprising less than four per cent of the total white households. This means that, particularly among the whites, the broken families after losing their means of subsistence on the farm have remained in the country rather than going to the city. It is obvious that a large per cent of these female-headed households are disadvantaged because of this particular factor and have need of different adjustments than the normally constituted family. That this constitutes an already recognized problem is shown by the fact that, of the total of 30,028 farm households considered for rehabilitation by the Alabama Relief Administration, roughly 10 per cent were immediately rejected by the county committees, and nearly 20 per cent of those rejected were lacking a male head. Among the Negro households rejected 32 per cent were lacking a male head. Data are not available showing the age of the female heads in these rejected cases, but it is quite certain that the average age is considerably above normal. Many of these households are likely to constitute a direct relief problem for some time to come.

REASONS FOR NEEDING RELIEF

As a subjective method for determining the immediate reasons for relief, case workers throughout the state were asked to list for each of their clients the chief cause which in their estimation was responsible. It should be kept in mind that these are the practical reasons given by those who were dealing with the families in their time of need and that the reasons given are immediate and make no attempt to interpret the long range aspects of the relief problem. The following reasons as given by the case workers, based on an observation of 27,737 cases, are listed in order of their percentage frequency:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
(1) Head unable to find work	29	32	23
(2) Unusual expense or loss of property	20	18	23
(3) Head physically unable to work	11	11	12
(4) Farming on poor land	8	8	8
(5) Farm too small	7	6	8
(6) Poor management	5	3	8
(7) Widow with dependents	4	4	5
(8) Displaced by government program	4	5	3

No considerable differences are noted between the whites and Negroes excepting that inability of head to find work seems less important

among the Negroes, and unusual expense or loss of property and poor management slightly more important.

Further classification of the relief clients shows some differences in reasons for relief on the basis of residence. Whereas only 26 per cent of those in the open country were presumed to be on relief because of inability to find work, 57 per cent of those in towns and cities were so classed, and whereas 11 per cent of the open country cases are attributed to physical inability, only 8 per cent of the town and city cases were so classed. This would seem to constitute evidence that the migration to the city was selective, in that proportionately more of the physically disabled were left on the farm. It is possible, however, that some of this apparent selectivity may be explained by the fact that the measure of what constitutes physical inability is somewhat more stringent in the city than in the country. Selectivity favorable to the city has already been pointed out with respect to those displaced households with female heads who have gone to the city in proportionately fewer numbers than those with male heads.

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

Contrary to a somewhat popular belief, the white families of the state average larger in size than the colored. The whites have 62 per cent of the total families and 64 per cent of the population, whereas the Negroes have 38 per cent of the families and but 36 per cent of the total population. A similar relationship holds for the disadvantaged farm households. The average size of the Negro household is 5.0 and that for the whites, 5.1. But the Negro household runs to extremes in sizes. It predominates in the extremely small and the extremely large households. Four and three-tenths per cent of the Negro households have only one person as compared with 1.1 of the white households; 15.2 per cent of the Negro households have two persons as compared with 11.2 for the white; and 16.0 per cent of the Negro households have three persons as compared with 15.2 for the whites. But from this point up to families of nine persons, the white households predominate. For example, 4.4 per cent of the white households have nine members as compared with 5.6 of the Negro households. A similar relationship between the races holds up to the extremely large families of 15 members or over which comprise 0.2 per cent of the Negro families but are not represented at all among the whites. Broadly speaking the size distribution of the white family is more normal than that of the Negro

family. It is obvious that either the abnormally small or abnormally large family constitutes a distinct type of problem for social adjustment.

AGE

The ages of the heads of the disadvantaged farm families differ somewhat from that of the Alabama population as a whole in that significantly greater numbers of the disadvantaged group fall under the age of 35 and over the age of 64.

The following table shows the comparison:⁴

<i>Age Grouping</i>	<i>Alabama</i>	<i>Disadvantaged Farm Families</i>
Under 25 years.....	9.3	10.2
25-34.....	24.7	26.2
35-44.....	23.3	21.2
45-54.....	23.2	20.6
55-64.....	12.2	12.7
65-74.....	5.6	6.4
75 and over.....	1.8	2.7

The greatest numbers of heads of households are of the ages from 35-44, although the proportion in this group is less than that for the state as a whole. Slightly over one-half of the total are under 44 years of age. Three per cent are 75 or over, with the colored predominating. Approximately 10 per cent are under 25.

Negroes average older than whites. The average age for all heads is 43 years with 41 years for the white and 47 for the Negro.

The age distribution between open country, village, and city seems to be slightly favorable to the open country, that is, the open country has a preponderant number of those in the productive age groups. This of course might be expected since those moving to the city are selected from those who are entirely displaced in the country, and those most likely to fall into this situation are those of the less efficient ages. The city in the past has usually drawn the most efficient ages from the country, but in this case the reverse appears to be true. For example, more than nine per cent of the open country heads were 65 or over as compared with only five per cent for the town and city. The town and city group likewise has an advantage of two per cent in the 25- to 44-year age range. Although this advantage is small, it shows a reversal of the situation obtaining for the state as a whole in which 55 per cent

⁴ Both male and female are included in the disadvantaged family data, whereas only males are included in the state data.

of the total urban heads fall into this age group and only 41 per cent of the rural-farm heads.⁵

TENURE STATUS

It was stated at the outset that the problem of the disadvantaged farm family is much broader than that of tenancy. In the first place it is significant that of the 30,028 disadvantaged farm families in the state, 4,596, or 15 per cent, were owners at the time of the study. Obviously ownership in and of itself does not assure agricultural success. The bulk of the occupations of the remainder in the order of their importance is as follows:

(1) Laborer	8,127—27 per cent
(2) Renter	8,120—27 per cent
(3) Cropper	2,198— 7 per cent
(4) Squatter	1,439— 5 per cent

In addition to these, more than 4,000 reported as their occupation, relief or rehabilitation work. Most of these of course belonged to one or the other of the agricultural classes listed until pushed out by the depression.

Comparison of white and colored tenure status in the disadvantaged group shows the following: (*a*) a slightly greater proportion of colored than white owners; (*b*) a substantially greater proportion of colored renters than white renters; (*c*) relatively fewer colored than white croppers; (*d*) relatively fewer colored than white laborers. The generally greater preference by planters for colored croppers and farm laborers somewhat explains the latter two items, but the explanation of the greater proportion of colored owners and renters in the disadvantaged group is not clear.

As to the residence by tenure status, it is interesting to note that although the owners, as would be expected, stayed by their land in the open country, the laborers particularly went to the villages and cities in considerable numbers upon being displaced from their usual work in the open country. Less than one per cent of the owners resided in cities as compared with five per cent of the laborers. For the Negro laborers this figure reaches more than 6 per cent residing in the cities and more than 18 per cent living in the villages. It is to be expected of course that some of the laborers have always lived in the villages, but evidence presented elsewhere on length of residence indicates rather conclusively

⁵ State figures for male heads only, whereas disadvantaged family heads include both male and female.

a movement of these people toward the villages and cities subsequent to their displacement on the farms.

CHANGE IN TENURE STATUS

Enough evidence has probably already been presented by social scientists to demonstrate beyond doubt that the rise in tenure status from the lower to the higher forms, popularly referred to as "climbing the agricultural ladder," is largely a fiction in the South. Few laborers and croppers ascend the agricultural scale. Most of them remain on the same plane or sink lower. Since 15 per cent of the disadvantaged households are owners, it should also be plain that many owners are now about to lose that status rather than become more secure in it.

The present study indicates some rather striking tenure shifts in the past 15 years. Using 1921 as the base year, the data show that of 3,283 households who were owners at that time, only 64 per cent remained so in 1934, 11 per cent had become renters, 5 per cent croppers, and 15 per cent laborers. Of the 5,710 who were renters at that time, 56 per cent remained renters in 1934, but 11 per cent had dropped to the cropper class, 22 per cent to the laborer class, and only 6 per cent had arisen to ownership. Of the 5,302 who were croppers in 1921, 32 per cent retained that status in 1934, 46 per cent had become laborers, 14 per cent had become renters, but only 4 per cent had become owners. Of the 4,397 laborers in 1921, 59 per cent retained that status in 1934, 13 per cent had become croppers, 16 per cent renters, and 6 per cent had become owners. It is thus evident that the vast majority of those in the lower status groups are not only failing to advance, but that in the main their status is becoming even less desirable.

The calculation given in the preceding paragraph includes only those who were already farming before 1921. The following data on 3,978 households include those who started farming between 1921 and 1934. In other words, these data should give some answer to the question, What has happened to those younger folks who have started farming since 1921?

In the first place, fewer have had the privilege of starting out as owners in the past 15 years than formerly. Whereas 13 per cent started out as owners in the period before 1921, less than 2 per cent have so started since that time. On the other hand, whereas 17 and 22 per cent started out as laborers and croppers, respectively, during the earlier period, 30 and 32 per cent started out as laborers and croppers, respec-

tively, during the latter period. It thus appears that the road to ownership—judged by the distance from which these households approach it—is getting longer. On the other hand, ownership is becoming somewhat better retained. Of 65 who started out as owners since 1921, 86 per cent still retained that status in 1934. Of 858 who started out as renters, 61 per cent still retained that status in 1934, 11 per cent had become croppers, and 22 per cent had become laborers. Only three per cent became owners. Of 1,257 who started out as croppers, only one per cent became owners, whereas of the laborers two per cent became owners, but 71 per cent remained as laborers.

EDUCATION

Within the compass of this brief presentation it is impossible to go into detail concerning the educational qualifications of these households. Several points, however, are outstanding. (1) The children in these families are deficient in their attendance at school. In Alabama as a whole more than 66 per cent of the children between the ages of 6 and 20 were in school (1930) compared with 58 per cent for the disadvantaged farm families and 74 per cent for the United States (1930). (2) Children of the disadvantaged households are retarded in their school work. More than one-half of those in school at the time of the study and more than two-thirds of those not in school were below normal in their grade achievement. Colored children showed considerably greater retardation than white. (3) In general, the fewer the grades completed by the head of the household, the greater the educational retardation of the children; for example, of the children in school, 61 per cent of those whose fathers^o had not completed the first grade were below normal in their educational achievement, as compared with 32 per cent for those children whose fathers had completed the eighth grade, 24 per cent for those whose fathers had completed high school, and 15 per cent for those whose fathers had completed college. For those children not in school at the time of the study, the figures are even more striking. More than 75 per cent of the children whose fathers had not completed the first grade were below normal in their achievement as compared with 60 per cent for those children whose fathers had completed the eighth grade and 17 per cent of those whose fathers had completed college. In each of the above classifications the colored show a lower achievement than the whites.

^o Includes both male and female heads.

The writer is not in sympathy with the view which regards education desirable simply as a means for expanding the earning power of the individual. Its desirability, particularly for the disadvantaged families under consideration, is much more fundamental. Enlightenment may be the only sure road to self-support, but it is likewise the only sure road to self-respect and freedom. Moreover, the complications of the present-day culture demand that those who live in it must keep abreast of it, not only that they may individually survive but that they may not retard the advancement of the group through their inability to co-operate. Hence an adequate education is not only an individual necessity but a social necessity as well.

It is not clear at this time just how the disadvantaged are to be got into the advantaged group. But one item is fundamental, and that is that it must be done through the action and initiative of the families concerned. In the final analysis the only part that society can play in aiding them is in making it possible for them to help themselves. It is inconceivable that this can be accomplished so long as they remain in relative ignorance. There are of course many angles to education and to what may be taught. But the common school, imperfect as its present curriculum may be, furnishes the broadest and most inclusive foundation of information leading to the adjustment of individuals in their society. Before further sums are spent on the various other angles for the alleviation of the difficulties of these households, it would seem highly desirable that these children be given a chance, when equipped with equal educational background, to work out their own problems. It is unreasonable to expect that they can do so successfully without this *sine qua non* of social adjustment in a democracy, equal educational opportunity.

The above data show that the matter of education is cumulative. Unfortunately the cumulation works negatively as well as positively. The educated father gives his child a better educational chance than the uneducated one. The matter either becomes progressively better or progressively worse. It would be interesting indeed to see the effects of even a single generation of equal educational opportunity for these disadvantaged households.

CONCLUSION

At the outset it was stated that no one solution can be effectively offered as the corrective for the deficiencies of the disadvantaged farm family. Penetration of the problem makes this increasingly evident. All

of the items discussed, and others in addition, need to be included in any program looking toward the alleviation of these deficiencies. No one of these phases covers the problem but all should contribute to its solution.

Without attempting to recapitulate, several broad conclusions seem justified. In the first place, the characteristics of the disadvantaged farm family are such that it will need a period of years for adequate adjustment. Since the general approach to the problem must be educational, it appears that additional stress should be placed upon strengthening the existing educational agencies, particularly as they affect the households in question. The general objective of this education should be broad. It should not be limited to training for home ownership or for any other particular tenure status, since the data show these families may be disadvantaged as owners or as tenants or laborers as well. But the education should be directed at the enrichment of life in all its phases and under all its circumstances. It should aim at providing the individual with information as to opportunities and how to attain them but depend on him to make the selection of those best fitted to his particular needs. Finally, it cannot be stressed too strongly that the only effective adjustment of the disadvantaged family must come through the accomplishments of the family itself. But society must remove the obstructions. It is to be hoped that the problem can be sufficiently well analyzed and understood so that time and useless effort will not be expended on attempted solutions which are not fundamental.

Interfarm Mobility in New York State

W. A. Anderson

THIS is an analysis of the shifting of farm operators from farm to farm and the relationship of several factors to the changes. The purpose is to show how much movement takes place between farms in New York State, to picture these changes during the total careers of the operators studied, during the depression decade 1925-34 inclusive, and the five-year period 1930-34, and relate them to various factors that seem to be associated with the changes. The study does not analyze the movement to and from farming and other occupations, but confines itself to this interfarm shifting of operators who were farming in the summer of 1935.

The data were gathered in four counties representing dairying, fruit, and diversified types of agriculture.¹ Slightly more than 2,900 farm operators were interviewed. They had farmed, on the average, nearly 14 years. Of the 2,900, 45 per cent had farmed 1 to 9 years, 26 per cent 10 to 19 years, 28 per cent 20 years or more. Thus nearly one-half of them had been farmers less than 10 years and so became operators in the decade when depression conditions were setting in or actually operative. Over one-half of the operators had been in farming previous to 1925 and were familiar with conditions prior to the depression. Analysis of the data on the county basis indicates practically no variations between the counties, so the data are presented as a unit.

During the five-year period 1930-34, there was an 18 per cent mobility of the farmers, for that proportion operated two or more farms, while during the 1925-34 period, there was a 31 per cent mobility. There was less mobility in the five-year period 1925-29, 13 per cent, than in the period 1930-34 (Table I).

The farm depression had not made itself felt so completely in New York State by 1929 as later. Its effect upon interfarm shifting was therefore greater during the later period.

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¹ The counties were Allegany, Livingston, Otsego, and Wayne.

TABLE I

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 2,900 FARMERS OPERATING VARYING NUMBERS OF FARMS FOR GIVEN PERIODS IN FOUR NEW YORK COUNTIES AND THE PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN THE PERIODS

<i>Number of Farms Operated</i>	<i>For 1930-34</i>	<i>For 1925-34</i>	<i>For Total Farm Experience</i>	<i>Percentage Change Between</i>	
				<i>1925-34 and 1930-34</i>	<i>Total Farm Experience and 1930-34</i>
1.....	82	69	20	-13	-62
2.....	14	19	25	+ 5	+11
3.....	3	6	18	+ 3	+15
4.....	1	4	10	+ 3	+ 9
5.....	..	1	9	+ 1	+ 9
6.....	..	1	6	+ 1	+ 6
7.....	..	..	3	....	+ 3
8.....	..	..	6	....	+ 6
9 or more.....	..	..	3	....	+ 3
Total.....	100	100	100		

Farmers who continuously operated throughout the decade 1925-34 were fairly stable, for 69 per cent of them remained on the same farm, while 19 per cent more moved but once. Only 12 per cent made two or more moves (Table I). Farmers who were unable to operate throughout the period were eliminated and entered other activities.

Throughout their total farming experience, 20 per cent of the operators remained on the same farm, 25 per cent moved but once, while 18 per cent moved twice. With more than six out of 10 of the operators shifting less than three times in their total experience, a fair degree of stability is indicated.

YEARS FARMED AND THE MOVEMENTS

The number of farms operated over a period of time by farmers is of course related to the length of farming experience. The longer the experience the greater is the opportunity for change. But New York farmers do not increase their mobility with an increasing experience. As experience increases, stability increases. Thus of the farmers who had operated from 1 to 4 years, 15 per cent had remained on the same farm, while of those who operated 25 or more years, 28 per cent had remained on the same farm. Likewise 50 per cent of the farmers operating 25 or more years made but one or two moves as contrasted with 40 per cent of the farmers operating from 1 to 4 years. Forty-five per cent of the farmers operating from 1 to 4 years made three or more moves, while only 22 per cent of the farmers with 25 or more years' experience had

moved three or more times. The proportion who remained on the same farm or moved but once or twice increases steadily between the first years of experience and the later, while the proportion of those who move three or more times decreases steadily with the lapse of time (Table II).

TABLE II

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FARMERS WHO OPERATED VARYING NUMBER OF FARMS DURING THEIR TOTAL FARMING EXPERIENCE

Number of Farms Operated	Years of Farm Experience						Total
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25 or More	
1.....	15	17	19	22	24	28	20
2.....	23	26	26	26	33	30	25
3.....	17	15	21	20	14	20	18
4 or more.....	45	42	34	32	29	22	37
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

This tendency to remain fixed as experience increases is further emphasized when the changes made during the periods 1930-34 and 1925-34 are analyzed. During the five-year period 1930 to 1934, 99 per cent of the operators who had been farming five years or more made no changes.

TABLE III

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FARMERS WHO OPERATED VARYING NUMBER OF FARMS DURING THE YEARS 1930 TO 1934 AND 1925 TO 1934

Number of Farms Operated	Years of Farm Experience						
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25 or More	Total
1930-1934							
1.....	43	98	99	99	97	99	82
2.....	46	2	1	1	1	1	14
3.....	8	0	0	0	1	0	3
4 or more.....	3	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1925-1934							
1.....	34	42	98	100	100	96	69
2.....	36	50	2	0	0	3	19
3.....	15	7	0	0	0	1	6
4.....	8	1	0	0	0	0	4
5 or more.....	7	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

One per cent moved, but only a few of these made more than one move. It was the farmers who had but one to four years' experience who did the moving, for 57 per cent made one or more changes (Table III).

During the 10-year period 1925 to 1934, 99 per cent of the operators who had been farming 10 or more years made no changes. The farmers with less than 10 years' experience, however, moved much more frequently. One-half of those with five to nine years' experience moved once, while seven per cent of them moved twice. Of those with one to four years' experience, 36 per cent moved once, 15 per cent twice, while 15 per cent moved three or more times during the decade. The farmers with least experience were in and out of farming frequently during the decade and shifted from farm to farm more frequently than those with more years of experience. The early years are the shifting years for the farm operator.

The size of the farm business or the type of farming engaged in at the time of interview showed no relationship to the mobility of the farmers.

OWNERSHIP AND MOBILITY

The renters moved more frequently during their total farm experience than did the farm owners. The difference between the proportion of owners and renters who remained on the same farm is not so great (four per cent in favor of the owners), but the frequency of moves was considerably more for renters than owners, for 47 per cent of the owners moved only once or twice during their total careers as compared with 32 per cent of the renters, while only 32 per cent of the owners moved three or more times as compared with 53 per cent of the renters (Table IV).

During the depression decade 1925 to 1934, the owners were much more stable than renters, eight out of each 10 owners as compared with four out of each 10 renters remaining on the same farm. The proportion of renters who moved one or more times during the period was three times that of owners. Owners limited their changes to one or two shifts, but renters moved three or more times in 18 per cent of the instances and twice in 13 per cent (Table IV).

In the period 1930-34, 91 per cent of the owners remained on the same farm while eight per cent shifted once and one per cent twice. The renters on the other hand, remained on the same farm in 57 per cent of the cases, while 32 per cent changed farms once, and 11 per cent moved two or more times (Table IV).

TABLE IV

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OWNERS AND RENTERS WHO OPERATED
VARYING NUMBERS OF FARMS DURING THEIR TOTAL FARMING
EXPERIENCE, DURING 1925-34 AND DURING 1930-34

<i>Number of Farms Operated</i>	<i>For Total Farm Experience</i>		<i>For 1925-34</i>		<i>For 1930-34</i>	
	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Renters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Renters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Renters</i>
1.....	21	17	79	40	91	57
2.....	28	17	16	31	8	32
3.....	19	15	4	13	1	7
4.....	10	11	1	8	0	4
5.....	8	11	0	3	0	0
6.....	5	9	0	3	0	0
7.....	2	4	0	1	0	0
8.....	5	10	0	1	0	0
9 or more.....	2	6	0	0	0	0
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100

Renter mobility, both during their total careers and the depression decade, was greater than owner mobility. However, since renters make up a considerably smaller proportion of the farm operators in New York State than do the owners, the shifting is not so noticeable as in states where the reverse is true.

SCHOOLING AND MOBILITY

Farm operators with the most schooling made the fewest changes in the number of farms operated during their farm experience. College trained farmers had operated but one farm in 36 per cent of the cases and had made but one change in 30 per cent of the cases. High school trained operators had remained stationary in 21 per cent of the cases and made but one change in 28 per cent of the cases. The operators with grade school training had remained on the same farm in only 12 per cent of the instances and made one change in 21 per cent of the instances (Table V). Twenty per cent of the college trained farmers, 33 per cent of the high school trained, and 49 per cent with grade school training had moved three or more times during their farm careers.

These differences do not appear so striking when the changes made in the decade 1925-34 and the five-year period 1930-34 are analyzed by school training groupings. However, they are present. In both of these periods a larger proportion of the college than of the high school or grade school men remained on the same farm throughout the period, while a smaller proportion of the college men than of the others moved

and dirt roads. Roads are laid out to serve travel, irrespective of the types of land through which they pass, and therefore hard-surfaced and graveled roads are as likely to border poor farms as good. The selective process goes on but in the readjustment the moving farmer may be as apt to relocate adjacent to an improved road as to one that is unimproved.

THE PLACE THE FARMERS WERE REARED, AND MOBILITY

Of the 2,900 operators, 84 per cent were reared on farms, 11 per cent in a village, and five per cent in the city. At first thought, one would feel that those operators reared in a village or city would be the most mobile group if they remained in farming, especially during times of economic stress. However, this does not seem to be true. The small number of city- and village-reared operators in the total sample, 144 and 304 respectively, may make the conclusions subject to doubt, but they indicate that during their total farm experience it was the city-reared operators who were the most stable, the village-reared operators next, while those reared in the open country moved most frequently (Table VII).

TABLE VII

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 2,900 FARMERS BY THE PLACE REARED AND BY NUMBER OF FARMS OPERATED DURING THEIR TOTAL FARM EXPERIENCE, DURING 1925-34 AND DURING 1930-34

Number of Farms Operated	For Total Farm Experience			For 1925-34			For 1930-34		
	Open Country	Village	City	Open Country	Village	City	Open Country	Village	City
1.....	18	26	36	70	66	69	82	82	83
2.....	27	26	27	19	22	20	14	15	13
3.....	18	17	10	6	7	6	3	2	3
4.....	10	8	9	3	2	3	1	1	1
5 or more.....	27	23	18	2	3	2	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

During the depression decade 1925 to 1934 and the five-year period 1930-34, there were no differences in the amount of mobility evident among these three groupings. Apparently early background or place reared did not enter as a factor effecting changes from farm to farm, even under trying circumstances (Table VII).

PLACE OF BIRTH AND MOBILITY

The same conclusions with regard to farm shifts must be made when the operators are classified by place of birth. It appears that during

their total careers those born on farms (83 per cent of all) moved slightly more often than those not born on farms (17 per cent of all), while during the decade 1925-34, and during 1930-34, movement was about equal for both groups (Table VIII). This is further evidence that the early background of the operators did not effect changes in the number of farms operated.

TABLE VIII

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF 2,900 FARM OPERATORS BY NUMBER OF FARMS OPERATED FOR THEIR TOTAL FARM EXPERIENCE AND FOR 1925-34 AND 1930-34, BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Number of Farms Operated	For Total Farm Experience		For 1925-34		For 1930-34	
	Not Farm Born	Farm Born	Not Farm Born	Farm Born	Not Farm Born	Farm Born
1.....	27	18	67	70	81	83
2.....	24	27	22	19	16	13
3.....	16	18	6	6	2	3
4.....	8	10	2	3	1	1
5 or more.....	25	27	3	2	0	0
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND MOBILITY

Is organizational membership, which may perhaps be used as an indication of participation in social and economic activities, related to inter-farm mobility? Do the farmers who belong to fewest organizations move more frequently than those who belong to many? That this is so is shown by Table IX. The farmers who belonged to no organizations operated the same farm during their whole career in 16 per cent of the cases, while they moved three or more times in 40 per cent of the cases. As the number of organizations to which the farmer belongs increases from one to six or more, the proportion of the operators residing on the same farm during their whole career increases from 18 to 29 per cent, while the proportion who moved three or more times decreased from 41 per cent for those who belonged to one, to 26 per cent for those who belonged to six or more organizations.

During the decade 1925-34, the proportion of the operators who remained on the same farm increased from 53 per cent for those who belonged to no organizations to 88 per cent for those who belonged to six or more organizations. The number making three or more changes during the decade decreased from eight per cent for those who were

members of no organization to one per cent for those who belonged to six or more. The same trends are shown for the changes made during the five-year period, 1930 to 1934. Organizational membership, therefore, seems to be a good indicator of farmer stability.

TABLE IX

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM OPERATORS BY THEIR NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS OF WHICH THEY ARE MEMBERS, BY THE NUMBER OF FARMS OPERATED DURING THEIR TOTAL CAREERS, AND DURING 1925-34 AND 1930-34

<i>Number of Farms Operated</i>	<i>Number of Organizations a Member</i>						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or More
<i>During Total Farm Experience</i>							
1.....	16	18	18	20	19	24	29
2.....	26	24	24	28	29	25	28
3.....	18	17	20	15	19	16	17
4.....	10	12	9	10	9	10	7
5 or more.....	30	29	29	27	24	25	19
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>During the Decade 1925-34</i>							
1.....	53	60	67	74	79	87	88
2.....	26	25	21	16	16	7	8
3.....	11	8	6	5	5	4	3
4.....	5	4	3	3	3	1	1
5 or more.....	3	3	3	2	2	1	0
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>During 1930-34</i>							
1.....	70	76	80	85	90	91	95
2.....	21	19	16	12	8	6	4
3.....	6	3	3	2	1	2	1
4 or more.....	3	2	1	1	1	1	0
Total.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Rural-Urban Origins of Leaders in Education

Wilson Gee

THERE IS much literature on the rural-urban origins of distinguished persons, and a few excellent summaries¹ of such work. The result has been to shatter, in considerable measure, the tradition that the great are largely products of the rural environment. Some of these studies² show that educators in larger proportions than almost any other occupational group derive from the country, and Holmes states in this connection: "Possibly the most significant fact indicated . . . is that, the small agriculture group excepted, the cities have contributed more than their proportionate share to every occupational group. The urban excess is least in the case of education; but even here 24.41 per cent were urban born, while as late as 1880, but 22.57 per cent of the population were in the cities." The same authority in explanation of this fact says that "lacking the numerous suggestions of the city born, the country boy has at least the teacher, the minister, and the local politician to turn to as models. Then, too, distinguished careers in the fields represented by these men may have, and quite frequently do have, most modest beginnings. The farm boy of good capacity and strong ambition, although lacking money and influence, may gradually make his way to success in one of these familiar fields."

In view of this bias toward the country born's achieving success in education, it was considered valuable to make a study of a purely educational directory. The appearance in 1932 of J. McKeen Cattell's *Leaders in Education* seemed to furnish a good basis for such an investi-

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¹ Perhaps the best of these are P. A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), III, 296-321; and R. H. Holmes, *Rural Sociology* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1932), chap. iv.

² R. H. Holmes, "A Study in the Origins of Distinguished Living Americans," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (1929), 680-85; and Ellsworth Huntington, "The Sifting Power of Cities," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXXX (1926), 316-24, and *The Pulse of Human Progress* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. 341.

gation, and during the past three years the author has, as time has permitted, with the aid of F.E.R.A. and N.Y.A. student help,³ gone through this 1,037-page volume carefully with regard to each biographical sketch included.

*Leaders in Education*⁴ is said to be a by-product of *School and Society*, following the lines of *American Men of Science*, a directory which has been issued in several editions since 1906 and developed in connection with the periodical, *Science*. Cattell says, concerning the educational directory, that it, like the journal, *School and Society*, "is concerned with the whole of education from the nursery school and before to the ability of the septuagenarian to learn. It includes libraries, museums, social agencies, and other activities outside the standardized schools and colleges. . . . It was planned to include in the first edition of the book biographical sketches of about 10,000 of those in North America who have done the most to advance education, whether by teaching, administration, publication, or research. The number of entries exceeds 11,000, but naturally there are omissions, if only because there are some who will not reply to requests for the information needed. The editor was especially anxious to obtain the records of those who had done exceptional work as teachers, but these are harder to find than those engaged in administration and publication. A second edition should be more complete."⁵

Undoubtedly, by far the preponderant majority of those included in the directory are located in urban centers; hence, this source of materials is open to the same criticism which has so frequently been leveled against the studies based on *Who's Who in America* to the effect that the directory is largely an urban one, and neglects the many educational leaders in the more obscure rural areas who are laboring within their several spheres, oftentimes under severe handicaps, fully as effectively as those better known and more easily accessible in the urban and metropolitan centers who are working for publicity purposes. However, this defect of *Leaders in Education* does not invalidate it for analysis of a nature comparable with that so often made along similar lines from other sources.

³ In this connection special acknowledgement should be made to Messrs. Horace S. Hallett, Robert G. Mann, Charles J. Faulkner, and A. Neve White, Jr. Also, thanks are due Messrs. Ben Dulaney and W. Parker Mauldin, graduate students, for certain statistical aid in connection with the study.

⁴ J. McKeen Cattell, *Leaders in Education* (New York: The Science Press, 1932), pp. vi, 1037.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. v.

RURAL-URBAN ORIGINS

Since a representative sample of those whose biographies were included in *Leaders in Education* (published in 1932) indicated the average age as approximately 50 years, the United States Census of 1880 was used as the basis for determining the rural or urban origins of the total of 11,242 names in the directory with the following results:

Rural born.....	6,192
Urban born.....	3,958
Foreign born.....	849
No data.....	243
Total.....	11,242
Total number known to have been born in the United States..	10,150
Percentage rural born.....	61
Percentage urban born.....	39

The Census of 1880 reveals the fact that the total number of inhabitants in the United States in that year was 50,155,783, of which 35,797,616, or 71.4 per cent, were rural and 14,358,167, or 28.6 per cent, were urban, using the Census classification of those residing in places of 2,500 and above as urban, and those outside such places as rural. Thus it is evident that a 10.4 less percentage (61 per cent) of the educational leaders listed came from the rural sections than the rural population (71.4 per cent) constituted of the total national population in 1880. In other words, the rural areas failed by 1,055 names to contribute in 1932 to these native-born educational leaders in the same proportion as the rural bore to the total national population approximately 50 years before.

It would be difficult to explain the exact reasons for this deficiency. However, the wonder is not that the rural contributions did not equal the urban proportionately, but that the figure was as large as it is. Even today rural educational facilities generally are much inferior to those in the urban centers, and a half century ago the similar situation was still more exaggerated. Moreover, while it would perhaps be safe to say that certainly in that day of rural preponderance, both economically and socially, there was about as much superior potential educational leadership proportionally among the country as the city population, certainly there were in the cities more immediately adjacent opportunities and accompanying stimuli to call forth the development of such teaching and administrative talent. Also, it must be remembered that in seeking educational equipment beyond elementary levels the country youth had the inertia to overcome and the expense to bear of leaving home to do

so, a barrier more accentuated in those days owing to the fewer opportunities for city employment and the necessity of paying for one's education as one acquired it.

CLASSIFICATION BY POSITIONS

In view of the wide range of educational work included in the volume, it is obviously difficult to make a satisfactory classification according to all educational positions represented. The following table represents a partial attempt along these lines, and serves to show how heavily weighted *Leaders in Education* is with educational administrators, specialists in state and federal departments of education, and university and college professors, which groups comprise in the aggregate 8,351 individuals, or 74.3 per cent of the total number listed in the volume.

TABLE I
RURAL-URBAN ORIGINS BY CERTAIN TYPES OF POSITIONS

	Rural		Urban	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
University and college presidents.....	616	68.2	287	31.8
Deans.....	570	61.3	360	38.7
University and college professors.....	2,395	57.9	1,744	42.1
Specialists in state departments of education....	156	73.2	57	26.8
Specialists in U. S. Office of Education.....	28	63.6	16	36.4
State superintendents.....	42	87.5	6	12.5
County superintendents.....	10	58.8	7	41.2
Public school superintendents.....	924	75.6	298	24.4
Principals of high schools.....	532	63.7	303	36.3

State superintendents of schools to the extent of 87.5 per cent were of rural origin. This is 16.1 per cent higher relatively than the 71.4 per cent rural in the population in 1880. The Census of 1930 shows that 21 of the 48 states were predominantly rural. Seven others at that time recorded between 40 and 50 per cent rural. And even in some of the more highly urbanized states, the problem of rural education is one of vital importance. Undoubtedly, an educational administrator of rural background and experience would tend to be preferred under such conditions.

It is striking, and it is believed significant, that 68.2 per cent of the university and college presidents included in *Leaders in Education* should be of rural birth. This is all the more meaningful when it is discovered that 599 of the institutions of higher learning concerned are located in urban centers as against only 304 in communities of less than 2,500 population in 1930. In the 304 rurally located institutions only

72 of the presidents were urban born and 232 were of rural origin. Among the 599 such universities and colleges located in urban centers, 384 of their presidents were of rural extraction and 215 were of urban birth. In this connection an examination of the data concerning the 25 presidents of universities, which were in 1932 members of the Association of American Universities, for whom biographies were included reveals that 16 of them were urban born and 9 were of rural birth. These are among the largest and wealthiest of the universities in this country, located almost entirely in urban centers, and it would seem that those of urban birth and background preponderantly are elevated to the head of them.

There are 835 high school principals listed in the directory. Of these approximately 64 per cent were of rural origin, and 36 per cent of urban. One would naturally infer that if the list were really representative of the total national leadership in education, a considerable percentage of the schools concerned would be from among the rural high schools of distinction of which there are many throughout the length and breadth of the land. But of the 835 principals given, only 139 were located in rural high schools, and 696 were in such schools in urban centers of population according to the figures of the Census of 1930. There were 92 of the total of 139 principals in rural high schools who were rural born, and 47 who were urban born. For the 696 urban schools, 440 of the principals were of rural origin, and 256 were born in urban centers.

Approximately 76 per cent of the superintendents of schools included in the directory were of rural birth, and 24 per cent were of urban extraction. Here again, undoubtedly, the great preponderance of such school systems consisted of those of urban location, and the high percentage of rural born at the head of these would seem to indicate either a special fitness on the part of the rurally reared individual for such posts, or a preference on the part of urban born of like ability for other positions than those of educational administration.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ON RURAL VS. URBAN ORIGINS

The data presented indicate some things rather clearly, and others that are not so clear. First, the breakdowns as to rural and urban location in 1932 of the 903 university and college presidents and the 835 high school principals, show that only 442, or 25.4 per cent of the total of 1,738, were in institutions located in rural centers. This is a sufficient

sample to indicate the preponderantly urban nature of the educational positions considered in *Leaders in Education*. In the light of this fact, it would seem that a strong bias exists in this country toward educational leadership on the part of rural born. When one considers the situation that rural born comprise 61 per cent of the educational leadership listed in a directory concerned in approximately 75 per cent of its listings with urban educational positions, the rural participation looms large in spite of the fact that these educational leaders on the average were born at a time when 71.4 per cent of the nation's population was rural. Moreover, it should be recalled that the migration to the cities affected only a portion of the rural population, and that it was from this segment of the rural people who left the country for training in the cities that this 61 per cent of the future national educational leadership was derived.

It is less clear from the data as to why the rural preference exists with regard to positions of educational leadership. Is it because of special aptitudes of the rural born for such tasks, or is it because of comparative opportunities? A certain high level of ability and training must be subsumed as the minimum requirement of both the rural and the urban born for such posts of responsibility. Certainly no data are available to indicate that the urban born are lacking in these qualities as compared with the rural born. What may well be the explanation is that because of his background, training, experience, and influential connections, the city born and bred is attracted to the often higher salaried opportunities in the business and commercial world, and prefers these tasks to those of teaching and educational administration. The less advantaged position of the rural migrant in the field of business and commerce leaves open to him in larger measure the educational field of opportunity. But this is only one possible explanation. The social psychologist, approaching the matter from a different angle, might be able to demonstrate certain traits developed in the individual by the rural environment which specially fit him for the educational field. However, the task of the social psychologist in this regard would not be a simple one. The situation in part may also be due, as Holmes suggests,⁶ to the fact that the superior rural born are early stirred with ambition to become educators, to a much greater extent than are youth in the city, where alternative leadership opportunities are more abundant. This would perhaps

⁶ R. H. Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

be even more difficult to objectify than the contention of special aptitudes for the educational profession. As is true of most social situations, the phenomenon is not reducible to a single factor, but is a resultant of a number of interacting ones which may upon further study be isolated and each of which measured with some degree of accuracy.

Some Characteristics of White Owner and Tenant Cotton Farm Families with Children 19 to 34 Years of Age

Dorothy Dickins

IN 1934 a study was made by the Home Economics Department of the Mississippi Experiment Station of the occupations of sons and daughters of cotton farm families.¹ This study was limited to families having at least one child 19 to 34 years of age. Other qualifications of these families were: (a) that the parents must have been reared on the farm and must have lived on a Mississippi farm located in unincorporated territory at the time their children were in public school; (b) that the main occupation of the family must have been farming and the main cash crop cotton; (c) that the family must have operated a farm at the time of the study, either as an owner or as a tenant. These families resided in five counties of Mississippi—Jefferson Davis, Lauderdale, Sunflower, Tate, and Webster, counties varying greatly as to farm situation though all having cotton as the main cash crop. In each of these counties 50 owner and 50 tenant families meeting qualifications set up for the study were selected at random. The study thus included a total of 500 families, or 250 owners and 250 tenants.

Families in the survey included all types—natural, broken, reconstructed, and rebroken.² By a natural family is meant a family with a husband, wife, and children, but no stepparents or stepchildren. The fathers or mothers of the family may have been married before but if they had no living children by their first wife or husband, this family was classified as natural. All fathers and mothers in the natural families were living together except in cases of physical or mental disability.³ A

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¹ "Occupations of Sons and Daughters of Mississippi Cotton Farm Families," *Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* 318, State College, 1937.

² This classification was suggested in Bruce L. Melvin, "The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory," *Bulletin* 523, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, 1930, pp. 28-29.

³ In one case the father spent most of his time away from the family operating another farm.

broken family is a family with one of the parents dead, divorced, or separated. A reconstructed family is a family with a man, wife, and one or more stepchildren. A reconstructed family which is broken is called a rebroken family.

Seventy per cent of the families had never been broken by death or divorce (Table I). Tenant parents were more frequently living with their first spouse than were owner parents. There are two possible explanations. In the first place, tenant fathers and mothers were younger than owner fathers and mothers. In the second place, a tenant family on the death of one of the parents would more likely move to town than an owner family, as they have no land to hold them on the farm. The next type in frequency was the broken family, including 15 per cent of the total number. There were nearly twice as many broken and rebroken families as reconstructed families. Sixty-eight of the 94 broken and rebroken families consisted of a mother and children.

TABLE I
TYPES OF PARENTAL FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY TENURE, 1934

<i>Type of Parental Family</i>	<i>Owner Families</i>		<i>Tenant Families</i>		<i>All Families</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Natural.....	160	64	190	76	350	70
Broken.....	46	18	31	12	77	15
Reconstructed.....	32	13	24	10	56	11
Rebroken.....	12	5	5	2	17	4
Total.....	250	100	250	100	500	100

To every 100 natural families included in this study, there had been born an average of 685 children. Five hundred and eighty of these children were living (Table II). Tenant families averaged 0.9 child more born per family and 1.1 children more living per family than owner families. Owner families had lost more children, owing to the fact that the children of owner families were older than those of tenant families.

In this study a family included the children away from home as well as those at home, but did not include relatives or others "living in the household, sharing the same table," as does the census family.⁴ The average size of the 500 families in this study was 7.92 members, or somewhat larger than would be expected when compared with the

⁴ A family was defined as a father-mother-child group, including stepparents, stepchildren, and adopted children.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN AND NUMBER LIVING IN NATURAL
FAMILIES OF THE STUDY

<i>Item</i>	<i>Owner Families</i>	<i>Tenant Families</i>	<i>All Families</i>
Number of families.....	160	190	350
Number of children			
Born: total.....	1017	1382	2399
Per 100 families.....	636	727	685
Living: total.....	830	1199	2029
Per 100 families.....	519	631	580

average size of natural families in the study. However, included in the 500 families were several reconstructed families which were quite large.

Tenant families as a group averaged 0.6 more members per family than did owner families (Table III). However, there was a greater

TABLE III
MEMBERS OF OWNER AND OF TENANT FAMILIES LIVING AT HOME
AND AWAY FROM HOME, 1934

<i>Members of Family</i>	<i>At Home</i>		<i>Not at Home*</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Owner Families</i>	<i>Tenant Families</i>	<i>Owner Families</i>	<i>Tenant Families</i>	<i>Owner Families</i>	<i>Tenant Families</i>
Fathers.....	207	223	1	1	208	224
Mothers.....	235	239	....	1	235	240
Sons.....	349	510	385	302	734	812
Daughters.....	284	422	442	358	726	780
Total.....	1075	1394	828	662	1903	2056
Average size.....	4.30	5.58	3.30	2.64	7.61	8.22

*One father and one mother were in the insane hospital; one father was away from home at work.

difference in the size of the completed families of the two tenure groups, for more tenant mothers were still in the childbearing age than were owner mothers (Table V). Natural families in which the mother was 45 years of age or over averaged 5.5 living children for owners and 6.5 living children for tenants, or a difference of one child. In Lively's study,⁵ the number of children born to Ohio mothers who were 45 years of age or more was 4.2. His sample, however, was random, including those following nonagricultural as well as agricultural pursuits, families with no children as well as those with children.⁶ The sample in this

⁵ C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, "Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio," *Bulletin* 467, Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, 1930, pp. 11-12.

⁶ There were 265 families in the Mississippi sample, 200 in the Ohio sample.

study was controlled, including only farm families with at least one child 19 to 34 years of age, not in school. Three-fourths of Lively's sample were owners while only one-half of the Mississippi sample were owners. The difference in sampling may, therefore, largely account for the difference in the number of children born, although the census farm family of Mississippi is somewhat larger than the census farm family of Ohio.

Another result of the shorter duration of most tenant families and the consequent fact that their children were younger was that more sons and daughters of owners lived away from home than at home, while more sons and daughters of tenants were at home than away from home.⁷ Children of both tenure groups living at home were more likely to be sons. This was largely because daughters married earlier than sons.

There were more tenants with large families than there were owners with large families (Table IV). Twenty-eight per cent of the owner

TABLE IV
SIZE OF OWNER AND OF TENANT FAMILIES, 1934

Size (No. of Members)	Owner Families		Tenant Families		All Families	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
2.....	1	.4	1	.4	2	.4
3.....	10	4.0	7	2.8	17	3.4
4.....	19	7.6	10	4.0	29	5.8
5.....	40	16.0	27	10.8	67	13.4
6.....	32	12.8	21	8.4	53	10.6
7.....	26	10.4	35	14.0	61	12.2
8.....	32	12.8	30	12.0	62	12.4
9.....	29	11.6	40	16.0	69	13.8
10.....	23	9.2	31	12.4	54	10.8
11.....	13	5.2	17	6.8	30	6.0
12 or more.....	25	10.0	21	8.4	56	11.2
Total.....	250	100.0	250	100.0	500	100.0

families had less than six living members, while only 18 per cent of the tenant families were as small as this. The most frequent size of owner families was five members; of tenant families nine members. Although owner families were on the whole smaller, there were more owner families of 12 or more members than there were tenant families.

⁷ Children temporarily at home because of an accident or sickness were not counted at home, but in the place of their occupation. Children temporarily at home because of unemployment were counted as at home. Children in public school, college, and vocational schools were counted as at home, if parents partly or wholly financed their training, and as away from home when the individual or others financed his or her training.

TABLE V
AGE OF OWNER AND OF TENANT PARENTS, 1934

<i>Age in Years</i>	<i>Owner Families</i>		<i>Tenant Families</i>		<i>All Families</i>	
	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
Under 45.....	16	41	32	78	48	119
45-54.....	71	87	113	110	184	197
55-64.....	74	82	56	48	130	130
65 and over.....	46	24	23	4	69	28
Unknown.....	1	1	....	....	1	1
Total.....	208	235	224	240	432	475

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

Under 45.....	7.7	17.4	14.3	32.5	11.1	25.0
45-54.....	34.1	37.1	50.4	45.8	42.6	41.5
55-64.....	35.6	34.9	25.0	20.0	30.0	27.4
65 and over.....	22.1	10.2	10.3	1.7	16.1	5.9
Unknown.....	.5	.4	....	....	.2	.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.0	100.0

TABLE VI
AGES OF CHILDREN OF OWNER AND OF TENANT FAMILIES, 1934

<i>Age in Years</i>	<i>Owner Families</i>		<i>Tenant Families</i>		<i>All Families</i>	
	<i>Sons</i>	<i>Daughters</i>	<i>Sons</i>	<i>Daughters</i>	<i>Sons</i>	<i>Daughters</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>
Under 5.....	11	13	20	36	31	49
5-9.....	29	26	67	64	96	90
10-14.....	61	56	124	121	185	177
15-19.....	95	108	174	164	269	272
20-24.....	144	138	186	168	330	306
25-29.....	140	137	121	123	261	260
30-34.....	112	118	63	44	175	162
35-44.....	116	103	50	51	166	154
45 and over.....	26	27	7	9	33	36
Total.....	734	726	812	780	1546	1506

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

Under 5.....	1.5	1.8	2.5	4.6	2.0	3.3
5-9.....	4.0	3.6	8.3	8.3	6.2	6.0
10-14.....	8.3	7.7	15.3	15.5	12.0	11.8
15-19.....	12.9	14.9	21.4	21.0	17.4	18.0
20-24.....	19.6	19.0	22.8	21.5	21.3	20.3
25-29.....	19.1	18.9	14.9	15.8	16.9	17.2
30-34.....	15.3	16.2	7.8	5.6	11.4	10.8
35-44.....	15.8	14.2	6.2	6.5	10.7	10.2
45 and over.....	3.5	3.7	.8	1.2	2.1	2.4
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As may be noted (Table VI), the majority of parents were from 45 to 65 years of age. This of course is to be expected, for only families with children from 19 to 34 years of age were included in the study. Even though the same criteria were used in selecting tenant families as in selecting owner families, tenant fathers and mothers were younger than owner fathers and mothers. This is due at least in part to the fact that tenants marry earlier than owners. Then, too, as the tenant farmers grow old, it is more and more difficult to get a farm. Landlords prefer younger men. Failing to get a farm, the old tenant farmers move to town or settle in an abandoned house in the rural districts and live as best they can. Some are supported by the government; relatives assist others. In other words, one finds relatively few white men in the older age groups farming as tenants.

About one-half of the children in the families studied were 15 to 30 years of age. One-fourth were under 15 years and one-fourth 30 years or older. Owners' children were older than tenants' children, 28 per cent of the children of owners being less than 19 years, while 48 per cent of the children of tenants were less than 19 years. This of course was because the mothers and fathers of tenants were younger.

The Story of My Drift Into Rural Sociology

Charles Josiah Galpin

III. FIFTEEN YEARS IN THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

AND so it came to pass that in the latter days of President Woodrow Wilson's administration (to be exact in May, 1919) I followed my friend, Dr. H. C. Taylor, to Washington, to develop in the U. S. Department of Agriculture a unit of research into the sociological phases of the farmer's life. My Division was to be known, for a while, as Farm Life Studies. Taylor was to be Chief of the Office of Farm Management, an economic research arm of the Department of Agriculture. I have always thought it rather fortunate than otherwise, as some hold, that rural sociological research in the Federal Government grew up under the egis of agricultural economics—not simply because the leading agricultural economist of the time was the master spirit in charge, but for the sobering effect of a close companionship with the realistic profit and loss aspects of farm life.

I was personally favored, moreover, in buying a place to live of generous proportions within a mile of my grandfather Galpin's old Virginia farm, where my father spent his early days, on which my grandfather built a house with his own hands—still standing, though decrepit in its old age. You see, I had in a sense come home, where the bedtime stories of my father took on life again as I beheld the Leesburg Pike, Fairfax Court House, Bull Run, and Mt. Vernon.

ORGANIZING MY DIVISION

The Office of Farm Management was housed in a mediocre brick structure at the corner of what is now Independence Avenue and Fourteenth Street, Southwest, where today stands that monumental colossus of agriculture, the new South Building. My Division being new had to take what office room was unoccupied, and that turned out to be in the

basement (or cellar) precisely at the corner. In the presence of dirt and din from the streets and the perpetual dampness of the below-ground air space, for months I had to fight off the too vivid image of my spacious old rooms of quiet high up in the main building of the Wisconsin College of Agriculture, which towered above the spread-out waters of Lake Mendota. To the elevator boy, in a day or two, I remarked, "This office is on the *first* floor. See? Re-number your floors, and never, never call this floor the basement or cellar again." Thus began our struggle upward.

By some rearrangement of units in the old Bureau of Markets, and the Office of Farm Management, I inherited, as the scientific foundation of my staff, W. C. Nason, a graduate of the University of Minnesota; Miss Mildred Niles as my secretary and head clerk (for 15 years capable, loyal, cheerful); Miss Elma Griffith, typist; Miss Isabel Eaton, clerk. I summoned from the University of Wisconsin, in the first few months, Miss Emily Hoag, Miss Veda Larson, Mr. Walter Baumgartel, all former students of mine. With these helpers and with a budget of \$15,000 for the first year, I began to plan drillings here and there into the unknown elements of our Nation's rural life. I needed tools—the customary tools of research—at least the basic statistics of farm life. A year previously I had pleaded in my first book, *Rural Life*, for a census of the farm population in the coming United States Census of 1920. Now I began anew, on the very threshold of the Census, a plea for a real count of our farm people. Fortunately this desire of my heart got in under the wire, and in 1920 was taken the first Census of the United States farm population. But this great statistical tool would not be ready to use for one or two years. Tabulation time is a period of waiting. We anxiously waited.

Meanwhile we could not be idle. So I set Miss Eaton to getting up a directory of State and Federal rural organizations; Nason was started on his first study of rural community buildings in the United States; Miss Hoag began to plan her investigation into the migration from the farms of a single rural community; while I myself made my first tour of the state colleges of agriculture in the northwest and down the west coast.

MY FIRST OFFICIAL TOUR

This trip clarified my ideas of State and Federal rural-life research. Each college of agriculture should have a man and finally a staff whose business was to come to know more and more perfectly the farm life

of his state; know this as the farmer knows his own community; know it as the economist knows it; know it as the urbanite knows it; then to cap this body of information, to know farm life at its roots in its more or less hidden ramifications and interlacings. These key rural-life men in the states should be the eyes, fingers, and arms of the Federal unit of rural-life research, which itself should seek to understand broad relationships, seek to determine regional unities, to plant and nourish the seeds of a science of rural living, and to do its utmost to help establish and maintain on a high plane these state research units.

My thoughts on this initial trip were jumping fast and far—too fast and too far ahead. As I talked with the deans and directors of experiment stations, I failed to interpret correctly the glassy look of boredom that stole into their eyes, gently masked by a fine courtesy. When their interest failed to kindle, I thought it a perverse hardness of heart. Little then did I suspect that it might take 50 years to get the seed of rural sociology planted and growing in all the state colleges of agriculture. My blind enthusiasm might have been forgiven in a youth of 25 years, but here I was 55 and still did not foresee the stubbornness of the already constituted mind. My only excuse now is that I was in great haste to accomplish my own task before incapacity should set in. Dr. Taylor would say, "Why so urgent?" My reply always was, "I have only a few years left at best. I must get something done."

LEARNING THE GOVERNMENT ROPES

In the first years at Washington I had many a lesson to learn—some tough, some trivial. Among the latter was getting acquainted with government travel expense accounting. In my visit to the state of Washington, Dean Johnson (very open-minded from then on about the subject of rural-life teaching and research) invited me to go with him through the Yakima Valley. The county agent drove us in his own car, a full day's journey. As I would have done in private life, I made the Dean and the county agent my guests at meal time, and put these items into my expense account—explaining that the courtesy of travel in the county agent's private car called on my part for the small return of meals en route. The account was disallowed by the accounting dictator of government economy, who said, "The regulations permit you to pay 10 dollars a day for automobile hire, but not four dollars for anybody else's meals." I doubt whether in 15 years I ever turned in an expense account which could be marked perfect, so obsessed had I become during past years with the dictates of common sense.

SNAGGED ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS

It was a tougher pill to swallow when a pet study of mine ran into a snag on the floor of Congress. This was the way of it, and you can see how far the fear of the lawmaker gets into the knees of the Federal scientist. At the University of Wisconsin, Baumgartel had taken up with a relish the subject of leisure time for the farm family and the relaxing activities adapted to such leisure. When he got to Washington, I encouraged him to continue thinking on this subject. I said, "You are not prepared to make a program of recreation for the farm people of any section of the country until you know the precise times when the farm man's and woman's daily tasks permit them any letup and respite from work. Get up a technic of study which will show for a whole year when the farm lets the family rest." So Baumgartel devised a chart of up and down spaces, one space for each day of the year, which would show in colors the exact position and number of hours of each kind of farm and household task, and also the spaces in each day when leisure came. Bounding the top of the chart was the sunrise line, and bounding the bottom the sunset line, in order to assist the single glance to locate the tasks.

As if made to order by Lady Luck there came to light recent records taken in Illinois of farm and household tasks on a dozen farms during each day of a year. These were carefully plotted on the chart, colored according to plan. A text was prepared. A manuscript then was turned in to the public printer for a bulletin, which called for 12 charts in colors. A quick look at these charts would convince any Illinois farm man or woman on that type of farm just at what seasons to plan for family recreation.

Well, this is what actually took place. The public printer hesitated at the colored charts, because they would cost more than black and white. He finally balked, and sent the manuscript to the Chairman of the Committee on Printing of the House. The next day this chairman arose on the floor of the House and flourishing the manuscript in his hands, boomed, "This is the stuff the Department of Agriculture wishes to print. It tells the farmer that the sun rises in the morning and sets in the evening." The ensuing laugh of the House took the color out of my charts. The ridicule of ignorance; no defender at hand; thumbs down. So the manuscript came slinking back in disgrace, and thus an informing study went into the limbo of filedom, whence at long intervals I

used to take it out and look at it as a caution and warning, when I felt especially oversanguine about any study I proposed to offer for publication. Taylor said, "Forget it. Get busy on some other study." I got busy, but I never forgot it.

THE ANNUAL STRUGGLE

When it came time to send up to Congress an estimated budget of the Office of Farm Management for the year 1921, Chief Taylor's eyes took on a worried though pugnacious look as he talked over with me the needs of my Division. I divined that some higher-up had asked Taylor to save the \$15,000 spent on Farm Life Studies. I knew well enough the die-hardness of Taylor's jaw, but I also knew that he had big things in prospect at stake, and was in one of those peculiarly human dilemmas of the ambitiously honest and fair-minded. It was not long before the truth leaked out—the Division must fight for its existence.

The Agricultural Committee in the House at that time was quite powerful. Its chairman was a hard-boiled economy specialist. A nod or shake of his head sealed small-matter fates like mine. But Taylor's candid conviction of the economic value of rural life research, his good sense in choice of political friends, his finesse and good luck (Cicero, you recall, believed that good luck was a more important characteristic in a general than military skill) won the fight that year for me and saved my little budget (I had serenely expected a few months before a nice \$100,000 budget). Thereafter budget time of year was a nightmare to me; for the very smallness of our spending damned our enterprise in the sight of that obdurate chairman and guardian of agriculture. In despair one year, Taylor took me with him to the Hill and I sat before the Committee on Agriculture trembling like any culprit and answered for my life and work. I must have pulled on a heartstring or something, for we got by that time and gradually our budget grew to twenty thousand, twenty-five, thirty, and even thirty-five thousand dollars. And finally in 1925, the Purnell Bill was enacted into law containing the talismanic word *sociological*, and our struggles for bare life were over for a season. The Division of Farm Life Studies—at that time bearing a new name, Farm Population and Rural Life—which is a Division of the new Bureau of Agricultural Economics (Taylor's great administrative achievement in Washington) became legitimatized and relatively secure.

THE FIRST UNITED STATES CENSUS OF FARM POPULATION

I eagerly awaited the tabulation of the 1920 United States Census of Population, for I thought that with this instrument of comparative precision rural life research might vie with farm economics in statistical wonder-working. But to my utter dismay I found that the man at the top, who decides, had determined that the Farm Population data should be tabulated only by states and by only a few simple characteristics. I was amazed and fairly stunned. The statistical mechanism which I had banked on so much was still too crude for precise use. A victory, but a victory far short. It seemed indeed to me (with only a "few years left to work," and the next Census 10 years away) that all my victories came the hard way. I cudgeled my brains. Taylor went "up and up" to "see about it." "Money is lacking." "Something must go by the board." "Nobody outside is crying for farm population data." So what? Of course in politico-scientific matters the weakest pay tribute to the strong. When no one of political consequence makes a squawk, the mute thing is left on a siding. My cudgeled brains had only one answer—demonstrate to the administration the value of a complete finely divided tabulation of the 1920 farm population.

THE DEMONSTRATION

Miss Veda Larson, one of my staff, had gained distinction at the University of Wisconsin for her facility in mathematics, a rare feminine accomplishment. Her zeal for rural-life knowledge and her habit of meticulous accuracy, added to her never wearying delight in the relationships of numbers, particularly qualified her for undertaking the routine of this demonstration. The Bureau of the Census graciously co-operated with me and took Miss Larson and four clerks upon their roll (we to pay their salaries), and in the Census Building, over a period of two years, they labored happily, compiling the tabulation of the farm population of eight widely-scattered counties from the enumeration sheets of the 1920 Census. The Bureau of the Census then itself printed, with an edition of 3,000 copies, in a separate bulletin this tabulation under the caption *The Farm Population of Eight Selected Counties*. This enterprise, establishing the value of farm population statistics beyond cavil, I rank as one of the major accomplishments of those early years. The Census of Agriculture in 1925 and the Census of 1930 both contained a tabulation of farm population by counties. As a demand arose for more frequent information on the status of the farm popula-

tion, I set going the machinery for an annual estimate of the movement of population to and from farms with net gain and loss. The cost of this annual service did not exceed \$2,000.

THE BEST FOOT FORWARD

If agriculture and country life had a best foot, it seemed to me that everybody in Washington was trying in those days not to see it; that survey agencies, the press, groups seeking appropriations from Congress, all kept pointing to the bad foot; and, "believe it or not," I could not help feeling that the average farmer himself at that time sat on his good foot and stuck out his poor one. This general attitude of worsening farm life in the eyes of the public was a thing I would combat with all the means at my command. To cheapen farm life for any reason was to my mind very poor psychology in one seeking to improve farm life. It helped make more indelible the stamp of inferiority which the history of public opinion had put upon the farm. I would as a part of my research program begin a hunt for *the best things* in country life. This resolve sent me back into my experience with farm people, and out of the dark came one of my first studies of migration of farm youth, *The National Influence of a Single Farm Community*. Miss Hoag went to the New York community in which I had taught, and which had been the source of my first study at the University of Wisconsin, and from the records of Union Academy over a period of 100 years, traced the movements after school days of 3,000 Academy students living on the farms. The facts brought out in this investigation substantiated the claim that the average farm community may pride itself on contributing to the Nation a goodly percentage of the persons who lead in the world's work. A feather in the cap of the farm home! The best foot forward!

Nason's series of Farmers' Bulletins—Rural Community Buildings, Rural Recreation, Rural Libraries, Rural Hospitals, Rural Fire Facilities, Rural Industries, etc.—were in like manner designed especially to bring to the light of a wide publicity the prideful features in rural life, to neutralize the prevailing pessimism about farm people, to hearten discouraged farm women, to stir up emulation among farm youth. More than one million copies of these simple chronicles of the best things farm people have achieved went out by mail on request like morning rays piercing through clouded skies.

EARLY CO-OPERATIVE RESEARCH

I shall always have a warm place in my heart for the younger men teaching rural sociology at the various colleges and universities who undertook pieces of research in co-operation with my Division. Their spontaneous delight in their studies, their loyal work-with-iness, their carrying-through ability left a mark on my own personal stability and equilibrium. I cannot even now meet these men in a purely casual manner. I always felt elated with their successes and, when one of their studies actually got into print, I had a lively sense of exhilaration.

Among these early pieces of research was that really outstanding series of rural neighborhood studies: Kolb's *Primary Groups of Dane County, Wisconsin*, leading the way; Sanderson's *Social Areas of Otsego County, New York*, coming a close second; Carl Taylor and Zimmerman's *Rural Organization of Wake County, North Carolina*; Morgan's *Rural Population Groups of Boone County, Missouri*; Yoder's *Rural Social Organization of Whitman County, Washington*; Baumgartel's *Social Study of Ravalli County, Montana*. How we good-naturedly wrangled over the findings in hotel bedrooms at conventions! How late we sat up nights wagering definitions of *community*! After all, was it not better to start rural sociological research thus with the small undervalued group at the base of rural life? For did not Kolb stand on *Primary Groups* to step up to his other studies? Did not Sanderson reach his *Rural Community* via Otsego County as well as via France?

Fry's *Census Analysis of American Villages*, a new approach to the farm; Hypes's *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, a story of new racial stocks for old; Hoffer's *Services of Trade Centers*, a commentary on farmer trade habits; Lowry Nelson's three Utah villages, a unique sidelight on American farm life—all these with their variety of subjects and methodology blazed early trails for the final arrival of rural sociology. My memory holds vividly the crises, the hill-tops, through which and over which these men pulled their studies to completion. I am strongly of the opinion that a greater gain was made toward developing a broad rural sociology in the United States (through our co-operative research) by giving each co-operator his head, wide scope, freedom to discover and invent than by compelling adherence with a heavy hand to a rigid form under central supervision.

WHEN I LEFT A HORNET'S NEST ALONE

Dr. Carl Taylor with the aid of Yoder and Zimmerman made, in co-operation with my Division, a unique study of a large rural commu-

nity entirely white, characterized by an unusual land tenure and labor situation with highly important socio-economic implications. When completed, the study revealed such unsuspected violent contrasts between the houses, churches, and school buildings of the landowners and those of the tenants and hired men that the Dean of the Institution, after looking at the photographs, washed his hands of the whole affair. I saw at once the value of this piece of drilling into rural life, but being averse to risking my Division's life over such an issue, I left the hornet's nest alone, put the photos and manuscript in a file, and looked forward to the day when we could bring a rural social disease out of its covert and seek to cure it without fear of reprisal. Carl Taylor, at present entrusted with the care of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life (chosen by Secretary Wallace for his special fitness at this stormy time) may decide to open this old file, restudy that community, and brave the hornets.

MANY FRIENDLY SUPPORTERS

I cannot refrain from the bare mention of the names of rural-life advocates not already alluded to in this chapter, who, through the thick and thin of the years, have been a powerful moral support to me in my small pioneer venture in Washington: Lively, Brunner, Landis, Bane, Mann, Holt, Coen, Gee, Melvin, Mumford, Hayes, Rankin, Harris, Wilson, Vogt, Butterfield, Carney, Dunn, Dana, Anderson, Denune, Wileden, Burnham, Gillette, Arvold, Murchie, Thaden, Frame, Polson, Garnett, Frysinger, Allred, Von Tungeln, Stacy, Stewart, Gordon, Hummel, Black, Sawtelle, Goodwin, Clark, O'Hara, Warren, Benson, Sims, Lindstrom, Hall, C. B. Smith, Olive Campbell, Walter Campbell, Lindeman, Israel, Youngblood. The roll could be doubled. The least I can say is that I have received into my own professional and personal character something from each of these personalities.

STANDARD OF LIVING OF FARM FAMILIES

Sanderson at Cornell had wisely guided E. L. Kirkpatrick into a New York State study of farm family living (and given him a doctorate to boot) while I co-operated in the effort. The result impressed me both with Kirkpatrick's peculiar aptitude for this type of study and with the need of this item of research in our program. So Kirkpatrick came to the Division and laid down that well-known barrage of family living studies in state after state. I have never felt any necessity of apologizing

for these pioneer efforts of Kirkpatrick's. As foundations they have been built on already and will long continue to be highly suggestive.

The patent fact that farm family living lies on the borderland between home economics and rural sociology has never worried me; for I have had faith that a division of labor and responsibility can be worked out satisfactorily between these two disciplines. The Bureau of Home Economics always maintained a highly co-operative spirit in our discussions of mutual relations. In fact, the United States Extension Service, the Office of Experiment Stations, the Public Health Service, the Agricultural Information Service, and several other government agencies gave me always their cheerful, hearty support on all matters and problems lying on common ground.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL SITUATIONS

T. B. Manny had been a member of one of my summer school classes at the University of Wisconsin during the early part of Dr. Kolb's reign over rural social problems there. Manny's brisk, alert, intelligent vigor caught my fancy. I followed his early adventure in Arkansas, and tried him out with a co-operative research project. Finally I invited him to take a place in my Division for a specialized job. It dealt with the social psychology of farmers' economic organizations, particularly the marketing co-operatives. I had in the Bureau been close to the economic research on marketing problems, and had been impressed with the total neglect hitherto of the factors lying back in the farmer's mind, which factors I was sure would, when properly subjected to study and an understanding, help make co-operatives successful. Manny came and made those brave, illuminating contributions to the subject of co-operative marketing on the Eastern Shore (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia) and of the Farm Bureau in Ohio. When after two or three years the government limelight was turned off co-operative marketing, then Manny resorted to the social psychology of rural local government problems, and was making progress in his interpretations when the national deluge of depression came, and turned us all to working on emergency situations, more or less remotely related to fundamental research.

MY PUBLIC ADDRESSES

The gradual accumulation of facts from our many investigations became a store of choice materials for presentation to rural conferences and conventions. I availed myself gladly of the chance to bring to farm

people themselves and to their leaders in education, economics, and religion the results of our studies. A great temptation to generalize on these occasions from few data had to be summarily held in check. Very pleasant memories of hospitality in many states, in city and country, at such times go with me now to help make rosier these latter days. I recall with delight my lecture periods at the University of California in Los Angeles, at Teachers' College of Columbia University, Utah Agricultural College, University of North Carolina, certain normal schools especially in Michigan, Kentucky, and Maine. The fellowship, moreover, with the rural clergy of both the Protestant and Catholic faiths, in connection with their social problems, has been uniformly cordial and refreshing. I remember with much satisfaction the visits of groups of theological students and Y. M. C. A. College classes to my Division and, under my direction, to the Department of Agriculture, including presentations to the Secretary of Agriculture and to the President. I never had difficulty in bringing social facts to the support of religion. No embarrassment ever arose on account of differences in religious belief.

I have always been shy of evening addresses before a large audience. I cannot speak when I see a weary, restless, yawning audience. On one occasion I was invited to be the "guest" or "star" speaker at a rural conference of 600 young women at a rural normal school. When I reached the platform, all primed for my 40-minute shot I was, I confess, somewhat suspicious, if not disturbed, by the array of dignitaries sitting there. The half-hour of music and singing passed pleasantly. Came the opening prayer, "a few remarks" by the President of the school as he introduced first the mayor of the city (who bade us welcome), then the county superintendent of schools (who was again and again "pleased to be present"). At nine o'clock I got panicky as the President introduced the Governor of the state (who "just happened to be there") who would "say a few words." At nine-thirty I had finished in my head cutting my proposed address in two, just as I heard the Governor say, "I never expect again to have such a chance to speak to so many persons just on the point of going to their homes, and I wish therefore to say a word or two about my administration." At ten o'clock I felt a soothing easement and comfortable deliverance, as the Governor (the 600 girls in a near riot of twisting and turning in their seats) was saying "Thirdly, my prison reform. . . ." I turned to the President sitting close at my left and whispered, "I never speak after ten o'clock." "What's that you

say?" whispered back the somewhat confused chairman of the meeting. "I say, I never address a gathering after ten o'clock at night." "What shall we do?" he anxiously inquired. "I will come back *next year*," I stammered. "All right, then," he sighed in relief, while the Governor steamed ahead in his review of a splendid term of office, and concluded his "few words" at ten-thirty. "Next year," of course, never came.

BRINGING TOGETHER BOY SCOUTS AND 4-H BOYS

Like everyone else, I became a noisy fan of the 4-H Club movement. But already I had been taken captive by the Boy Scouts of America. So what? Well, I began to compare the two. Each had its own unique fine points. I wished all rural boys could be Scouts. I also wished all farm boys could be 4-H Clubbers. I looked into the matter. I found few farm boys, relatively speaking, among the Scouts. I found, moreover, in some spots among rural leaders a prejudice against Scouting. So I went out to the Rocky Mountain National Assembly of Scout Leaders and pleaded for a vigorous program of Rural Scouting, asking for a conference of the Chief of Scouts with the Secretary of Agriculture on the subject of a friendly understanding between Scouting and 4-H Clubbing. The conference took place in Washington. An amicable agreement was arrived at, and the stage was set for state agreements to follow. It has given me extreme delight to have had a minute part (I merely stirred one of the first puddings) in the great Rural Scout movement and the harmonious working of these two great national boy movements side by side.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

It was a great day for rural sociology when the Social Science Research Council offered those handsome annual scholarships to young men of promise who purposed to enter the rural sociological career. It was also a high honor to me to hold for five years a place on the selecting committee. It virtually became my responsibility to pick annually six young men to spend a year or more at some university in graduate study in rural sociology. Today I look around the United States and see nearly all of these men geared at some point or other into the young science of rural sociology which is rising on the beginnings of a quarter century ago. Why shouldn't I be an optimist?

MY FINAL DRIFT INTO RURAL SOCIOLOGY

After 10 years of "drilling" here and there into American rural life, I became sensitive to an inner criticism that rural life research in

the United States was still highly provincial, quite fragmentary, often erratic and desultory. I confess I squirmed under this feeling of inadequacy. During this period of uneasiness, I ran across Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories*. It thrilled me with its lore—lore from the ends of the earth hinted at, referred to in notes, evidencing an acquaintance with the sociological writings of authors of many nations, unmatched in the United States by any sociologist. I said to myself, "We ought to have long excerpts in English from these writings. Only a few people can ever hunt into these foreign sources." Not long after that I met Sorokin. We talked over rural-life literature and rural sociology in other countries. I saw at once that Sorokin had at his finger tips the sociological literature of rural life in other nations and in other ages. I said to myself again, "Here at last is the chance to broaden rural sociological understanding in the United States, if Sorokin is willing to animate the enterprise." Before sounding him out on the matter, however, I indirectly felt out the temper of the Social Science Research Council to see whether it would finance a project of collecting outstanding pieces of rural sociological literature in other languages, selecting long excerpts, and translating them, where necessary, into English as a source book for American sociologists.

"No." "Too remote." "A little fantastic." The old despair at threat of failure began to hover over me. I went to H. C. Taylor, then out of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (his going a case of political reprisal for his forthright attitude on farm economics) and in a new adventure in rural Vermont. I told him my story. "Why don't you finance the project in your own Division of Farm Population and Rural Life?" Taylor queried. "I think," Taylor remarked, "Tolley would approve the project." H. R. Tolley was then the Bureau's Director of Research. So I went to Tolley. "How much will it cost?" asked Tolley. I replied, "Six thousand dollars." Tolley said, "O. K., go ahead." I lost no time, for no one could tell whether a narrow-gage director of research might be appointed to take Tolley's place.

A visit to the University of Minnesota; a call upon Sorokin, then Professor of Sociology there; arrangements with Dean Ford for a luncheon conference with himself, Dean Coffey, Mrs. Harding of the Minnesota University Press, Zimmerman, and Sorokin; the luncheon conference itself, all quickly followed. A project was agreed upon, later written up and signed by the Bureau and the University. The *opus* began to unfold. Dr. Sorokin was the scholar, *savant*, genius behind the text;

Zimmerman was the ready helper, adding the push of his energy and rural wisdom; I was the final judge on what should go in and what out; Mrs. Harding with a finishing flourish put the manuscript through the University Press. In something more than a year, the three volumes were published, the *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, Sir Horace Plunkett, Liberty Hyde Bailey, three great country-minded liberals.

A few months later a well-known rural economist said to me, "I have the Source Book, but have read only the Preface. I hope the rest of the work stacks up better than the Preface." "Yes," I remarked, "I wrote the Preface and Dedication, and I have edited all the other parts of the work, and I am very sure you will find the rest better than what you have read." The Preface stopped him cold, you see. He hasn't read the volumes yet. Some day, however, I believe that rural-life leaders will read this remarkable document. The story of my drift into rural sociology reaches its climax with the Source Book. The shadow of national melancholy was soon thereafter spreading over the face of Government. Administrators fended criticism; budgets were reduced; my staff was cut in two; co-operative research ceased; my Division smouldered, but could not flame. Once more came to it the struggle for bare life. As I entered the Government service 15 years before in high hope with a small staff, so now, retired by the Roosevelt administration for age, I left it with a small, very small staff, but still high in hope—a hope which today, as I write, proves not to have been baseless. A final chapter of this narrative will follow, in which I shall chronicle, out of their proper sequence for the sake of clarity, my contacts with rural life in foreign lands.

Characteristics of Persons Listed in *Rus*

J. F. Thaden

THE ANALYSIS of the characteristics of persons appearing in biographical registers has engaged the interests of many researchers. From about 1900 to the present, no less than 30 studies have been made of cases selected more or less randomly from those listed in *Who's Who in America*, *American Men of Science*, *Rus*, and similar works. Social scientists and others have attempted to analyze these registrants as to nativity, occupation, geographic distribution, migration tendencies, education, age, marital condition, fecundity, denominational and other organizational affiliation, cultural and genetic background, achievements, and other activities. Only one such study has thus far been made of agricultural scientists, specialists, educators, and other eminent and so-called leaders in agriculture—that by Sorokin and Zimmerman, which was based on 2,171 of the 6,005 persons listed in the 1925 or third issue of *Rus*.¹

The data in this article are taken from the 1930, or fourth edition of *Rus*, compiled by L. H. Bailey and Ethel Z. Bailey, Ithaca, New York.² It contains 6,881 entries, of which 357 are women. The character of *Rus*, which purports to be “a biographical register of rural leadership in the United States and Canada,” is best stated in the following quotation from the introductory statement:

Rus is a reference register of rural leadership, in the person of living men and women. It aims to include those persons who are prominently engaged in rural work, and of whom the public has reason to make inquiry, as farmers, teachers, investigators, business men, lecturers, ministers, farm, county and home demonstration agents, authors, editors, and the leading personalities in the administrative, commercial, cooperative, organizational, political and public-service fields as they directly influence agriculture and country life. By the term “farmer” is meant all those who till the soil for a livelihood, as general farmers and ranchers, stockmen, poultrymen, beekeepers, fruit growers, floriculturists, gardeners, nurserymen, and the many kinds of specialists; it is not intended to in-

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¹ Pitirim A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, “Farmer Leaders in the United States,” *Social Forces*, VII (1928), 33-45.

² This article is a contribution of the sociology section, Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, and is published with the approval of the Director of the Station as Journal Article No. 90 (n.s.).

clude persons because they are good farmers but only as they are charged with public interest. The staffs of colleges of agriculture and of experiment stations have been included above the grade of Instructor or its equivalent, in case the title indicates that the person is engaged in the agricultural side of the work.

In this study, data relating to state of birth, state of residence, migration, age, and alma mater were tabulated for the 6,881 registrants. For most other factors, analyses are based on 228 pages (of the 761 pages) equally divided between the first, last, and central parts of the volume, comprising 1,957 men.

OCCUPATION

Only about 10 per cent of the *Rus* male registrants are farmers. The large majority are agricultural scientists and educators. Table I is a classification into 11 categories of *Rus* registrants on the basis of occupation.

TABLE I
OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES (MALES)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Professor in Agricultural College or Researcher in Agricultural Experiment Station.....	725	37.0
Specialist or Official in U. S. Department of Agriculture or some State Department of Agriculture.....	299	15.3
High School Vocational Agricultural Teacher.....	273	14.0
County Agricultural Agent or 4-H Club Leader.....	235	12.0
Farmer, all types (64 are Master Farmers).....	189	9.7
Commercial Firm Handling Agricultural Commodity.....	112	5.7
Editor of or Writer for Agricultural Journal.....	41	2.0
State or District Agricultural Extension Specialist or Official.....	31	1.6
Farm Organization Official.....	29	1.5
Farm Manager.....	13	.7
Miscellaneous.....	10	.5
TOTAL.....	1,957	100.0

Thirty-seven per cent of the men are professors in land-grant colleges and universities or are on the staff of agricultural experiment stations or both; 15 per cent are on the staffs of the Federal or state departments of agriculture; 14 per cent are teachers of agriculture in Smith-Hughes Schools; and 12 per cent are county agricultural agents or boys' and girls' club leaders. A third of the 189 farmers have previously been honored as "Master Farmers" by the editors and co-workers of some 12 American farm papers. Many follow other vocational activities besides the one under which they are here classified. This is especially true of some of the farmers and farm organization officials. Undoubtedly, many of these *Rus* registrants own farms which are operated by tenants or farm managers.

Most of these men can be said to be engaged predominantly in professional pursuits. They are not farmers, but agricultural scientists. They are interested in farming as a science rather than as a business.

Of the 357 women registered in *Rus*, only 8.4 per cent are farmers, or farm homemakers. The majority are county home demonstration agents, teachers or research workers in land-grant colleges and experiment stations, and workers in some bureau in the United States Department of Agriculture. Table II is a classification of the women listed in *Rus* on the basis of nine occupational groupings.

TABLE II
OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES (FEMALES)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
County Home Demonstration Agent or Club Leader	102	28.6
Professor in Agricultural College or Researcher in Agricultural Experiment Station	87	24.4
State or District Extension Specialist or Official	82	23.0
Specialist or Official in U. S. Department of Agriculture	32	8.9
Farmer or Farm Homemaker (19 are Master Farm Homemakers)	30	8.4
Editor of or Writer for Agricultural Journal	17	4.7
Commercial Firm Handling Agricultural Commodity	4	1.1
High School Teacher	2	.6
Miscellaneous	1	.2
TOTAL	357	100.0

No extended attempt is made here to determine the proportion of men and women engaged in these different occupations who found their way into *Rus*. It seems that slightly less than one-tenth of the county agricultural agents in the United States are listed; a similar proportion of county home demonstration agents is found. The proportion of vocational agricultural teachers, Master Farmers, and Master Farm Homemakers appearing in *Rus* seems to be slightly larger. The compilers of this register considered 18,000 persons eligible for registry in 1930.

PLACE REARED: FARM, VILLAGE, CITY

The comparative rôle of farm, village, and city environments in the production and rearing of leaders and men of eminence has been the battleground of many verbal adversaries. In the nature of things, one would naturally expect to find the majority of leaders in farming and in the agricultural sciences to have been country-bred. The data in Table III support this assumption.

TABLE III
PLACE OF REARING OF *Rus* LEADERS

Place Reared	Men		Women	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Farm.....	1,439	71.3	158	48.0
Farm and Village or Town†.....	156	7.7	27	8.2
Farm and City.....	91	4.5	12	3.7
Village or Town†.....	225	11.1	83	25.2
City†.....	108	5.4	49	14.9
TOTAL.....	2,019*	100.0	329*	100.0

*Foreign-born and unknown excluded.

†The *Rus* questionnaire pertaining to this read "How reared, whether on a farm, in a town or city; state as you would like it to stand in the volume."

The overwhelming majority of *Rus* registrants, especially men, was reared on the farm—71.3 per cent of the men were reared there and an additional 12.2 per cent were reared both on the farm and in the town or city. Sorokin³ found similar tendencies in the 1925 edition.

A much larger proportion of the *Rus* men than women was reared on the farm or on both farm and village or farm and city—83.5 per cent of the men as compared with 59.9 per cent of the women. This is to be expected since the occupational environment of the majority of farm and city women is more nearly alike than is that of farm and city men. The farm home has many factors in common with the city home, while the farm has relatively few factors in common with the average occupation in the city. Although the majority of *Rus* women are professional home economists, a farm environment is not so imperative for the attainment of prominence in that field as in the field of agriculture.

Even though 5.4 per cent of the men and 14.9 per cent of the women stated that they were reared in the city and 4.5 per cent of the men and 3.7 per cent of the women stated that they were reared both on the farm and in the city, there is considerable evidence that the percentage of leaders with city rearing is considerably lower than these figures indicate.⁴

A considerably larger percentage of those residing in the state of their birth than of those who migrated was reared on the farm. *Rus* registrants not residing in the state of their birth are likely to be professional

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ First, some who stated that they were reared in a "city"—which, now a place of 2,500 or more inhabitants, was during their childhood days a place of less than 2,500 population—were thus actually reared in a village. Second, some who stated that they were reared

agriculturists, particularly professors of agriculture and research and extension workers in agriculture, while those residing in the state of their birth are more likely to be farmers, teachers of agriculture in Smith-Hughes Schools, and 4-H Club leaders. This largely explains why 80 per cent of *Rus* registrants residing in the state of their birth were reared on the farm as compared with 66 per cent of those who are not residing in their native state. Professionalization and specialization are conducive to migration from state of birth. Leaders in agriculture, as in other vocations, are to a certain extent forced to be mobile because of their unusual specialization of knowledge. The demand for such leaders is greater in the United States Department of Agriculture and other selected places than the supply.

The relative proficiency of farm, village, and city in the production of *Rus* registrants can be determined fairly accurately, since for all but a small percentage of persons place of rearing and place of birth are virtually synonymous as far as rural-urban classification is concerned. Since the median year of birth for the men in *Rus* is 1889 and for the women 1891, the distribution of population at the Census of 1890 may be satisfactorily used in comparing place of rearing of *Rus* registrants with the general population.

In proportion to numbers, farms seem to be much more productive of *Rus* registrants than are villages or cities, and villages are far more productive in this respect than are cities. This generalization is based largely on the data presented in Table IV.

The Census of 1890 shows at that date that 31.4 per cent of the total population were living in cities of 5,000 or more inhabitants, 11.6 per cent were living in places of less than 5,000 inhabitants, and 57.0 per cent on farms and other rural territory.⁵ The data indicate that farm rearing, especially for men, is conducive to the attainment of prominence in agriculture and agricultural science, and that city rearing is not. The 57 per cent of the population which were on farms and other rural

in a city really lived in a place of less than 2,500 inhabitants. In Michigan, for example, there are 42 places with less than 2,500 inhabitants incorporated under the "general law for the incorporation of cities," and the inhabitants and former residents of these places commonly refer to such villages as "cities." Third, some small places incorporated as villages have the word "city" as part of their name, as Kent City (population 484) and Lake City (610). There are in Michigan, for example, 12 such places. Some registrants reared in such places stated that they were reared in a "city."

⁵ It is here assumed that "villages and town" was interpreted by the registrants generally to mean places with less than 5,000 inhabitants and a "city" as a place with 5,000 or more inhabitants.

territory in 1890 produced 81.2 per cent of the *Rus* males; the 11.6 per cent living in incorporated villages and towns produced 12.7 per cent; and the 31.4 per cent living in cities produced only 6.1 per cent.

TABLE IV
PLACE OF REARING OF THOSE LISTED IN *RUS* AS COMPARED WITH THE
GENERAL POPULATION: 1890

Place Reared	Total Pop. U. S. Per Cent*	Rus Men		Rus Women	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Farm and other rural.....	57.0	1,439	81.2	158	54.5
Incorporated village or town (under 5,000).....	11.6	225	12.7	83	28.6
City (5,000 and over).....	31.4	108	6.1	49	16.9
TOTAL.....	100.0	1,772†	100.0	290†	100.0

*Based on the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, "Population", I, 14

†Those reared on both farm and in village or on both farm and in city are excluded.

The village rather than the farm or city seems to have been the background of *Rus* women. Though 11.6 per cent of the population lived on farms and other rural territory in 1890, 28.6 per cent of the *Rus* women were reared there; and while 31.4 per cent of the total population lived in the city four decades ago, only 16.9 per cent of the *Rus* women were reared there. In proportion to number, the farm is far less productive of professional home economists than the village, and the city is even less fruitful than the farm.

BIRTHPLACE OF *RUS* REGISTRANTS

Opportunities for leadership vary considerably in different parts of the country and, no doubt, in the same area from time to time as the needs and wants of the groups in these areas change and as the richness of culture and the frequency and abundance of social and economic stimuli vary. About 1902, when Cattell began his study of distinguished scientists, he remarked that almost the only thing which had so far escaped scientific study was the lives and origins of great men, and he believed that "a scientific study of the distribution of human ability and performance" would prove quite as practical and valuable as similar studies of plants and animals.⁶ Wiggam conceives nothing "more serviceable to democracy than to know with certainty where its leaders came from, what are the biological, psychological, and economic influences

⁶ J. McKean Cattell, "A Statistical Study of American Men of Science," *Science*, XXIV (1906), 732 ff.

that reside at their birth, and what are the agencies which guide them to their places of service and power.”⁷ An attempt was made to analyze the relative proficiency of the different states in the production of *Rus* registrants.

Natives of every state, the District of Columbia, several territorial possessions of the United States, and of 37 foreign countries appear in *Rus*. Of the 6,524 males in *Rus*, 6.4 per cent are foreign-born; whereas of the total population 21 years of age and over 20.4 per cent are foreign-born. Native-born, therefore, are more abundantly represented in *Rus* than foreign-born. This stands in striking contrast to leaders of labor and radical movements among whom Sorokin discovered the foreign-born furnishing two and one-half times higher quotas than would be expected on the basis of the total foreign-born population.⁸

Of the 6,524 males in *Rus*, 525 were born in New York, 471 in Illinois, 444 in Ohio, 383 in Iowa, 376 in Pennsylvania, 305 in Indiana, 279 in Wisconsin, 258 in Kansas, 255 in Missouri, 250 in Michigan, and a smaller number in each of the other states. No generalization can be drawn from these figures as to the relative proficiency of various states in the production of persons who have attained such achievement as is indicated by listing in *Rus*. Since states vary considerably in the rural-urban and male-female composition of their population, and in the proportion of *Rus* registrants born in urban areas, the rural-born registrants need to be segregated from the urban-born, and the males from the females in order to compute ratios of productivity that are reasonably comparable.

The closest approximation as to the relative proficiency of states in the production of *Rus* registrants seems to lie in correlating the number of *Rus* males born in the rural areas of a state with the total rural male population in existence about the time the registrants were born. Though the United States Bureau of the Census has collected and compiled data on state of birth of the native population since 1850, facts are not available as to the number of males born in the rural areas of each state. Nevertheless, an approximate estimate of this is possible. The Census of 1930 gives the total population born in each state, the Census of 1890 (about the time most of the males in *Rus* were born) gives the

⁷ Albert E. Wiggam, "America as a Nursery of Genius," *World's Work*, LII (1926), 684 ff.

⁸ Pitirim A. Sorokin and others, "Leaders of Labor and Radical Movements," *American Journal of Sociology*, XII (1927), 121-3 ff.

rural-urban composition and the sex ratio, so that the approximate number of males born in the rural areas of each state (all those not living in cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 or more inhabitants) can be satisfactorily computed. These data are presented in the first column of Table V. The number of *Rus* male registrants born in the rural areas of each state is presented in the second column, and the third column is an index of productivity of *Rus* men. This column indicates the number of *Rus* males per 100,000 males born in the rural areas of each state who are listed in *Rus*. The states are arrayed from the highest to the lowest in the apparent productivity of rural-born *Rus* males.

Four New England States, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and the states of Utah, Iowa, Kansas, Delaware, Wisconsin, and New York seem to be the 10 highest in the production of agricultural leaders, while New Mexico, Oklahoma, Arizona, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas, Texas, Montana, and North Carolina seem to be the 10 lowest.

The "low" states with a few exceptions are in the South; all but Montana, New Jersey, Kentucky, and Virginia lie entirely south of latitude 37°. South Carolina is the only southern state which does not fall in the "low" group. It is a "medium" state, but a state with a low average. Charles Angoff and H. L. Mencken, in comparing the 48 states with one another with respect to about 102 different economic, educational, health, marital, and other social and cultural factors, including production of so-called leaders (Who's Who), found most of the Southern States ranking relatively low.⁹ Woods says "Massachusetts has never failed to produce twice as many eminent men as the population would lead one to expect, and has for some ranks and types of achievement produced about four times the expectation."¹⁰ Numerous scholars in their study of various biographical registers have always found most of the Northern and Northeastern States ranking relatively high in the production of men of eminence.

The "high" agricultural male-leader-producing-states form a sort of belt across the greater part of the United States from east to west, with all but one "low" state lying south and all but six "medium" states lying north and west.

⁹ Charles Angoff and H. L. Mencken, "The Worst American State," *American Mercury*, XXIV (1931), 1-16; 175-188; 355-371.

¹⁰ Frederick A. Woods, "Historimetry as an Exact Science," *Science*, XXXIII (1911), 568-74 ff.

TABLE V

TOTAL MALES AND RUS MALES BORN IN RURAL AREAS OF EACH STATE
AND NUMBER OF RUS MALES PER 100,000 TOTAL MALES

<i>State</i>	<i>Number of Males Born in the Rural Area of Specified State (000 omitted)</i>	<i>Number of Rus Males Born in the Rural Area of Specified State</i>	<i>Rate per 100,000</i>
Rhode Island.....	15	14	96.3
Massachusetts.....	170	125	73.7
New Hampshire.....	107	46	43.1
Vermont.....	182	65	35.7
Utah.....	177	59	33.3
Iowa.....	1,193	356	29.8
Kansas.....	799	235	29.4
Delaware.....	67	18	26.8
Wisconsin.....	1,006	256	25.4
New York.....	1,665	395	23.7
Colorado.....	224	52	23.2
Nebraska.....	520	118	22.7
Ohio.....	1,750	387	22.1
Indiana.....	1,249	275	22.0
Illinois.....	1,864	401	21.5
Michigan.....	1,117	220	19.8
Nevada.....	26	5	19.6
Minnesota.....	799	144	18.0
Wyoming.....	57	10	17.7
Missouri.....	1,392	235	16.9
Maine.....	324	52	16.0
South Dakota.....	294	46	15.6
Connecticut.....	274	42	15.3
Pennsylvania.....	2,416	286	11.8
South Carolina.....	944	107	11.3
Oregon.....	221	23	10.4
West Virginia.....	788	81	10.3
Idaho.....	185	19	10.3
Washington.....	293	30	10.2
North Dakota.....	299	29	9.7
California.....	659	60	9.1
Maryland.....	415	36	8.7
New Jersey.....	507	41	8.1
Virginia.....	1,204	92	7.6
Kentucky.....	1,349	102	7.6
Mississippi.....	1,150	83	7.2
Alabama.....	1,369	97	7.1
Tennessee.....	1,335	92	6.9
North Carolina.....	1,561	101	6.5
Montana.....	170	11	6.5
Texas.....	2,255	145	6.4
Arkansas.....	993	50	5.0
Georgia.....	1,509	67	4.4
Louisiana.....	829	30	3.6
Florida.....	371	12	3.2
Arizona.....	131	4	3.1
Oklahoma.....	863	24	2.8
New Mexico.....	182	5	2.7
TOTAL.....	36,232	5,185	14.3

Many factors contribute to the development of leadership; some of them are common to leadership generally and others are probably largely confined to agricultural leaders. Literacy is obviously conducive to achievement. Undoubtedly the greater literacy in the North than in the South accounts in part for the disparate representation in *Rus* and other biographical registers. The Census of 1930 shows that of the rural males 21 years of age and over, 13.5 per cent are illiterate in the 16 "low" *Rus*-male-producing states; 5.4 per cent in the 16 "average" states; and 2.5 per cent in the 16 "high" states. This indicates a positive association between rural literacy and prominence in the agricultural science. Differences are still greater regarding the rural-farm population. Of the rural-farm males 21 years of age and over, the percentage of illiteracy is 15.4 in the "low" group of states; 5.6 per cent in the "medium" states; and 2.1 per cent in the "high" states. This variation has prevailed for decades.

Higher education is also known to be conducive to leadership. The Census of 1930 shows that of the rural males 16 to 20 years of age inclusive, the percentage who were attending school was 31.9 in the 16 "low" *Rus*-male-producing states and 35.3 in the "high" states.

No doubt many other factors are associated with productivity of agricultural leaders, such as length of school year, type of schools, extent and nature of training of teachers, income from farming, type of farming, and extent to which farmers belong to farmers' organizations and to farmers' co-operative organizations.

MIGRATION OF *RUS* MEN

In general, as revealed in Table VI, in states from which the migration of the native population is slight, that of *Rus* males is also small, while in states from which migration of the native population is heavy, that of *Rus* males is large.

In California, for example, a state from which migration is relatively low, 8.3 per cent of the native-born California males and 35.0 per cent of native-born *Rus* males are not residing in the state of their birth. Near the other extreme is Kansas, from which 39.1 per cent of her native-born sons and 79.5 per cent of her *Rus* males have departed. The close association in the migration tendencies of laymen and professional agriculturists indicates that the stimuli prompting migration are not peculiar to those engaged in agricultural science and allied activities.

Eminent men, regardless of their vocation, are more mobile than the

TABLE VI
RELATION BETWEEN MIGRATION (MALES) OF GENERAL POPULATION
AND *RUS* MALES FROM STATE OF BIRTH

	Percentage of <i>Rus</i> Males Not Living in State of Birth				
	Under 40	40-49	50-59	60-69	70 and Over
Under 20.....	Florida California Texas	North Carolina Louisiana	New York New Jersey Michigan	Pennsylvania	Massachusetts
20-24.....	Rhode Island		Ohio West Virginia Alabama	Connecticut Washington Wisconsin	Maryland
25-29.....	Georgia	Maine Oklahoma Virginia	Utah Oregon Arizona	South Carolina Mississippi Minnesota Illinois Indiana	
30-34.....			Tennessee Kentucky North Dakota Arkansas	New Mexico	Delaware South Dakota Nebraska New Hampshire
30 and over.....			Montana	Idaho Vermont Nevada	Missouri Colorado Kansas Iowa Wyoming

*Source Fifteenth Census of the United States; 1930.

general population. *Rus* registrants are slightly more than two and one-half times as migratory as laymen in regard to interstate migration of native-born. For the United States as a whole, 61.5 per cent of the *Rus* males have migrated from the state of their birth, as compared with 23.9 per cent of the general male population. The migration of *Rus* males exceeds that of the general population in every state except Florida. Undoubtedly many causal factors are associated with migration. The more apparent ones are probably age and literacy. Owing to the fact that the data do not permit the control of the age factor, the percentages are not directly comparable. The median date of birth of *Rus* males was 1889, that of the native male population, 1907. This difference of 18 years in favor of the *Rus* registrants partially accounts for the fact that a larger proportion of them have migrated from the state of their birth. In general, literacy also tends to be highest in states containing proportionately many native-born of other states.

Whatever the causal factors contributing to migration may be, apparently the statement that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own

country" is quite as true today as it was 20 centuries ago and applies to regions and states as well as to nations. Also, apparently, the adage "a rolling stone gathers no moss," like many others, tells only a half-truth if that much, and as Luther Burbank observed, "Most of the men in the world who have accomplished something have done a considerable amount of rolling (migration) in their time, and have gathered a large amount of the varieties of moss that are most useful to us all—experience, adjustability, adaptability, facility, acquaintance, breadth of view and vision, and the chances to learn just what it is in the work of the world that is most useful for us to do."¹¹

The migration of *Rus* males born in Michigan to other states is three and one-half times that of natives of the state generally. Of the 251 *Rus* males born in Michigan, 107 are still residing in Michigan, five migrated to as many different countries, and 139 migrated to 39 different states. The professional agriculturists are less bound by propinquity in migrating than the general population, yet both groups of native-born migrants from Michigan tend to migrate to about the same states in similar proportions. Migration to Washington, D. C., is a notable exception. Only one-half of one per cent of the half million people born in Michigan are residing in the District of Columbia, yet 17.3 per cent of the Michigan-born *Rus* males are residing there. The demand for trained, experienced agricultural scientists by the United States Department of Agriculture, with its 21 bureaus and subordinate organizational units is the explanation, since 25 of the 26 migrants are employed by the U. S. D. A. In proportion to numbers, the exchange of professional agriculturists between states greatly exceeds the exchange of lay agriculturists.

STATE OF RESIDENCE

The number of *Rus* registrants residing in the different states varies from 14 in Nevada to 513 in New York. There are 281 residing in foreign countries, principally Canada. Table VII shows the number of *Rus* registrants residing in each state and the number of such persons per 100,000 rural population. Michigan, for example, with 208 *Rus* entrants and a rural population of 1,540,250 has, therefore, 13.5 *Rus* registrants per 100,000 rural population. Most of the states lying in the same degrees of north latitude have as high or higher ratio, while a majority of the states lying south of Michigan have a lower ratio. When

¹¹ Luther Burbank, *The Harvest of the Years* (Chicago, 1927), p. 25.

ratios are computed on the basis of number of *Rus* registrants per 100,000 farm population, Rhode Island and Massachusetts again rank first and second, respectively; Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi again rank forty-sixth, forty-seventh, and forty-eighth, respectively; and there are only minor shifts in the relative positions of most of the other 43 states.

The relative abundance of professional agriculturists and leaders in agriculture and home economics in most of the North¹² is due to many factors—literacy, educational opportunities, type of farming, land tenure, and many other economic, social, and cultural factors—undoubtedly the same factors contributing to a relatively high productivity of leaders.

Of the 208 *Rus* registrants residing in Michigan, 99 were born in Michigan, nine in foreign countries, and the others are natives of 22 different states. The migration of agricultural leaders from state of birth to Michigan seems to follow closely that of the general population. For example, the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York, and Wisconsin, which rank among the first six in the number of their native sons and daughters residing in Michigan, are also among the first six ranking states in the number of *Rus* migrants to Michigan.

CONCLUSION

Contrary to a common opinion and interpretation of some studies based on data from *Who's Who* to the effect that most eminent Americans are city-reared, this study of persons listed in *Rus*, approximately nine-tenths of whom are specialists in agricultural techniques, shows that 83 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women were reared on the farm, or both on the farm and in the town or city.

Migration of professional agriculturists from state of birth corresponds closely to that of the general population—being small in states from which few native-born have gone and large in states from which many native-born have migrated. However, leaders are approximately two and one-half times as migratory as laymen in comparing state of present residence with state of birth.

The states that seem to be most proficient in the production of agricultural experts and specialists form a sort of belt across the central and north central part of United States extending as far west as Nevada, with practically all "low" states lying to the south of this belt and most of the "medium" states lying to the north or west.

¹² For an extended bibliography see Sanford Winston, "The Mobility of Eminent Americans," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (1935-36), p. 627.

TABLE VII
RATIO OF *Rus* REGISTRANTS TO RURAL POPULATION

<i>States</i>	<i>Number of Rus Registrants Residing in Specified State</i>	<i>Number of Rus Registrants per 100,000 Rural Population: 1930</i>
Rhode Island.....	28	53.8
Massachusetts.....	167	39.9
Vermont.....	65	27.0
Wyoming.....	41	26.4
Oregon.....	117	25.2
Delaware.....	29	25.1
New Hampshire.....	48	25.0
New York.....	513	24.8
Nevada.....	14	24.7
Utah.....	59	24.4
California.....	320	21.1
Colorado.....	100	19.4
Montana.....	65	18.2
Connecticut.....	82	17.3
New Jersey.....	120	17.1
Arizona.....	46	16.1
Iowa.....	241	16.0
Idaho.....	49	15.5
Washington.....	105	15.4
Illinois.....	306	15.3
Kansas.....	172	14.9
Ohio.....	316	14.8
Maryland.....	94	14.3
Minnesota.....	186	14.2
North Dakota.....	80	14.1
Michigan.....	208	13.5
Wisconsin.....	186	13.4
Nebraska.....	114	12.8
Indiana.....	177	12.2
Maine.....	57	12.0
Florida.....	82	11.6
New Mexico.....	34	10.7
South Dakota.....	56	10.0
Missouri.....	171	9.7
Pennsylvania.....	241	7.8
West Virginia.....	94	7.6
Virginia.....	123	7.5
Oklahoma.....	109	6.9
North Carolina.....	150	6.4
Arkansas.....	92	6.3
Texas.....	214	6.2
Tennessee.....	102	5.9
South Carolina.....	81	5.9
Georgia.....	118	5.8
Louisiana.....	73	5.7
Kentucky.....	95	5.2
Alabama.....	91	4.8
Mississippi.....	59	3.5
United States.....	6,090*	11.3

*Does not include the 510 residing in the District of Columbia.

In proportion to total rural or farm population, agricultural educators and researchers are much more numerous in most of the New England and many of the Northern States than in the South. Among the many factors that contribute to human achievement, literacy and diversified democratic interaction appear fairly obvious and would seem to warrant continued promotion by present-day leaders.

A Statistical Study of the Croatans

Roland M. Harper

THE CROATANS are a group of several thousand people of uncertain and probably mixed ancestry, living in North and South Carolina, principally in Robeson County, in the former state. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss their history and anthropological characteristics—which can be done better by persons who have lived among or near them, or by anthropologists—but mainly to present certain data obtainable from census reports but not generally known.

This is probably the largest population group in the United States, outside of the long recognized races—white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese (and Mexicans, who are separated in the population census tables of 1930, but not yet in the agricultural statistics)—for which we can get reasonably accurate details from census tables.¹ But even so, many of the ratios have to be arrived at by indirect methods, and are vitiated slightly by the unavoidable inclusion of a few members of other races, as explained below.

The Croatans, like the "mongrel Virginians" described by Estabrook and McDougale in their book of that title, have generally been classed as Indians in recent years. An interesting early reference to them is found

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¹ There are in the eastern United States several interesting localized ethnic groups whose existence is not even hinted at by the Census, mostly because they are rather small, or not easily distinguished from some of their better known neighbors. For example, the "black Portuguese" (Cape Verde Islanders) of Cape Cod and vicinity, the "Jackson whites" of New York and New Jersey, the "Moors" of Delaware, the "Yellowhammers" and "Marlboro blues" of South Carolina, the Minorcans of East Florida, the Malungeons of East Tennessee, the "Cajans" and "Creoles" of southwestern Alabama (different from those of southern Louisiana, who are white), and the "Redbones" of northwestern Louisiana. There are also of course some larger and much more widely distributed groups, such as the Jews and gypsies, who are comparatively unmixed, and may differ in various ways from typical Americans, but are not separated for other reasons.

For a brief account of the "Jackson whites" see *The Eugenical News*, XVI (Dec., 1931), p. 218. The principal source of information about the Malungeons is two articles by Miss Will Allen Dromgoole, in the *Arena* (March and May, 1891). H. M. Bond describes the "Creoles" and "Cajans" of Alabama in *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXX (Jan., 1931), pp. 552-67. Several of these groups are discussed briefly by A. H. Estabrook and I. E. McDougale, *Mongrel Virginians* (Baltimore, 1926), but with fictitious tribal and place names, some of which are easily identified and some are not.

in the North Carolina section of the federal government's Ku Klux reports, entitled "Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States."² On page 283 there is a note on the free colored population of Robeson County, of supposed Portuguese, Spanish, and Indian ancestry, commonly called mulattoes. They were said to have been wealthy before the Revolution and to have owned slaves, but deteriorated until they were classed with the Negroes during the Civil War.

In the 80's a movement began to recognize them as a separate race, and they were then called Croatans, on the supposition that they might be descended from Raleigh's lost seventeenth century colony of Croatan. Separate schools were provided for them, including a normal school; but in recent North Carolina school reports they are not separated from the Negroes in the statistics. About a page (499-500) is devoted to them in the 11th Census quarto volume of Indians, published in 1894, which states that only 174 "Indians" were recognized in Robeson County by the Census of 1890, but the state school report for 1889-90 showed 649 boys and 593 girls between the ages of six and 21 in the Croatan population of the county, and 188 of the boys and 422 of the girls attended school.

There are a few notes on these people in the soil survey of Robeson County by W. E. Hearn, of the United States Bureau of Soils, and others, published in 1909, and a few pages (188-94) are devoted to them in Estabrook and McDougle's book previously mentioned. In a mimeographed circular by Dr. J. R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution, issued from the Office of Indian Affairs in 1933, the Indian tribes which seem to have entered into their ancestry are discussed, but there is no estimate as to the amount of blood contributed by other races.

The Malungeons of northeastern Tennessee may be an offshoot of the Croatans, as has been suggested in some of the literature cited, but no information about them is obtainable as yet from census reports, where they seem not to have been separated from the white population.

Before going into the statistics concerning the Croatans some account of their environment is in order. Over four-fifths of them are in Robeson County, and most of the remainder in near-by counties, though they are apparently not limited by any natural barriers, the country being much the same for 100 miles or more northeast and southwest.

Robeson County is in the upper or inner part of the coastal plain, in what may be called the short-leaf (or loblolly) pine belt. Its center is

² Report 22, Part 2 of the 42nd Congress, 2nd Session (1872).

about 65 miles from the coast and 40 miles from the fall line or inner edge of the coastal plain. Its surface is rather flat, with considerable swamp, and the elevations in the county range from about 100 to 200 feet above sea level. Incidentally, it is the largest county in North Carolina, having an area of about 1,000 square miles.³

The soil survey of the county previously mentioned, made in 1908 and published the following year, shows the principal soil texture classes to be as follows: sandy loam, 53.0 per cent; fine sandy loam, 17.3 per cent; swamp, 16.6 per cent; sand (including "sandhill"), 7.7 per cent; very fine sandy loam, 3.9 per cent; and smaller areas of fine sand, and loam. Adjoining counties at the same distance from the coast have about the same soils, but nearer the coast there is more swamp, and farther inland more clay.

The climate is temperate, with an annual average at Lumberton of 61 degrees Fahrenheit (January 43 degrees, July 80 degrees). The average annual precipitation is about 51 inches, with the greatest rainfall usually in August and the least in November.

Originally the region was practically all forested, and the commonest trees in the North Carolina portion, according to a study made by the writer about two decades ago,⁴ are short-leaf (loblolly) pine, long-leaf pine, black pine, black gum, sweet gum, cypress (two species), red maple, white bay, yellow poplar, and (southern) red oak. Lumbering has been an important industry in years gone by, but that has gradually given place to agriculture, in which the great majority of the Croatan families are now engaged.

In 1930, 53.5 per cent of the area of Robeson County was in farms, and 33.5 per cent cultivated, mostly in cotton and corn, the usual southern crops. There were 67.2 inhabitants per square mile, and about 70 per cent of them were on farms. The only town classed as "urban" was Lumberton, the county seat, with 4,140 inhabitants; but Maxton, Fairmont, Red Springs, and East Lumberton had over 1,000 each.

A little statistical information is obtainable about the Croatans from early census tables, as far back as the first United States Census, that of 1790. In those days these people, like some of the true Indians, were

³ Its area was given as 1,058 square miles in the government soil survey report (1909), but part was cut off in the formation of Hoke County in 1911, reducing it to 990 square miles.

⁴ *Torrey Botany Club Bulletin*, XLIV (1917), pp. 50-51. For some additional details for Robeson and Scotland Counties, based on a walking trip in the fall of 1905, see *Torrey*, VI (1906), pp. 41-45.

classed as free colored; and the number of such persons returned in Robeson County increased from 277 (5.2 per cent of the total population) in 1790 to 1,462 (9.45 per cent) in 1860. These figures doubtless include some free Negroes as well, but it is significant that the percentage of free colored in Robeson County was more than three times the North Carolina average throughout those 70 years.

In 1850 the "free colored" element constituted 9.6 per cent of the population of Robeson County, 4.6 per cent in Cumberland, and 3.3 per cent in Sampson, as compared with 3.16 per cent in the whole state. In 1860 the colored population, both free and slave, of each county was divided into black and mulatto, and we find that only 0.2 per cent of the free colored in Robeson County were blacks, as compared with 25.8 per cent in the whole state. But just how many of the "mulattoes" were Croatans we can only guess.

In the censuses of 1870 and 1880 the Croatans are not distinguishable at all in the figures of Robeson County, even as Indians, though over 1,000 Indians (Cherokees) were then recognized in western North Carolina. But on account of the revival of interest in them in the eighties (said to be due mainly to the efforts of one man, Hon. Hamilton McMillan), from 1890 on the number returned at successive censuses increased rapidly, probably more so than could be accounted for by the excess of births over deaths. At first the palest ones may have been classed as whites and the darkest ones as mulattoes; and the evident underenumeration of them in 1890 was noted in one of the publications previously cited.

Table I shows the number of "Indians" returned in the censuses of 1880 to 1930, and minor races in 1930, in eight counties in North Carolina and two in South Carolina, all contiguous. There are a very few "Indians" (probably Croatans) in other counties close by, but the true Indians, or Cherokees, in the mountains of North Carolina are separated by a considerable distance. Recent censuses have reported about 180 Indians in Person County, North Carolina, about 100 miles north of the main body of Croatans, and they have been called Croatans in local news items,⁵ but as they are in the Piedmont region, quite different geologically from Robeson and adjoining counties, and probably have little or no communication with the typical Croatans,⁶ they have

⁵ The United States Government soil survey of Person County, by R. C. Jurney and others, published in 1932, mentions the presence of a few "Croatiens" (doubtless intended for Croatans) in the northeastern part of the county.

⁶ The Croatans, like most Indians (the Choctaws of Mississippi being an exception),

not been considered in the present study. (They seem to differ from the Robeson County Croatans in having a lower birth rate and less illiteracy, but their numbers are too small for accurate statistics, or to make any material difference if they were combined with the others.)

In the table the counties in each state are arranged not alphabetically, but in order of the number of Croatans in 1930.

TABLE I
"INDIANS" RETURNED IN SELECTED COUNTIES AT SIX CENSUSES,
AND MINOR RACES IN THE SAME COUNTIES IN 1930

Counties	Indians						Minor Races 1930
	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	
Total.....	9	252	4,300	6,384	10,077	14,833	10
North Carolina							
Robeson.....	0	174	3,877	5,895	8,917	12,404	1 Chinese
Scotland*.....	0	0	134	74	329	555	1 Mexican
Sampson.....	7	0	0	213	234	394	0
Hoke†.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	218	361	0
Columbus.....	0	0	257	12	55	231	1 Mexican
Bladen.....	0	0	2	36	22	133	1 Mexican
Cumberland.....	1	28	1	48	111	81	3
Harnett.....	0	27	0	29	73	63	0
South Carolina							
Dillon‡.....	0	21	29	77	118	365	2 Mexicans
Marlboro.....	1	2	0	0	0	246	1 Chinese

*Scotland County was cut off from Richmond in 1900 (before the Census), but no "Indians" were credited to Richmond County in 1880 or 1890.

†Hoke County was formed from Cumberland and Robeson in 1911.

‡Dillon County was part of Marion up to the beginning of 1910, and the 1890 and 1900 figures for it in this table are those for Marion County. But no "Indians" were credited to Marion County in 1910, and very few since then.

The decrease in the figures for some of the counties between censuses may be due either to local migrations or to imperfect enumeration.

Table II shows the total population of the same counties in 1930, with the number of whites, Negroes and other races, and the distribution of the latter as to kind of community. Urban population, as defined in the last several censuses, is that living in incorporated places with 2,500 inhabitants or more (which may sometimes include a few farmers). The rural-nonfarm population, a new category, consists mostly of small towns and villages, incorporated or otherwise; and in many respects it resembles the urban population more than it does the farm population with which it was formerly combined.

ride with the whites on trains where they are known, but if one wandered too far from home he might be taken for a mulatto and treated accordingly, and that probably keeps them pretty well confined to a restricted area.

TABLE II

POPULATION OF COUNTIES CONTAINING THE MOST CROATANS, 1930

Counties	Total	White	Negro	Others (Mostly Croatsans)	Others by Location		
					Urban	Rural Nonfarm	Rural Farm
Total.....	341,618	192,584	134,191	14,843	34	1,225	13,584
North Carolina							
Robeson.....	66,512	31,323	22,784	12,405	6	1,027	11,372
Scotland.....	20,174	8,819	10,799	556	0	13	543
Sampson.....	40,082	26,018	13,670	394	0	9	385
Hoke.....	14,244	5,248	8,635	361	0	3	358
Columbus.....	37,720	25,901	11,587	232	0	81	151
Bladen.....	22,389	13,052	9,203	134	0	24	110
Cumberland....	45,219	28,086	17,049	84	7	26	51
Harnett.....	37,911	27,459	10,389	63	20	7	36
South Carolina							
Dillon.....	25,733	13,299	12,067	367	0	12	355
Marlboro.....	31,634	13,379	18,008	247	1	23	223

The Croatans constituted 18.7 per cent of the population of Robeson County, 2.76 per cent of Scotland, 2.54 per cent of Hoke, and about 0.45 per cent of the total population of North Carolina.

In Robeson County, which includes over 80 per cent of all the Croatans considered here, their distribution by townships has been studied, by means of local details given for the first time by the Census of 1930. Of the 26 townships in the county, three had no Croatans at all, in one they constituted 88 per cent of the population, and in two others over 50 per cent. One of these is Pembroke, the principal railroad center of the county, and an observant traveler passing through there can usually see several of them.

Most of the statistics of age, sex, illiteracy, etc., for the Croatans in the following tables have been computed by adding the figures given for whites and Negroes in the census tables and subtracting them from the county totals. They therefore include a few Chinese, Mexicans, etc., as indicated in Table I, but so few (less than one to 1,000 Croatans) as to make no material difference. In chemical parlance, the sample available for analysis is over 99.9 per cent pure.

In studying the characteristics of the Croatan population we may well begin with 1850. The number recognized at that time (as "free colored") in a few of the principal counties has already been noted. At the present time they seem to be a very prolific lot (as will be shown more plainly farther on), and there were some indications of that before the

Civil War. In 1850, 32.6 per cent of the "free colored" in Robeson County were under 10 years of age (indicating a birth rate of perhaps 40 per thousand), as compared with 31.6 per cent in the whole state; and in 1860 the differences were still greater, the figures being 36.8 per cent and 30.7 per cent, respectively.

Large families and ignorance generally go together (though there are many individual exceptions, and communities with large families have some advantages over the other extreme, which need not be discussed here); and in 1850 the illiteracy percentages for the "free colored" population over 20 years old in North Carolina were 56.2 for males and 57.5 for females in the whole state, and 58.5 and 72.6 in Robeson County.

The Croatans were scarcely distinguished at all in the censuses of 1870 and 1880, those recognized in 1890 were too few to be studied statistically, and the Census of 1900 affords little information about them except their number and sex. But from the census reports of 1910, supplemented by a special volume on Negroes published by the Census Bureau in 1918, we can get a fair idea of their condition at that time.

The population statistics in Table III are based on seven counties in North Carolina and one in South Carolina which contained 12 or more "Indians" each in 1910 (see Table I), but the agricultural statistics are based only on Robeson, Sampson, and Scotland counties, North Carolina (which contained about 97 per cent of the total Croatans). At that time, besides the whites, Negroes, and "Indians" in the eight counties, there were five Chinese, and those enter into the calculations. There was only one "urban" community in the area at that time, namely, Fayetteville (Cumberland County), which had 7,045 inhabitants, including two Chinese, but no "Indians." The Croatans were therefore all "rural," but not necessarily all on farms, for some of them may have been in the lumber business, as many of the whites and Negroes undoubtedly were. (Only 60 per cent of all homes, and 54 per cent of the Negro homes, in the counties named were classed as farm homes in 1910.)

The Census of 1910 seems to be the only one for which we can get statistics of agriculture for races other than white and Negro in each county; and most of those are obtained by subtracting certain figures for Negroes from the corresponding ones for total colored, in the special Negro volume of 1918. Some statistics of families in 1910 are available for the total and the Negro population, but not for whites and therefore

not for Croatans. However, some estimates have been made by the writer, which ought to be better than no figures at all.

In Table III the Croatans (combined with five Chinese) are compared with the white and Negro population of the same counties.

TABLE III
STATISTICS OF WHITES, CROATANS, AND NEGROES IN CERTAIN COUNTIES, 1910

	White	Croatan	Negro
Total population (8 counties).....	125,285	6,389	91,715
"Urban" (Fayetteville).....	3,750	2 Chinese	3,293
Persons per family.....	4.99 (?)	5.19 (?)	5.14
Ratio of males to females.....	1.013	.990	.950
Percent of males over 21.....	48.0	41.5	40.4
Per cent of population under 10.....	27.1	22.7	31.5
Per cent of children, between 6 and 15 attending school.....	75.0	63.5	63.0
<i>Per cent illiterate</i>			
All over 10.....	14.5	50.1	34.2
Adult males only.....	15.8	57.9	39.9
Farms (three counties).....	7,083	862	4,571
Acres per farm.....	119.0	52.0	44.3
Improved acres per farm.....	38.6	28.5	29.2
<i>Values per farm</i>			
Land.....	\$2,500	\$2,315	\$1,150
Buildings.....	671	236	226
Implements and machinery.....	131	60	42

In this table the Croatans are seen to be inferior to the whites in everything that indicates prosperity, but usually superior to the Negroes. This, however, throws no new light on their ancestry, for true Indians are usually intermediate, too, in states where they and Negroes are both represented in appreciable numbers (e.g., Oklahoma).

Both Croatans and Negroes evidently have a higher birth rate than the whites, and that is doubtless correlated with the small amount of machinery per farm, as can be shown by innumerable illustrations from all over the United States and many foreign countries, down to the present time. The birth rate has declined everywhere as the use of machinery has increased (probably because a certain amount of muscular exercise is needed for health and strength).⁷

The information available for 1920 (by the subtraction method, as before), is a little more complete as to population characteristics than

⁷ This is too long a story to be discussed further here, but the reader can find some interesting correlations of this sort for the mountains of Kentucky in 1930 on page 17 of Lorimer and Osborn's *Dynamics of Population* (New York, 1934). See also abstracts of papers by the writer in the *Journal of the Alabama Academy of Science*, V (1934), p. 24 and VII (1935), p. 40.

that for 1910, and that for 1930 is still more so. These two census years are combined in Table IV. For 1920, eight counties in North Carolina and one in South Carolina are used, and for 1930 one more in South Carolina (see Table 1). In the 1930 statistics corresponding data for the white and Negro total and rural farm population of the same counties are given for comparison, except that Cumberland County is omitted, because the figures for it are vitiated by the inclusion of Camp (now Fort) Bragg, a military reservation, which is as independent of North Carolina as the District of Columbia is of Maryland, or nearly so.⁸

If the comparisons had been confined to the two or three counties with the largest proportion of Croatans, some of the ratios in columns three to six of the table would have differed perceptibly from these, but larger numbers are better for statistical purposes, and the aim has been to show the condition of whites and Negroes having essentially the same geographical environment as the Croatans, even though some of those in the peripheral counties may have never seen a Croatan.

The rural-farm population has been tabulated separately here because the great majority of the Croatans are farmers, and it is more logical to compare them with their white and Negro farm neighbors than with the total population of the same counties, including the towns. But the census data for the rural-farm population of counties are rather meager as yet, especially if one wishes to separate the races. Therefore two additional columns are given for the white and Negro farm population of the whole state of North Carolina in 1930.

Besides the first column, showing the condition of the Croatans in 1920, there are a few lines for 1920 in the table, as indicated. Everything else is for 1930.

The apparent rapid increase of the Croatans in 10 years may be due partly to increasing recognition of them, as previously suggested. Over nine-tenths of them live on farms, in which respect they differ markedly from the whites and Negroes in the same counties, and resemble the Indians in most states.

⁸ According to the Census of 1920 Camp Bragg had then 1,091 inhabitants (race, sex, and age not specified), of which 817 were in Cumberland County and the rest in Hoke. The population of Cumberland County in 1930 included 28,086 whites, 17,049 Negroes, 81 "Indians," one Mexican, and two others of race not specified (not Chinese or Japanese, but perhaps Filipinos, of whom six were found in the whole state at the time). The influence of Fort Bragg is shown by the fact that there were 8,071 white men and only 6,910 white women (over 21) in the county, while the other Croatan counties taken together had a small excess of white women. Most of the excess was between the ages of 15 and 35, where there were 6,081 males and 4,579 females in the white population (which would

TABLE IV

CONDITION OF CROATANS IN NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA (10 COUNTIES),
 COMPARED WITH WHITES AND NEGROES IN THE SAME COUNTIES (EXCEPT
 CUMBERLAND), AND THE WHITE AND NEGRO RURAL FARM
 POPULATION OF NORTH CAROLINA (MOSTLY 1930)

	Croatans		Same Counties		Farm Population of Same		N. C. Rural-Farm Population	
	1920	1930	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Per cent increase, 1920-30..		47.3	18.8	10.2	?	?	6.1	6.5
Per cent urban.....	0.2	0.2	8.2	6.5				
“ rural nonfarm....	?	8.4	25.6	17.3				
“ rural farm.....	?	91.4	66.2	76.1				
Ratio of males to females								
All ages.....	1.0006	1.002	1.014	.947	?	?	1.057	1.001
Under 10.....	?	.998	1.0346	.996	?	?	1.041	1.000
Over 21.....	1.0386	1.010	.993	.896	1.035	.924	1.041	.987
Per cent under 10 years....	34.5	32.9	27.0	29.1	?	?	26.7	30.0
“ over 21.....	39.8	39.2	47.5	40.9	44.9	38.4	46.0	39.1
“ over 65.....	?	2.7	3.8	2.5	?	?	4.5	2.8
Median age (approximate)...	?	16.3	19.9	17.5	?	?	19.0	17.0
Persons per family.....	?	5.52	4.88	5.25	5.16	5.60	5.14	5.83
Men.....	?	1.08	1.15	1.01	1.18	1.03	1.20	1.13
Women.....	?	1.07	1.16	1.13	1.14	1.12	1.16	1.15
Children.....	?	3.37	2.56	3.10	2.84	3.45	2.78	3.55
Children per woman, 1930..		3.12	2.20	2.63	2.49	3.08	2.40	3.09
Same in 1920.....	3.08		2.22	2.80	?	?	?	?
Per cent of homes owned....	?	22.3	46.5	25.2	50.8	21.1	58.4	23.8
Per cent of homes having radio sets.....	0	0.4(?)	8.5 (?)	?	2.7	?	4.4	0.3
Per cent illiterate 1920								
Men.....	41.0		11.5	34.3	?	?	?	?
Women.....	48.0		11.8	36.6	?	?	?	?
All over 10 years.....	33.4		9.0	26.3	?	?	?	?
Per cent illiterate 1930								
Men.....		?	?	?	?	?	11.9	29.0
Women.....		?	?	?	?	?	8.9	36.2
All over 10 years.....		31.3	8.0	24.9	?	?	7.4	22.9

The fecundity of the Croatans seems to have remained relatively constant since 1850 at least, while it has decreased decidedly in most other groups of population in all civilized countries. It is indicated not only by their rapid increase (which however may be exaggerated, as just stated), but also by the per cent under 10 years old, and the number of children per family and per woman. (All persons under 21 are here

make the sex-age curve very abnormal). Fort Bragg is evidently included in the "rural nonfarm" population, which showed 3,599 white men and 2,224 white women. Manchester Township, in which the fort, or most of it, is located, had 3,011 males and 873 females (race and age not specified).

Another reason for leaving out Cumberland County is that it differs from the rest in having 29 per cent of its population urban. Fayetteville, the county seat, in 1930 had 7,685 whites, 5,357 Negroes, and seven of other races, including an undetermined number of Croatans, probably three or four.

counted as children.)⁹ In Hoke County the ratio of children to women among the Croatans rose to the almost incredible figures of 4.27 in 1920 and 4.50 in 1930; but the total number of Croatans there is too small to mean much. For all the Croatans in 1930 the ratio was 3.12. As there are always some families whose children are all in the future, and others whose children have all grown up, the total number of children born to the average Croatan woman should be about double this number, or 6.24, which was about the United States average a century ago. Anyway, it is probably a safe assumption that the Croatan birth rate at present (1936) is just about double the United States average.¹⁰

The median age of the Croatans is remarkably low, certainly less than 17 years in 1930, which is about the same as for the whole United States in 1820. But this is quite consistent with other age data given in the table, and in the footnote below, where the Croatans are compared with other racial groups. As the average expectation of life in a stationary population is usually just about double the median age, the average Croatan should live about 33 years; but this should be checked by local vital statistics if possible, for the Croatans are far from stationary in numbers. The per cent of the population over 65 years old is also a rough index of longevity, if not too much disturbed by migration.

The small number of men and women per family is a pretty good indirect indication of early marriage. For if it were customary for every one to marry and establish a new home at 21, there would be just about one man and one woman per family; but a young man or woman who remains single for a few years after passing 21 then becomes an extra adult in some family, either that of his parents or in a boarding house

⁹ For a discussion of the significance of this ratio, see *Journal of Heredity*, XVIII (1927), 217-223.

¹⁰ It may be of interest to insert here some statistics illustrating fecundity and longevity of the principal racial groups in the whole United States in 1930, with the Carolina Croatans added for comparison.

Race	Children per Woman	Per cent of Population by Age			Median Age
		Under 10	Over 21	Over 65	
White.....	1.35	19.2	60.2	5.72	26.9
Negro.....	1.62	21.8	55.0	3.14	23.4
Mexican.....	2.45	29.6	48.5	1.99	20.2
Indian.....	2.35	28.1	47.1	4.92	19.6
Croatan.....	3.12	32.9	39.2	2.70	16.3

elsewhere.¹¹ The early marriage of Croatan women helps explain the large number of children per woman, for some of those under 21, who are counted as children by definition, may be already mothers.

Some information about the marital condition of the Croatans can be obtained from the census in another way. The marital condition tables for 1930 give the number single, married, widowed, etc., at different ages, for whites, Negroes, and other races in each state. In North Carolina there were 16,681 persons of "other races," and as about 85 per cent of these are presumed to be Croatans, the statistics are representative enough for them. In that group the median age of marriage was about 23 years for men and 22 for women, or a few months earlier than for Negroes and whites. About 4 per cent of the men and 5 per cent of the women past 50 were returned as single, as compared with about the same for Negroes and 5 and 8 per cent of the whites.

The percentage of owned homes for Croatans, and to a lesser extent that for whites and Negroes, may be larger than the figures indicate, for there was a considerable number of homes whose tenure was not ascertained by the census enumerators, or perhaps was hard to classify. But the Croatans are evidently inferior to real Indians in this respect, for the 1930 Census showed 77.4 per cent of home ownership among the Cherokees of western North Carolina, and around 50 per cent for Indians, Mexicans, etc., combined in several western states where the Indians were much more numerous than the Mexicans.

The 1930 Census found only 11 radio sets in North Carolina that did not belong to whites or Negroes, and even if none of those belonged to the Cherokees, Chinese, or Mexicans, only a fraction of one per cent of the Croatan families could have had one; and the figure 0.4 in the table may be too high. (These data are not available by separate races except in state totals, but they have been estimated for the whites in the counties listed on the assumption that nearly all the radios reported belong to white people.)

Illiteracy is higher among the Croatans than among either whites or Negroes, which is a natural consequence of their being a sort of depressed caste; but it is decreasing slowly.

In conclusion, the statistics here presented cannot be said to throw any new light on the ancestry of the Croatans. They are intermediate between their white and Negro neighbors in some respects, and extreme in others, such as fecundity and illiteracy. They have not been compared

¹¹ See *Scientific Monthly*, XXX (1930), pp. 164-65.

in detail with Indians, for the real Indians are all in quite different environments from the Croatans, those in North Carolina and other eastern states are too few for accurate statistics, and those farther west (for which United States averages could have been given) represent too many different tribes.¹²

The Croatans seem to be the most prolific people in the United States at present; and if their birth rate continues high, while that of the whites and Negroes continues to decrease as it has been doing lately, some interesting if not disquieting situations should develop in the next few decades. There may be more of them now than have been recognized. Estabrook and McDougle¹³ mention about 3,000 of them in a neighboring county in South Carolina, where the census has never reported more than a few hundred "Indians."

Some indication of their increase since 1930 is afforded by the federal agricultural census of 1935. In that all nonwhite races are lumped together, and while the number of white farmers in North Carolina increased 14.2 per cent in five years, and colored farmers decreased 9.8 per cent, in Robeson County the whites increased 9.6 per cent and the "colored" 0.2 per cent. There was doubtless an exodus of Negroes to cities and other states on account of the boll weevil, etc., and a corresponding increase of Croatans, for in the eight counties in North Carolina that had more Negro than white farmers in 1930 the white farmers increased from 9,159 to 9,740, or 6.35 per cent, while the colored decreased from 15,531 to 13,187, or 8.66 per cent.

¹² It would be interesting to study the Indians of various western states by the methods here outlined. And by picking the right counties some comparisons between different tribes in the same state might be made.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 190, 195.

Notes

A NEW RUMANIAN JOURNAL OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY¹

One of the most significant developments in European life and thought today is the rediscovery of the peasantry. Both classical economics and Marxism showed little understanding of the peasantry. With his strong sense of traditional social values and his attachment to a subsistence economy, the peasant stubbornly refused to fit into categories and processes predicated on the "homo oeconomicus" of nineteenth century economics. The Russian peasantry ungraciously insisted on violating the Marxist conception of a "residual reservoir," which was to dissolve into antagonistic classes of capitalist landowners and landless proletarians; Lenin was forced to modify Marxism profoundly in applying its theories to a peasant country. Hitler has recognized the social importance of the peasantry by introducing new legislation designed to remove the peasant household in part from the pressure of capitalist economy and by glorifying peasant culture in new rites and symbols. Even in France, where the peasantry has regularly been content to express its interests through universal political slogans and parties handed down from the French Revolution, an important "populist" and "regionalist" literature has lately been giving expression to the unique significance of peasant life. In supposedly peasantless America, sociology and literature have turned to islands of peasantry—in the Appalachians, in northern New England, and among the Negroes, while the cultural and economic revolution in Mexico arouses public interest and controversy.

Naturally the political and cultural movement of the peasantry is feeble in the highly industrialized West than in the overwhelmingly peasant countries of eastern Europe. Here are 14 countries in which peasant parties hold or seek political power, peasant co-operatives occupy some of the strongest citadels of economic life, and the question of "Whither the peasantry?" is the all-absorbing riddle which the intellectuals and politicians are trying to solve.

In none of these countries is this question more acute than in Rumania. When the greatly enlarged Rumanian national state had emerged from the welter of the World War, its leaders awoke to the fact that its new position was due above all to the centuries-long persistence of the Rumanian peasantry under alien rule. With a high degree of biological vitality, with a low, even primitive standard of living, with a stubborn adherence to traditional ways of life, the Rumanian peasantry under Magyar, German, and Russian rule outlasted the alien ruling castes and survived to become the basis of the new state. Naturally the study of the social and cultural life of this basic class became the chief purpose of the new school of Rumanian sociology, led by Professor Dimitrie Gusti, head of the

¹ Part of the material for this article was collected under a fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

department of sociology at Bucharest University and president of the Rumanian Social Institute. But the new science could not be practiced in libraries and studies. The sociologist had to go to the village to study peasant life on the spot. That has been the purpose of the sociological field-investigations personally directed by Dr. Gusti every summer since 1925.

In approaching social reality the Bucharest school applies the sociological theory elaborated by Gusti over the last 30 years. Social reality is studied in its four frames of existence: cosmological, biological, psychical, and historical. Activity within these frames, or *cadres*, is divided into four types of manifestations: spiritual, economic, administrative-political, and ethical-juridical. The study of manifestations leads to the analysis of social units, social relations, and social processes. Thus the investigation of social change or tendency can be based on a thorough analysis of social statics and dynamics; it need no longer rest on the assumption of some moving force outside the social process itself, whether an independently evolving economic process (Marx, as interpreted by strict Marxists) or an idea realizing itself in matter (Hegel, Othmar Spann).² The Gusti conception of social evolution escapes the twin pitfalls of metaphysics and materialism. It has in practice proved a flexible and inspiring guide in the study of complex reality.

The all-embracing, encyclopedic character of the Gusti philosophy has led to co-operation between many types of specialists in the carrying out of field-investigations. Besides the central nucleus of sociologists trained by Dr. Gusti and his assistants, a field-group (*echipa monografică*) includes economists, farm experts, physicians, veterinarians, child-welfare workers, theological students, experts in literary and musical folklore, architects, forestry engineers, etc. Instead of each member following his own bent independently, the application of the Gusti conception through frequent conferences and through close co-operation by a variety of specialists in studying a given problem knits the entire group into a single unit. The Gusti field-group, consisting of about 40 members, is marked by a strong *esprit de corps* and by the absence of professional lines of division so frequent in academic work.

The results of the field-investigations have been published during the last 10 years in the *Arhiva pentru știința și reforma socială*, the organ of the Rumanian Social Institute and of the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes.³ But the *Arhiva* has been inadequate for this purpose since it has always devoted most of its space to economic, international, and theoretical questions. Partly in response to the demand for more rapid publication of the products of the field-work Professor Gusti in January, 1936, founded a new monthly review, *Sociologie românească*.

It is not enough to study the peasantry; today the peasantry must be guided

² A more detailed treatment of the Gusti philosophy is found in D. Gusti, *La monographie et l'action monographique en Roumanie* (Paris, 1935), and *Sociologia militans* (Bucharest, 1935); T. Herseni, *Teoria monografiei sociologice* (Bucharest, 1934); H. H. Stahl, *Tehnica monografiei sociologice* (Bucharest, 1934); P. E. Mosely, "The Sociological School of Dimitrie Gusti," *Sociological Review*, XXVIII (April, 1936), 149-65.

³ See especially vol. X (1932) of the *Arhiva*.

intelligently in its development. The conservatism and economic backwardness of the Rumanian peasantry safeguarded its ethnic unity. But in a new world and in the new state that backwardness has become a great danger. Trade and industry impinge on the peasant world, destroying its economic isolation and self-sufficiency. Land-reform has abolished the economic tutelage of the upper classes and placed on the peasant responsibility for his own fate. Universal suffrage has made the peasant a power in the state, while many parties contest for his vote. But culture and modern technique cannot be handed to the peasantry from above. They must be developed within it, on the basis of existing social traditions and forms. "Culture" cannot be artificially planted by books, sermons, and agitation; the peasants' markedly individual culture must be modified from within, modernized, directed to the satisfaction of new and pressing needs.⁴ This practical work of rural improvement has been the second aim of the Gusti school ever since its inception. A long step toward its fulfillment was taken in 1934 when King Carol II appointed Dr. Gusti president of the Prince Carol Cultural Foundation.

From its creation in 1923 the Foundation strove to reach the peasant through libraries and books. It took over and continued a popular weekly newspaper, *The Bee (Albina)*, especially adapted to the language and needs of the village. It founded and steadily enlarged its collection of "Books for the Village," a series of literary, historical, and agricultural volumes sold at very low prices to village libraries, schools, and individuals. It aided in the foundation of "Cultural Centers" (*Căminul cultural*), not altogether unlike the lyceums of an earlier New England. These organizations provided lectures and entertainments. When Dr. Gusti took over the leadership of the Foundation in 1934, his profound sociological understanding of the nature of social change and his long experience of the Rumanian village gave to its work a new and more fertile direction. Instead of working *on* the village by methods natural among an urban and educated population, he determined to work *in* and *through* the village by methods native to the peasant. Exhortation would not change the peasant's way of doing things; his conservatism lay deeper than reasoning or sermons. Only by doing things along with the peasant and thus creating new habits in place of old could the persistent distrust of novelty, the fear of abandoning the familiar for the unknown, be overcome. To do this it was necessary to plant in the villages groups of young and trained intellectuals, not associated with the official administration, able by altruistic and patient work to modify the mentality of the individual villagers and hence of the village as a whole. The method which Gusti has applied is drawn directly from his experience with the sociological field-groups. Teams of students and technicians (*echipe studențești*), numbering from eight to 15 members each, have been sent since 1934 to work for three months during three successive years in selected villages. Each team comprises a doctor and a medical student, a veterinarian and a student of veterinary medicine, a farm expert and an agricultural student, a home economics expert and a student, sometimes a theological student, a singing master, always an experienced

⁴ Cf. H. H. Stahl, *Cultura satelor cum trebuie înțeleasă* (Cluj, 1935).

sociologist of the Gusti school. In each line of work an expert and a novice thus work in harness.

The experts devote their vacations to the work, or in some cases are paid by their respective ministries; the students work gratuitously. Medicine and instruments are provided by the Ministry of Health, equipment for veterinarians and farm experts by the Ministry of Agriculture, reduced transportation rates by the State Railways. The village agrees to provide lodging and part of the food. Without the devotion of the young intellectuals to the advancement of the peasantry and their single-hearted eagerness to serve there would be no Teams. During the three months each Team is visited regularly by an inspector, a member of the permanent staff of the Foundation or of co-operating institutes. A "Guide for Cultural Work" (*Indrumătorul Muncii Culturale*, Bucharest, 1936), composed by the Foundation's most experienced leaders, serves as the basis of the preliminary training of the members of the Teams and answers many practical questions as they arise in the course of the summer's work. A weekly bulletin, "The Courier of the Student Teams" (*Curierul Echipelor Studențești*), provides a medium during the summer campaign for the exchange of advice and encouragement among the various Teams. In 1934 the Foundation sent 12 Teams to widely scattered villages; in 1935, 25; and in 1936, 47, with 477 members.⁵ One of the most encouraging features of the movement is the appearance of 11 voluntary Teams in 1936, subject to the same discipline and requirements as the regular Teams organized by the Foundation.

An objection at once offers itself. This work is carried on for only three summer months and during three years. What becomes of all these splendid beginnings once the Team has left and its stimulus has faded out? In the second place, of what use is it to reach a scant 50 of Rumania's 15,000 villages? Surely, no changes set going for a few months in a few and probably selected units will have any lasting effect on the country as a whole. The answer to both these legitimate questions is found in the Cultural Center. The Team works with and through the Center during its time in the village. The Center and the Team mobilize the village to achieve concrete aims, such as building a new bridge, digging drainage ditches, repairing the church, providing a pavilion for singing and dancing, providing regular and inexpensive medical service through a medical co-operative, organizing a co-operative for consumption, credit or sale, developing a singing society, and so forth. Under Gusti's leadership and through the medium of the Teams the Cultural Centers have ceased to be chiefly literary and exhortatory in character; they have enormously expanded their practical activity in promoting agricultural technique, health for humans and animals, public improvements, and economic co-operation. The Team does not do things

⁵ Among the achievements of 1936 were: 78,280 medical consultations and 28,570 injections, 15,811 veterinary consultations and 54,624 injections, 45 short-term schools of agriculture with 1,489 pupils, 135,736 meters of ditches dug, 178 bridges built, 78 kilometers of highway built or repaired, 1,953 lectures, 1,531 agricultural demonstrations, and 9,439 consultations. Cf. D. Gusti, "Învățăminte și perspective din a treia campanie a echipelor studențești," *Sociologie românească*, I/11/1-6 (Roman refers to year, second figure to issue, last figure to pages).

for the village; above all it applies its intelligence and good will to uniting the village through the Cultural Center in the achievement of immediate improvements, a tangible source of pride and an impetus to undertake further and more difficult betterments in the whole life of the community.

The Team does not come to the village with a ready-made or uniform plan; instead, the first part of its stay is devoted to a summary survey of the social life of the village, an abbreviated version of the detailed study which is made by the large sociological field-group in a single village each summer. On the basis of its survey the Team diagnoses the most pressing ailments and proposes immediate if partial remedies such as can be applied by the village with its own resources. To fill the gap in leadership which might appear with the Team's departure the local intellectuals and the more alert peasants are now being trained to lead the Centers. In 1936 Năsăud County had a special fortnight's school for Center-leaders, attended by teachers, priests, notaries, and villagers. Several regional federations of Cultural Centers have been formed; through regular meetings and bulletins they link up all the member Centers, make practical proposals, exchange advice, and above all stimulate local pride and competition. The number of Centers now exceeds 1,000; the influence of an active Center may radiate over a dozen neighboring villages. In September, 1936, a number of district assemblies for Center-leaders was held throughout the country. For the extensive stratum of intellectuals who are organizing and leading the Centers throughout the year Dr. Gusti's new review, as its second function, serves as a source of information about peasant life and culture and as a central organ for discussing the needs and opportunities present in the work of village-improvement.

Finally, Dr. Gusti has undertaken the tremendous task of arousing in the educated and urban classes a realization of the cultural and artistic wealth of the peasantry and of its crying economic and medical needs. The annual congress of Cultural Centers, held at Bucharest in the presence of the King, helps to serve that purpose. Three films have been made by the sociological field-group, illustrating every phase of peasant life and demonstrating the work of the Cultural Centers and Teams; they have been shown throughout Rumania and in several European capitals. During the winter of 1936-37 the radio broadcasted a series of 18 lectures devoted to the work of the Foundation. The most striking link in this rapprochement between village and city is the Museum of the Village, established in a large suburban park of Bucharest. Here are genuine houses from 40 Rumanian villages, representing every region in the country. Most of them were dismounted on the spot and set up again in the outdoor Museum; the others were built by carpenters and masons from the village of origin. Each house is furnished with household utensils, farm tools, costumes, pottery, etc., of the original village; during three summer months a village family, dressed in its homespun clothes, lives almost its usual life in the Museum village. No descriptions in words can convey the richness and variety of Rumanian village life so well as it is brought home to the visitor who strolls down the village street and enters each house. Hundreds of thousands of urban dwellers, who usually see

villages only from train or automobile, have had the reality of peasant Rumania brought home to them by the Museum. The same task of evoking a new understanding for the peasantry as the historic basis of the nation and a sympathy for the great needs of the village devolves upon the new review.

The first function of *Sociologie românească* is to present concrete studies based on the Gusti method. During its first year the review published 13 contributions toward a study of Șanț (jud. Năsăud, Transylvania). Outstanding among them is the collective article on the harvest festival of the village girls (*cununa*).⁶ This illustrates the value of the collective method. Seven members of the team worked simultaneously in different places; exact timing in recording all aspects of the ceremony, lasting 12 hours, enabled the observers to grasp every step in the preparation and execution of the festival, while a single observer would have seen only a part. Stenography, photography, musical recording, and moving-picture camera were pressed into service. The result is a far more intensive penetration into the social function and magical significance of the harvest festival. Other studies present a detailed analysis of population and economic statistics, of family composition and household types. An article by Professor Făcăoaru analyzes the racial composition of the natives of Șanț; curiously enough, the Mediterranean type predominates among men, Alpines among women. Fishing, hunting, types of farm units, leather-working in its economic and artistic functions are described. Types of folk-singing in recitative form, a special magical practice, Christmas singing, the attitude of a returned emigrant toward the village have been treated. A special study of the budget expenditures of four types of households—rich, middling, poor, and proletarian—shows that the middling household is least dependent on the market.⁷ These articles represent installments of a large monograph on Șanț, which is to illustrate in its every aspect the application of the Gusti philosophy and method to the study of a Rumanian village.

At Drăguș, another Transylvanian village, H. H. Stahl, one of Gusti's chief assistants and author of the standard study of field methods (*Tehnica monografiei sociologice*), has analyzed two distinct types of social relations, the Neighborhood and godparentage. In Drăguș, the Neighborhood represents a subunit of the village, with an elected head; it serves as a burial society, performs certain work for the village, and, in one case, has developed into a club. The study of godparentage shows how the relationship is passed down in the same family,

⁶ "Cununa in satul Șanț," *ibid.*, I/2/11-21.

⁷ R. Cresin, "Monografia comunei Șanț—materiale privitoare la statistica demografică și economică a comunei," *ibid.*, I/5/15-24; same, "Monografia comunei Șanț—mișcarea populației," *ibid.*, I/6/7-18; same, "Monografia comunei Șanț—familia," *ibid.*, I/7-9/56-61; I. Făcăoaru, "Compoziția rasială a populației din Șanț," *ibid.*, I/10/12-16; R. Călinescu, "Pescuitul la Șanț," *ibid.*, I/3/23-25; same, "Vânătoarea la Șanț," *ibid.*, I/7-9/78-80; D. Țiculescu, "Câteva date despre exploatațiunile agricole din Șanț," *ibid.*, I/10/17-28; I. C. Cazan, "Strigături din Șanț," *ibid.*, I/7-9/80-84; Lena Constante, "Varvara Gușe, sușița din Șanț," *ibid.*, I/3/35-39; Ș. Cristescu, "Cum descânta 'de întors' Ana Dănilă din satul Șanț," *ibid.*, I/5/36-39; C. D. Gib, "Colindă din Șanț," *ibid.*, I/12/14; P. Mosely, "Lumea psihologică a unui 'american' din Șanț," *ibid.*, I/7-9/75-78; D. Țiculescu, "Cheltuielile sătenilor pe piață," *ibid.*, II/2-3/105-108.

remains attached to the house rather than to the individual godparent, and is carried on by the person who inherits or even purchases the house of the original godparent. The marriage taboos for people related through godparentage are very strong. In another article Stahl shows the social and economic significance of written peasant genealogies, which often stretch back over two or three centuries and serve as the basis for the distribution of usage-rights in some free communities.⁸ Nineteen other articles dealing with 13 communities make the new review a mine of information for the Rumanian village.

As part of its work of carrying sociology to broader strata of the Rumanian intelligentsia the review places at the disposal of its readers special questionnaires worked out by Dr. Gusti's most experienced assistants. For example, the article on the Neighborhood is accompanied by a brief questionnaire which can be utilized by teachers, priests, or notaries in studying the institution in their own communities. Miss Cristescu's article on magical practices at Șanț is followed by a detailed questionnaire listing all the chief types of magical ideas, practices, and agents likely to be found. Other lists deal with children's groups, the leading personalities of the village, and village morality.⁹ Naturally these questionnaires cannot serve unmodified for any given village. But starting with a detailed and comprehensive plan of study, the intelligent investigator will be put on the track of the most important phenomena, and will then rework the outline to fit the local conditions. Whether this innovation in method will bring reliable scientific results is still an open question; in any case it will have served its purpose if it makes the village intelligentsia more alert to social forms and activities around it and provides the Gusti school with valuable leads to be followed up by its field-group.

The new journal reviews in detail the methods and achievements of investigators of village life. Up to April, 1937, it had taken critical notice of 32 books and pamphlets dealing with Rumanian rural sociology. Other articles keep the reader in touch with rural studies in other countries, as in France, Esthonia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the United States.¹⁰ The research and improvement activity of other Rumanian institutions is followed in detail. Besides regular reports on the activities of the Bessarabian and Banat Social Institutes, there have been reports of the work of the Institute of Forestry Research and Experimentation, the Rumanian Society of Eugenics and Study of Heredity, the Institute of Agricultural Research of Rumania, and the National Zootechnical Institute. The review is becoming a medium through which all rural studies in Rumania are focused.

⁸ H. H. Stahl, "Vecinătățile din Drăguș," *ibid.*, I/1/18-31; same, "Rudenia spirituală din nașie, la Drăguș," *ibid.*, I/7-9/25-36; same, "Spîțe de neam țărănești," *ibid.*, I/10/5-11.

⁹ H. H. Stahl, "Chestionar pentru studiul vecinătăților," *ibid.*, I/1/54-55; Ș Cristescu, "Chestionarul pentru studiul credințelor, practicilor și agenților magici în satul românesc," *ibid.*, I/4/36-38; T. Herseni, "Chestionar privitor la grupările de copii," *ibid.*, I/1/53-54; same, "Plan de lucru pentru studiul autorităților sociale," *ibid.*, I/7-9/84-85; same, "Plan de lucru pentru cercetarea moralității satești," *ibid.*, I/10/42-43; O. Iosif, "Plan pentru cercetarea vieții religioase a satului," *ibid.*, I/6/36-39.

¹⁰ N. Cornățeanu, "Sociologia rurală în America," *ibid.*, II/1/26-27, refers particularly to the university teaching of rural sociology, and describes the 4-H Clubs.

As part of its program for explaining to the public the work of the Institute and Foundation *Sociologie românească* has discussed many of the problems which arise in its work. Dr. Gusti has reiterated the importance of sociology as a means of discovering social reality and as the only true basis for a scientific policy of improvement. He has explained at large the purposes of the cultural teams and advocated the introduction of obligatory social service for all university graduates who wish to become teachers, doctors, lawyers, priests or farm experts.¹¹

In addition to making available some of the results obtained in the summer campaigns and inspiring and directing a broad movement of rural improvement, *Sociologie românească* serves as an organ for discussing some of the most difficult problems of peasant life. The whole question of the peasants' diet has only now been approached on a scientific basis. The study of Dr. Georgescu, novel in method and profound in treatment, opens up new possibilities in this field. Another article by Georgescu gives the first detailed analysis of the results of the last census. The problem of rural medical service has been treated in detail by Gheorghiu, who points out the great differences which prevail in the different historical provinces united in 1918. Dr. Cresin shows how unreliable the usual statistics are for estimating the real size of peasant holdings and concludes that the middle peasant is much more important in Rumanian agriculture than has been generally assumed. Vulcănescu treats the serious problem of Rumania's excess rural population and the various solutions; he concludes in favor of diversifying and intensifying agriculture in combination with the development of co-operation. The question of the consolidation or commassation of scattered holdings is discussed by Dr. Ciulei, of the Ministry of Agriculture. An article on literacy and the number of teachers in the various provinces emphasizes the importance of a disproportionate number of teachers in overcoming the backwardness of certain Rumanian provinces.¹² Such articles, based on accurate statistics and long experience in rural investigation, open up the whole field of Rumanian peasant life to thorough study and to public discussion of its vital

¹¹ "Sociologie românească," *ibid.*, I/1/3-9; "Învățămintă și perspective din munca echipelor studențești," *ibid.*, I/2/1-5; "Cunoastere sociologică și acțiune culturală," *ibid.*, I/4/1-6; "Muzeul satului românesc," *ibid.*, I/5/1-7; "Sociologia unităților sociale," *ibid.*, I/6/1-6; "Temeiurile teoretice de cercetărilor monografice," *ibid.*, I/7-9/1-8; "Cercetări parțiale și cercetări integrale sociale," *ibid.*, I/10/1-4; "Învățămintă și perspective din a treia campanie a echipelor studențești," *ibid.*, I/11/1-6; "Despre știința națiunii românești și serviciul social obligator al studențimii," *ibid.*, II/1/1-4; "Știința națiunii," *ibid.*, II/2-3/49-59; H. H. Stahl, "Metoda de lucru a echipelor cu satul și cu căminul," *ibid.*, I/12/34-36; T. Herseni, "Câteva lămuriri în legătură cu cercetările monografice," *ibid.*, II/1/23-25.

¹² D. C. Georgescu, "Problema alimentației țăranesti," *ibid.*, I/2/6-10; same, "Populația satelor românești," *ibid.*, II/2-3/68-79; C. C. Gheorghiu, "Asistența medicală rurală în România," *ibid.*, II/2-3/80-87; R. Cresin, "Care este structura proprietății agrare din România?" *ibid.*, II/2-3/90-95; M. Vulcănescu, "Excedentul populației agricole și perspectivele gospodăriei țăranesti," *ibid.*, II/2-3/95-100; C. I. Ciulei, "Comasarea proprietăților agricole," *ibid.*, II/2-3/102-105; I. Measnicov, "Raportul între știința de carte și numărul învățătorilor în România," *ibid.*, II/2-3/112-119.

problems, not in terms of vague and impassioned rhetoric, but in the cool light of the best knowledge available.

Dr. Gusti's new review, now well along in its second year, is fulfilling a variety of interdependent purposes. It is striving to satisfy the imperative "Know yourself!" for a newly united nation with centuries of a common peasant culture behind it. It is fearless in opening up the cultural and economic problems which must be solved during the next generation. It points out the path of cultural work in the village, a path already marked out by the experience of 12 years of field-work. It seeks to rally the public authorities and church, the educated strata of the nation, and particularly the new university youth, in turn derived more and more from the peasantry, for steady and constructive work along a flexible plan, based on direct study of the village. Sociology, as applied by the Gusti school, is both a scientific method and a great social movement. In it *Sociologie românească* occupies a strategic position, for it unites these two main currents of Rumanian sociological thought in a harmonious whole. In a short space of time it has deservedly become one of the most influential journals of a young and ambitious nation.

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RURAL YOUTH ON RELIEF IN COLORADO

Difficulties of rural youth are of peculiar and vital concern. In the first place, the relatively high rate of natural increase of the rural population has enabled and encouraged a steady stream of urbanward migration. Going to the city has been the popular thing to do. Then the depression retarded and even reversed the cityward movement of rural-reared boys and girls. This retardation, whether temporary or otherwise, has given rise to such questions as these: Should young people be encouraged to become farm operators? Are nonagricultural types of employment available or possible of development in rural areas? Should rural youth be merely sustained until the cities can absorb them as in the past? Or is it futile to think of a definite youth policy?

Other factors of particular concern include the fact that rural youth, particularly those on farms, have less education than urban youth; vocational training is not only limited, but occupational experience is largely restricted to unskilled labor, mostly agricultural; family responsibilities are assumed at an early age, thus influencing the possible range of activities in an individual's adjustment. Furthermore, the relatively scattered distribution of youth in rural areas increases the difficulty of most programs of assistance.

Over 14,000 rural young people in Colorado, aged 16 to 25 inclusive, are estimated to have received federal emergency relief during the period from June 1 to November 30, 1935. This constitutes nearly one-seventh of all rural persons of this age in the state. The youth group made up over 17 per cent of the rural relief population in Colorado during the period stated.

Information concerning these rural relief youth was secured by the "Survey of Current Changes in the Rural Relief Population" conducted by the Division

of Research, Statistics and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in co-operation with the Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station. An analysis was made of 2,389 relief cases which represented a 50 per cent sample of all rural cases closed from federal emergency relief in nine representative Colorado counties during the period from June 1 through November 30, 1935.

Almost half, 47 per cent, of the 2,389 sample rural cases on relief contained one or more youths. Place of residence of youths was divided equally between open country and village, which meant that the village young people were over-represented in the relief group. Spanish-American and Mexican boys were over-represented in the relief group, as were girls.

Over one-third, 36 per cent, of all rural relief youth were married, which is surely a factor to be considered in any rural youth program. One in every eight had the responsibilities associated with being the head of a household. Of all rural relief households, nine per cent were headed by a person aged 16 to 25. However, marital status gives the best indication of family ties. Almost half, 48.5 per cent, of all female youth were married and over one-fifth, 22 per cent, of the males were married. The proportion of each sex married increased regularly and rapidly with age, with more females than males having such status at every year of age.

Twenty-five per cent of village male youth and 50 per cent of the female were married, as compared to 20 per cent of the open-country male youth and 48 per cent of the female; for both male and female at all ages a slightly larger proportion of village youth were married. Relatively more Spanish-American and Mexican than other youth were married; the greatest difference was found for young people under 21.

One-third of all female youth were found to be *homemakers with children*. The fact that the youthful heads of households had an average of two dependents to support and were the only breadwinners for their families is suggestive of the type and amount of their responsibilities.

Half of the rural relief youth aged 16 to 25 were neither working nor seeking work; one-fourth were seeking work, and only one-fourth were actually working. Of the 25 per cent who were working, four-fifths were in private employment and one-fifth were on some type of public work relief project. Only 18 per cent were not working or looking for work nor were they in school; married females account for four-fifths of the latter group. The proportion neither working nor seeking work was about the same for both village and open country, for Spanish-American, Mexican, and other race and nativity groups, but females were neither working nor seeking work four and one-half times as frequently as males.

Residence in the open country was an asset for securing a job, as 31 per cent of youth residing therein were working as compared to 19 per cent of village youth; this difference might be owing to males occupied on the home farm who were reported as working, although they might receive no wages. A slightly larger proportion of village than open-country female youth were reported as working.

One youth in five who were working or seeking work had never had employ-

ment in a private enterprise lasting as long as one month at any one occupation. Only one in 10 males working or seeking work did not have a "usual occupation" compared to over half of the females.¹ As would be expected because of the apprenticeship opportunities offered by agriculture, especially the home farm, more open-country than village males had a usual occupation; the reverse was true for females.

Ninety per cent of the male youth reported as workers had a usual occupation. Almost three-fourths of the males with experience had worked in agriculture, six per cent as farm operators, mostly tenants. The employment in nonagricultural work was mostly at unskilled and semiskilled jobs.

The distribution of occupations for female workers was quite different from that of males. Only 45 per cent had held a single job as long as one month; of those over half had been nonagricultural, mostly as servants; the agricultural work was mostly beet labor by the nonwhites.

The work experience of 60 per cent of all rural youth was in agriculture, often on the home farm; even over half of the village males had agricultural employment as their usual occupation while for 90 per cent of the open-country males farm work had been their major job. Beet labor had been the chief employment of 60 per cent of the Spanish-American and Mexican workers, both male and female. An opportunity for employment which will give a reasonable remuneration is obviously one of the great needs of rural youth.

A series of disturbing questions concerning the educational system for rural youth can be derived from the data on school attendance and number of grades completed by the young people from relief families. While the picture of schooling for the population of the entire state shows that rural children, particularly those living on farms, do not have as good an educational record as urban children,² an especially distressing story can be told for the youth of rural families suffering from economic malnutrition and compelled to seek public assistance.

The data of this study show a very poor educational record for the rural youth on relief, two possible interpretations of which are as follows: (1) if it is assumed that relief families are fairly representative of all Colorado rural families as described by the 1930 Census, then the depression has meant less rather than more opportunity for formal education for the children of relief families; or, (2) it may be that the children of relief families are children who have always been below average in school attendance or attainment.

Less than one youth in five, 18 per cent, was attending school. By age groups, less than half, or 48 per cent, of those aged 16 to 17 were in school as compared to the 1930 average of 60.4 per cent for the rural part of the state; one in eight, 12.6 per cent, of those aged 18 to 20 were in school as compared to 24.8 per cent of all rural youth that age in the state in 1930.³ An insignificant number,

¹ Usual occupation was defined for the purpose of this survey as the job (other than work relief) lasting as long as four consecutive weeks, at which the person had worked longest during the last 10 years.

² *United States Census, 1930*, Vol. II, Table 6 of state tables.

³ *Ibid.*

1.6 per cent, of those 21 to 25 years of age, were in school. The proportion attending school dropped abruptly from 60 per cent at age 16, the legal minimum age, down to 36 per cent at age 17. Another sharp drop down to 21 per cent at age 18 followed and attendance after age 19 was negligible. School attendance was not low because a large proportion of the youth had already graduated from high school or college; on the contrary, only 13 per cent had finished high school and more of the youth 16 to 20 had gone that far than had those 21 to 25. Of the younger males, 44 per cent had some high school work as compared to 34 per cent of the males 21 and over; half of the females aged 16 to 20 had secured some high school training in contrast to 41 per cent of the older females.

Only 43 per cent of the youth had any high school training; not one had completed college. Females had a better education than males, village youth slightly better than those of the open country, and whites decidedly better than "nonwhites." It is of special importance that 67 per cent of the "nonwhites," Spanish and Mexican in origin, had less than an eighth grade training, and only one in three had managed to graduate from the eighth grade.

Why these youth of rural relief families have such a poor school record is a vital question. Is it because of lack of money to finance an education? Is it because the parents do not look with favor upon and encourage school learning? Is early assumption of family cares associated with leaving school? Are these youth so discouraged with the outlook for their future that they do not care to make the effort to secure an education? Are they concentrated in communities where prevailing attitudes do not sanction higher education? Is it because the youth are not interested in school because the particular training offered is not adapted to their needs? The fact that schooling is finished for 30 per cent when they complete the eighth grade and that another 30 per cent start high school but do not finish would seem to indicate the need for some adjustments in the educational system to care for the problems of such students.

While the average youth may face difficult problems of personal adjustment from the standpoint of obtaining an education, securing a job or setting himself up in business, making worthwhile use of leisure time and starting an independent home, the youth of rural relief families have even more difficult problems. Not only do these youth have whatever economic, social, and psychological handicaps may be associated with being on relief, but they are basically less well equipped by educational and vocational training than are the youth of nonrelief rural families. The necessity is implied for sympathetic and helpful programs and policies sponsored by public and private institutions, local communities and groups, to help the youth help themselves if their morale is to be maintained or restored. The society of tomorrow cannot afford to let the youth of today develop an attitude of despair. It is social insurance to aid them to reach a satisfactory adjustment on a socially acceptable plane.

HATCHINGS FOR BAR GRAPHS

In preparing a series of bar graphs for a recent publication ("Relation of Size of Community to Marital Status," *Memoir 200*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, February, 1937) an experiment was made in the use of printed hatchings to save a large amount of handwork. This seems to have been fairly successful and the method may be of interest to others.

A plate was made with eight types of hatching in parallel strips. The plate was $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 12 inches and each strip was approximately $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide by 12 inches long. This was printed on gummed paper and each type of hatching was cut into strips approximately $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch wide. An outline of each bar graph was made by tracing on tracing cloth over a pencil sketch made on cross-section paper. A strip of the proper type of hatching was then cut for the length of each bar of the graph and was pasted onto the tracing within the outline drawn in ink. The original graphs of the figures shown in *Memoir 200* varied in size, but averaged about 20 inches by 40 inches so that there was a very considerable reduction for making a zinc etching. It is possible to purchase printed hatchings which are satisfactory where only a small amount of reduction is necessary, but we were unable to find any commercial hatchings which were coarse enough to permit so much reduction. Where a number of similar graphs are being made, a considerable saving of time and cost is possible by the use of this method. The cost of the original plate for the printed hatching was \$24.

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PRESENT DAY PHILOSOPHIES OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Today a great deal is being written about the Co-operative Movement. Much of this material is concerned with an explanation or exposition of the different types of co-operative efforts. Co-operative efforts were old in England before the United States declared its independence. Success is usually traced, however, to the society formed by the Rochdale Pioneers, near Manchester, in 1844. This group invented the "patronage rebate,"¹ and co-operation became an economic movement rather than an idealistic one. Naturally, a considerable body of literature has been built up and it is interesting to trace the philosophies underlying the movement.

What are the underlying philosophies of the Co-operative Movement? At first one is tempted to say that they are many—at times almost as many philosophies as there are leaders in the Co-operative Movement. But from the earliest times there has been a certain underlying co-operative philosophy which has been voiced by a connected series of authors. There has been also a large group of co-operators who have had no philosophy about the movement at all and have been disdainfully termed "bourgeois" by some of their French opponents. Let the term stand, for these "bourgeois" co-operators are to be found in every land. There has been an opposition to members of this group who are po-

¹ The patronage rebate distributes profits according to purchases and not according to shares held. Goods are sold at the market price.

litical socialists, or even anarchists, and who promote the Co-operative Movement because they wish to build up a distributive system which can function easily and quickly, once they succeed in any *coup d'etat*. There has been another group, finding voice through Gide, through Fay, through Sonnichsen, through Alexander and others, which appears to have the vision of the Rochdale Pioneers. This group envisions the Co-operative Commonwealth"² in a much saner and more practicable way. Let me point out too that in general most persons fall into two classes: those who like equality and social justice, yet who have learned that you must crawl before you can walk and therefore wish to use only tried and true means. There are others who wish to find "Heaven-on-earth" more quickly. Both types can find a surfeit of co-operative literature to keep their dreams alive. The more impulsive group is ready to risk everything on one turn of the dice and would achieve Utopia by a quick revolution of some sort or another. The more conservative group, on the other hand, likes to think of itself as a "Middle of the Path" group and believes it has the true co-operation vision. Like most middle paths this co-operative middle path is probably capable of achievement if left to its own direction. It is not at all sure though that the times are such that it can realize its peaceful, evolutionary, co-operative end. It is much more probable that current enthusiasms one way or another will set up economic systems that will retard the Co-operative Movement many years or even destroy it altogether.

In the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, an article on the Co-operative Movement stresses the underlying philosophies of certain early great names in the Movement. The article then suggests that the Co-operative Movement has not reached greater heights because it has had no great single drive; no slogan to be caught up by the masses; has not become the hobby of great numbers, and has developed no religious impulse to give it momentum. Since the Co-operative Movement does not seem able to develop such motives, many think it may never be anything more than a mediocre plan that will get nowhere. Others point out the great achievements of the co-operatives and that some of these things have been accomplished by groups living close together, yet having very little in common. Perhaps then the underlying drive is a fundamental one that carries along of its own accord, without propaganda and without party slogan. Perhaps, too, the very fact that it numbers in its fold so many different classes of people, as well as so many races of men, signifies that co-operation is greater than any one group of promoters or planners. Perhaps it is, as some insist, the culmination of a movement which began when the noble classes first won more freedom from central governments. The Commercial Revolution and the later rise of Modern Capitalism were steady growths, once started, and were not at first promoted by any organized group, preaching the merits of the new factory system. In fact the new system grew in spite of numerous and obstinate oppositions, because it probably filled a need. It is possible that the Co-operative Movement may have the same drive to success, because it fills a need.

² The Co-operative Commonwealth is envisioned by most co-operative writers and looks forward to the day when co-operation will control the economic life of any one political group.

The late Charles Gide, liberal professor of political economy in the University of Paris, certainly understood economic theory. His *History of Economic Thought*, in collaboration with his co-worker Rist, is everywhere recognized as a scholarly work of high standard. He was a prolific writer on the theory of the Co-operative Movement and never found any difficulty in reconciling co-operative and economic theory. We are indebted to him for a clear and elaborate discussion of what he felt to be the true philosophy of the co-operatives. His book *Les Societes Co-operatives de Consommation* has been widely translated. Almost on the first page of the book he says that the Co-operative Movement is not a class movement but an economic one. Its members, he says, are not concerned with class warfare, but are drawn from all classes of society and are chiefly concerned with only one thing—a fair price. Gide points out that in France the Movement early split into two factions, the Bourgeois Societies and the Socialist Societies, but that later experience taught that the societies attracted more members when the Movement was kept neutral as to politics. For the past 50 years, he says, there has existed a newer but smaller school of co-operatives known as “new” co-operators or as the School of Nîmes. The Nîmes School was set up on the principle of a return to the enthusiasms and ideals of the Rochdale group and represents, he says, “true co-operative types.” They represent most of the French Societies today and:

do not aim at confiscating wealth already existing and appropriated but at creating new wealth which they will keep for themselves (p. 279).

This process happens around us every day, he continues, through failures of old businesses, success of new ones, through new inventions and new markets and creates not a ripple in the political picture. But immediately Gide raises the problem of the land. New land cannot be created by work as new industries may be. This problem is a real stumbling block and is the reason why true Agrarian Socialists, as well as Singletaxers, have no respect for the Co-operative Movement. The socialistically inclined group takes the confiscation of the land and its minerals for granted. But Gide holds that the true solution is the formation of workers' co-operatives over *long periods of time*, which will own the land they are working; which will leisurely form relationships with the consumers' societies and eventually work out a smooth relationship that will stand the test of time. In this way there would be no sudden and swift change but a slow and gradual one that would not raise the question of land nationalization.

Writing in 1919, Albert Sonnichsen, in his book *Consumers' Co-operation*, (page 185), seems to follow a similar viewpoint. He says:

Between the cooperatives and political socialism there is undoubtedly a certain degree of affinity. The same hatred of the inequality inherent in capitalism and the desire for a fundamental democracy that shall penetrate below the superficial shell of a mere political government animates both . . . but when they come to constructive action their roads part . . . If State Socialism is the final goal of socialism, then obviously there is no prospect of future reunion.

He asks if the Co-operative Movement intends to hand over its flour mills to the first Labor Government to be formed in Britain and offers the prediction that nothing of that character will happen. Since this was written in 1919 we have seen two Labor Governments and know such procedure was not even considered. Like Gide, he treats the land question at some length and concludes that capitalism never entered into the farm movement to the same extent it entered industry, and that there is no reason to suppose co-operation will do so. He says the Co-operative Movement will handle big farms of enormous acreage as well as smaller farms that are continually overmortgaged and inefficiently operated. He holds, however, that the man who can raise better fruits, better poultry, or develop a rot-resisting cucumber, will ever have a place on *his own land* under a co-operative regime. Indeed, many think the specialist, the innovator, the professional man, the educator, the developer, and the promoter will always have an independent place in city life under any co-operative scheme.

It is also true that there are co-operative leaders who cannot envision a co-operative commonwealth without nationalization of land. Do they see less clearly than did Sonnichsen and Gide, are they really socialistic at heart and can only predict the things they wish for, or do they see correctly? Denmark is often called the Co-operative Commonwealth. Everyone of her farmers belongs to seven or eight co-operative associations. These farmers often live on a very small plot, earn a frugal and sufficient living, and enter into no conflict with their city brethren. Some years ago the Danish Government divided up large estates and made it possible, through loans on easy terms, for individuals to take up small holdings. The estate owners were compensated in cash for their lands. That is sound ethics. It is quite lawful for the state to take property from an individual for the common good, as long as that individual receives fair compensation for the property so appropriated.

Emerson P. Harris, in his book *Co-operation—the Hope of the Consumer*, makes a statement that is as true today as when it was written in 1918. He wrote that *approval* of the theory of co-operative organization of consumers for collective buying is quite general but distrust of the Co-operative Movement as an immediate and practical remedy for the shortcomings of present distributive systems is about as general as is admiration of the theory. He points out that unsuccessful co-operative efforts were made in America before the foundation of the Rochdale society but concludes:

How cooperation will come, no one can tell, but come it will and in a form broadly adapted to the great and unique American setting (p. 271).

In the *Encyclopedia of the British Labour Movement*, published in 1929, is found an article on the Co-operative Movement by the Hon. A. V. Alexander, member of Parliament on the Co-operative Party ticket.³ In writing expressly upon the possibility of a Co-operative Commonwealth he says:

That (it) involves a political as well as an economic theory of collectivism

³ The co-operatives finally established the Co-operative Party to protect themselves in the halls of Parliament. Today they have nine members although all the societies are not united on the wisdom of the step.

as opposed to individualism which, however, differs from both Communism and State Collectivism with growth and control springing from the BOTTOM instead of being imposed by a Government, however elected. . . . That a Parliamentary majority for collectives will come is a certainty. The question will then have to be decided as to whether the realisms of collective policy shall be through State Socialism, and national ownership, by a system of Guild Socialism or Syndicalism, or whether it shall be upon the volition of free local democracies. There is always the danger in the regulation of everything by the State of bureaucracy on the one hand and of the shedding of responsibility by citizens at the ballot box on the other. The Cooperative Party therefore, while certainly favoring the national ownership of the great services of the nature of monopolies, works for an extension and development of a Cooperative Collective which springs from an educated rank and file, rather than by the imposition of the state.

Thus Mr. Alexander would have co-operative groups, which were promoted from the bottom and not from the top, control the State, while favoring only the State ownership of the "great services of the nature of monopolies." In his great encyclical letter, *Quadragesimo Anno*, dated May 15, 1931, the present Pope, Pius XI, points out that history shows that the right of ownership is not absolutely rigid and may be controlled in part by the state, but that man's right to possess and transmit property by inheritance must be kept intact. He adds:

For it is rightly contended that certain forms of property must be reserved to the state, since they carry with them an opportunity of domination too great to be left to private individuals without injury to the community at large (p. 35, NCWC translation).

These lines have often been interpreted as referring to that group of industries known as the public utilities. Hence the Roman Catholic Church is not in conflict with Mr. Alexander, if he means by the "great services of the nature of monopolies" such industries as light and phone companies, traction systems, and telegraph and radio companies.

After making reference to the increasing fortunes of working men's unions, the Holy Father in the same letter traces at some length the medieval guild system, and says:

The aim of social legislation must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups (p. 27).

This statement is interesting in light of the views of Kagawa, the Japanese apostle of Christianity and Co-operation. He writes in the chapter on Co-operatives in his book *Brotherhood Economics*:

The modern cooperative is an improvement on the guild of the middle ages from which it is a lineal descendant. The medieval guild achieved the organization of economic activities without exploitation but it did not attain to brotherhood love to nonmembers. On the other hand, one of the basic principles of the modern cooperative is the extension of services to the entire community. Any true cooperative is community wide in its outlook. The guild of old limited its services to its own members (p. 99).

Whether or not the co-operatives are lineal descendants of the guilds, an economist friend insists that in general costs are not automatically equal to price and so exploitation often results. When conditions of free competition do not exist, inequalities arise, and the market price may not be the "just" or "fair" price. Such a condition caused the rise of the guild system in the Middle Ages, he says, and we are faced today with the same proposition. The present huge productive units with their enormous overhead are intent only on the maximum profit and have again caused the feeling that we once more need a "guild-like" organization to regulate prices.

Dr. James P. Warbasse, president of the Co-operative League of the United States in the third edition of his book, *Co-operative Democracy*, 1930, holds that private property is necessary and essential but that its abuse needs correction. He also follows the view of other authors cited previously to the general effect that agricultural co-operative ownership of land may come about gradually where it is necessary and that land so used will be bought from its owners. The question of nationalization of land then need not arise.

But lest the authors have been chosen too carefully, let us look at the views of Mr. Robin Hood, secretary-treasurer of the National Co-operative Council, an agricultural group, written in the December issue of *Consumers Co-operation*. He points out that it is quite necessary for consumers' co-operatives and agricultural co-operatives to work together but says that the farmer learned his co-operative philosophy from hard experience and not out of books. In fact he lashes out quite strongly on the futility of erecting sound business enterprises on the schemes of high pressure promoters and "condescending people who like to work in the rural slums." He points out that the farmers' co-operatives adhere to the Rochdale principles of open membership, democratic control, patronage dividends, and limited interest on capital but he adds:

Farm cooperatives are business institutions. . . . The experience of agriculture indicates that the economic job cannot be done in a cooperative way unless it is done in a business way. . . . Again, to agricultural cooperative leaders, the concept of a cooperative state or commonwealth is not essential to the fundamental principles of cooperation.

Who then are the people interested in these co-operative movements throughout the world? Actually, they represent every class and stratum of the population. There are those whom Gide termed the "bourgeois," who have little interest in the future of the Co-operative Movement or in its idealism. They are interested in cutting out the intermediary profits on the things they must use, or are interested in getting a larger share of the selling price of articles and products they have for sale. They are also the farmers with their co-operative grain elevators and the growers with their co-operative purchasing organizations and co-operative selling groups. For them it is often just a matter of dollars and cents, although they are aware many times of the social significance of the movement because higher net returns will allow them to enjoy a higher standard of living.

Then there are the store groups whose membership is of two kinds—those who wish to save money on their purchases and perhaps incidentally to promote

a true co-operative spirit, and secondly, a smaller, but very talkative, group who want to use the co-operatives as a distributive system in some political setup they hope to accomplish. This portion of the consumers' movement contains representatives of every shade and variety of socialist, syndicalist, and communistic thought in every land in the wide world. One has only to read the communications sent to the various co-operative journals to know that many political socialists regard themselves as Co-operators.

But this is by no means the complete picture. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Belgium the Catholic Church wished its members to have whatever benefits there were in the Co-operative Movement but did not wish them to be subjected to a constant stream of political propaganda. Hence separate and successful co-operative Catholic movements have long existed in the countries named.

Since there are so many types of people and so many philosophies in the Co-operative Movement, the movement is perhaps stronger than it would be if any one group were able to fasten its philosophy on the whole scheme, thus forcing the retirement of those who could not subscribe to the central philosophy.

Many writers have pointed out that promotion "from the top" seldom succeeds in the Co-operative Movement and are in hearty accord with the statement in *Business Week* for November 21, 1936, commenting on the hesitancy of the President's Co-operative Commission to submit a report:

Likely result now is that the movement will be left free to grow from the grass roots, as its less dynamic disciples think it should.

What then is the future of this movement? Theoretically, the Co-operative Movement can grow slowly until it is the dominant form of business control and agricultural control. Theoretically, it can achieve a greater measure of industrial democracy than has yet been achieved and can preserve private property. Theoretically, it can absorb all displaced middlemen into other constructive work (today more chauffeurs are needed than were the coachmen they displaced), and can preserve more personal liberty than is now a fact in half a dozen countries. Theoretically, there need be no loss of democratic control, as the individual smaller societies would control any larger societies which they set up to carry out a general purpose. Theoretically, co-operative methods could be strong enough to dominate and exist within several kinds of political systems without substituting the state for private or group initiative.

This the Co-operative Movement can do if given time enough. However, in actual practice, it is almost certain that several economic systems will be swept away by quick-acting idealists long before sufficient time can elapse to permit the slowly evolving Co-operative Movement to achieve its greatest possibilities.

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Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis

CHANGES IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS

"Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Farm Families in North Carolina"¹ includes an analysis of changes in (1) occupation and farm tenure of heads of rural families from 1901 to 1935; (2) spatial mobility of farm families by tenure status; (3) crops, livestock, and farm income by tenure status; (4) composition and characteristics of the population in relation to social and economic status; (5) rural-urban migration of farm families and of sons and daughters of farmers by tenure status; (6) marriage rates in the rural population by tenure status; (7) changes in the birth rates to married women by tenure status; (8) changes in educational status of farmers and members of their families by tenure and residence—all based upon 3,470 field records taken in block sample townships in seven counties. In addition, a graphic description of major changes in farm tenancy and population from 1930 to 1935 based upon census material and governmental reports is presented. It is only to be regretted that a larger population was not available for the analyses of vital rates.

Among the significant findings from census data are the following: (1) In the mountain counties there was an increase in the farm population as well as in the number of farms from 1930 to 1935. In some counties the increase in population ranges up to 50 per cent. (2) During the same period there was a heavy decrease in the farm population in the northern coastal plain, ranging in some counties up to 19 per cent. (3) There was also a heavy loss of Negro farm population in the state. The number of farms operated by colored farmers decreased 9.8 per cent, Negro population decreased 10.2 per cent; farms operated by white farmers increased 14.2 per cent, white farm population increased seven per cent. There is an apparent trend of displacement of Negro tenants by white tenants. (4) In 1930, 20 per cent of North Carolina farmers had spent less than one year on their farms, 32 per cent had been on their farms less than two years, and 49 per cent less than five years. More than 46 per cent of the white croppers had been on their farms less than one year.

Analysis of the data from field investigations for five rural areas, one mountain county and one coastal plain county reveals, among many significant findings, the following: (1) From 1925 to 1935, relatively fewer Negroes than whites in every tenure group shifted up the agricultural ladder. Since 1925 the persons on relief (at the time of the study) had been falling down the agricultural ladder

¹C. Horace Hamilton, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Farm Families in North Carolina," *Bulletin No. 309*, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, State College Station, Raleigh, North Carolina, May, 1937, (pp. 180).

more frequently than climbing. However, during the depression, Negro owners have held their own when compared with white owners, but Negro tenants, croppers, and laborers have not fared so well. (2) During recent years large numbers have shifted from nonfarming occupations to farming. (3) In 1933 almost 10 per cent of the families shifted up the agricultural ladder, whereas almost four per cent shifted down. (4) The status of farm laborer serves two functions: It is a stepping stone (more frequently than the status of cropper) to higher rungs in the agricultural ladder, and it is a catch-all for displaced owners, tenants, and croppers. (5) "About three-fourths of those families at the top of the ladder were placed there by their parents or jumped there barely touching some of the lower rungs. . . . From one-third to one-half of those using the ladder are coming down rather than going up." (6) "A little more than one-half of the white, but less than one-third of the Negro tenants were sons of owners." (7) "About one-third of all farm owners, white and colored, in all areas began their careers as farm owners." Of these, 85 to 90 per cent were still owners at the time of the survey. (8) In all tenure groups white rural families move more often than do Negro families. (9) In the upper tenure groups relief families move more frequently than do nonrelief families. The reverse is true for persons in the lower tenure groups who are often "old and worn out ex-tenants and ex-croppers." (10) "Relatively more sons and daughters of relief parents, in all age groups, were 'backed up' or 'stranded' in their parental homes than was the case of offspring of non-relief parents." (11) "It can be stated almost as a general rule that out of 10 farm youths, six will remain on farms, three will go to the city, and one will go to rural non-farm areas." In this respect there is little difference among operators of different tenure status. However, Negroes tend to leave agriculture more than whites. (12) Tenant offspring tend to be more mobile in short-distance moving than owners; the reverse is true for long-distance moving. (13) In the various sex and age groups urban migrants have more formal education than those who remain on the farm. (14) Migrants to cities are more often single than those to towns or to other farms. (15) Marriage rates slumped during the depression but rose after 1931. (16) During prosperity relief persons marry more frequently than nonrelief ones; during depression years the reverse is true. (17) Birth rates of nonowners are generally higher than for owners, since landlords prefer large families as tenants or croppers on their farms.

The functioning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration from 1932 to 1934 is reflected by the following: (1) The reduction in cotton and tobacco acreages from 1932 to 1934 was accomplished not by eliminating farmers but by decreasing the size of the average farm. (2) Tenants and croppers did not cut the size of their tobacco and cotton crops as much as did farm owners. This means that large landlords sacrificed less than did the small owner operators. (3) Owing to increased yields per acre, the average number of pounds of tobacco produced per farm decreased only 19 per cent as compared with a decrease of 28 per cent in tobacco acreage. Average cotton yields decreased so that the number of bales of cotton per farm was 32 per cent less, as contrasted with a

29 per cent decrease in acreage. (4) Decrease in commercial crops such as cotton and tobacco was accomplished by an increase in gardens, livestock, and poultry. (5) In 1934, Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefit payments averaged \$58 per farm. Gross cash incomes for all farmers increased from \$509 to \$925 from 1932 to 1934. Increases in incomes were relatively comparable in all tenure groups. However, Negro farmers failed to share proportionately with white farmers either from sales or benefit payments.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

Rural sociology was offered by 94, or 51 per cent of the 184 state teachers colleges and normal schools training teachers in 1935, according to a report of the Office of Education.² Twenty-eight, or 15 per cent of these institutions offered rural economics, and 34, or 19 per cent offered rural community activities and relations courses for background study. Eighty-four per cent offered differentiated work for the preparation of rural teachers. The report, covering the eight-year period from 1926 to 1934, includes statistical data for the United States representing averages and is based on information from 48 state school systems.

Rural schools in places of under 2,500 inhabitants constitute 88.4 per cent of all schools, but this proportion is decreasing. During the eight-year period there was a reduction of 23,000 or 14 per cent in the number of one-room schools. The attendance in these schools decreased 10 per cent. Two-room schools are increasing at the rate of about 500 per year, and their enrollment has increased 21 per cent. Urban schools are still in session one month longer each year than one- or two-room rural schools. Nearly one-half of the teachers in one-room schools and more than one-third of those in two-room schools received salaries of less than \$500 a year in 1935. Two hundred dollars a year was not uncommon. In 1935, over one-fourth of the teachers in Negro schools received \$200.

Both rural high schools and consolidated schools are increasing rapidly. From 1926 to 1934 the number of rural schools offering high school work increased 28.2 per cent and enrollment in rural public high schools has increased 104 per cent, a rate two times that for urban high schools. The average cost per pupil for general expenditures has been reduced twice as much in rural as in urban schools. Owing probably to the declining birth rates, the total enrollment of rural elementary schools decreased by more than a million (9.4 per cent) during the eight-year period.

Many studies are cited which indicate that the small rural schools are less efficient than the larger ones in both country and city. The new project of the Office of Education which establishes forums in rural communities is described.

*Rural Medical Service*³ is an analysis of factors related to deficiencies in medi-

² Katherine M. Cook, "Review of Conditions and Developments in Education in Rural and Other Sparsely Settled Areas," *Bulletin*, 1937, No. 2 (Advance Pages), Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1937, (pp. 70).

³ *Rural Medical Service*, Bureau of Medical Economics, American Medical Association, Chicago, 1937, (pp. 80).

cal facilities in rural areas. Inspection of the 1934 Medical Directory of the American Medical Association permitted the location of 300 counties in 30 states with populations of 2,000 or more per physician. For all states with four or more such counties special investigations of social and economic conditions in the counties were made. In this analysis secondary sources were used. Information concerning income, retail sales, farm values, relief granted and death rates, when vital statistics were available, was assembled. Rates of bed occupancy and availability of hospital facilities in adjoining counties were included in the study.

The 300 counties with more than 2,000 inhabitants per physician are concentrated in two types of areas: (1) Counties on "the margin of settlement" in mountainous, arid, national forest or grazing sections in which population is actually too sparse to support one physician for 2,000 inhabitants (such conditions prevail in some of the counties in the "dust bowl," in the "cut-over" sections of Michigan and Minnesota, and in the grazing and extensive farming areas of the Northwest); (2) The Appalachian-Ozark, cotton, and certain sea-coast regions with sufficient density of population but backward economic and social organization, high percentage of illiteracy, tenantry, extreme poverty, and general lack of the more recently developed features of modern civilization.

The counties with more than 2,000 inhabitants per physician do not as a rule have higher death rates than other areas. However, in most instances they are in sparsely settled areas or in areas "poor" in social and economic assets. The report does not advocate socialized medicine and presents no factual data concerning the training, age, and other characteristics of the few physicians in the areas studied.

"The Growth and Decline of Rural Industrial Enterprise in North China"⁴ is an interesting monograph describing cotton handloom weaving in Paoti hsien of Hopei Province. Geographical and historical backgrounds for the development of the more modern conditions are included. The weaving industry, which is so vital in buttressing the peasant's agricultural economy, with its fluctuating climatic conditions, attended by alternating periods of famine and sufficient food supply, began to decline in 1924 and continued to decline until 1931.

Important in the decline was the fact that, as the modern methods and equipment were introduced, the local units did not strive for quality and variety. The merchants were a detached group and the profit motive led to an attempt to compete on the basis of quantity. With an unstable political structure and the conservative Chinese tradition, rationalization has not made sufficient inroads to destroy the crafts. If these latter strive for quality and variety there is hope for their continued existence, but in Paoti the industry has remained so primitive that soon the products will be confined to markets and fairs, and the crafts will become but a memory.

RURAL YOUTH

One hundred young men who lived on farms in northern Tompkins County, New York, and who were under 25 years of age, were interviewed and studied

⁴ H. D. Fong, "The Growth and Decline of Rural Industrial Enterprise in North China," Nankai Institute of Economics, *Industry Series Bulletin No. 8*, Nankai University, Tientsin, China, January, 1936.

in an effort to determine the curriculum objectives for schools which would meet the needs of those confronted with the problems of becoming established in farming.⁵ The young men were classified into the three following groups: (1) 38 who were completely established in farming and expressed no desire to change their occupations; (2) 44 who were only partly established in farming and intended to continue, expressing no desire to change to other occupations; and (3) 18 who were not established and were doubtful as to their desire to continue farming.

A comparative study of these three groups was made. Attitudes toward farming, educational status, age at leaving school, reasons for leaving school, earnings and expenditures before as well as after leaving school, net worth, farm management practices, family relationships and adjustments, social participation, type and extent of reading, types of amusements and avocations were among the characteristics with regard to which the three groups were studied. Educational possibilities and agricultural and human resources of the area were also treated.

The important problem of the manner in which the young men began farming was analyzed. The methods employed in the order of importance were: (1) allowances from parents or others, (2) developing single farm enterprises, (3) working as hired men, (4) having a share in a farm business, (5) renting a farm, (6) becoming a part owner, (7) buying a farm. These methods are analyzed separately.

On the basis of the findings of the investigation 11 objectives under the headings of guidance, placement, and training are set forth.

"Occupations of Sons and Daughters of Mississippi Cotton Farmers"⁶ is the title of a study of 1,567 sons and daughters, 19 to 34 years of age, living in 500 families residing in five counties. A block sample in each county included 50 owner and 50 tenant cotton farming families with children over 19 years of age not in school or college, and farm-reared parents who lived on a cotton farm during their school days. Accuracy of the data given by parents was tested by sending mailed questionnaires to children not residing in the parental home. Fifty-five per cent (507) of these questionnaires were returned and adjudged to be representative of the whole group.

The relation of age, education, marital status, characteristics and composition of the parental family and certain "socio-economic" influences to the occupational distribution was studied. Special analysis was made of farming and part-time farming as well as of the handicapped, widowed, and divorced sons and daughters.

About 19 per cent of the sons and 28 per cent of the daughters were high school graduates. Only 25 per cent of the sons and daughters had completed college. In this study, as was the case in North Carolina, New York, and Ohio

⁵ Edwin Ray Hoskins, "Young Men in Farming," *Vocational Education Bulletin No. 188*, U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education, Agriculture Series No. 49, 1936, (pp. 117).

⁶ Dorothy Dirkins, "Occupations of Sons and Daughters of Mississippi Cotton Farmers," *Bulletin No. 318*, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, State College, Mississippi, May, 1937, (pp. 132).

studies, it was found that the more schooling a child received the less was the chance that he would remain in the occupation of farming, but 4-H Club work was not related to the choice of occupation. The more the education of the parents or older children, the more education was received by the child included in the study. The larger the farm enterprise, in terms of number of work animals or tractors, the less likelihood was there that the children would remain in agriculture.

There was only a slight tendency for large families to contribute a larger proportion of their members to the farming population than the small families. No evidence was found to support the theory that oldest sons remain in agriculture more frequently than the younger, but older daughters more frequently assist in household tasks, receive less formal education and marry farmers more frequently than subsequent daughters. Last-born children of both sexes receive more schooling and more frequently enter nonfarming positions.

Sons and daughters 29 to 33 years of age who left school when cotton prices were low more frequently became farmers than those who left home when prices were high. For sons and daughters 19 to 23 years of age the price of cotton at time of leaving home had no relation to the occupations entered. The closer a farm family lives to a city the more likely the children are to enter nonfarm occupations. Economic status of the parental family is influential in determining whether daughters are to receive a given educational status or enter nonfarming occupations.

The spatial mobility of sons and daughters in farming was not great. Eighty-six per cent of all farming sons had always lived in Mississippi and 64 per cent had always lived in the same county. The study, though not exactly comparable with those for Ohio, North Carolina, Connecticut, and New York, indicates that a greater percentage of farm-reared children remain in agriculture in Mississippi.

Sixty-five per cent of the daughters who are now homemakers work in the field picking or chopping cotton. Wives of owner-farmers more frequently raised produce for sale and worked less in the field than wives of tenants.

Ninety-four per cent of the offspring from 19 to 34 remaining in the parental home had never had a gainful occupation; 84 per cent had lived at home since leaving school. These facts indicate that the back-to-the-land movement was not great. Lack of migration to cities caused the "backing up" of rural youth on the farm. Of the farmers' sons entering nonfarm occupations, 45 per cent were unskilled and semiskilled workers. About 2.5 per cent of the nonfarming sons were managers, clerks, and kindred workers. Five per cent were professional men.

RURAL RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

"A Graphic Summary of the Relief Situation in South Dakota, 1930-1935"⁷ has been issued by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station. Charts and graphs relate South Dakota to the remainder of the United States in respect to social, economic, and physical factors. State maps depict the influence of

⁷ W. F. Kumlien, "A Graphic Summary of the Relief Situation in South Dakota, 1930-1935," *Bulletin* 310, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota, May, 1937, (pp. 63).

drought, low prices, grasshopper infestation, and insufficient size of farms, including per capita Federal and local aid from the various sources, crop yields, value of farm products, tax delinquencies, foreclosures, bank failures and farm values.

The half of the state lying east of the hundredth meridian differs greatly from the western half which is primarily a grazing or ranching region. South Dakota ranks fourth in the proportion of the population in agriculture, being outranked in this respect only by North Dakota, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Because of the extreme drought conditions during 1931, 1933, and 1934 (1933 and 1934 crop failure was almost complete in over two-thirds of the state), South Dakota led all other states with regard to percentage of total population on relief from July, 1933, to June, 1935. Following the War stimulation and land boom during a period of high precipitation, the value per acre of farm real estate fell 50.6 per cent from 1920 to 1930. Only Wyoming exceeded South Dakota in the decrease in land values during this period. Between 1925 and 1935 two-thirds of all banks in South Dakota failed.

The relief population is younger, has less formal education, includes more semi-skilled and unskilled persons, contains relatively more tenants, has larger households, has lived longer in the county of present residence, and has more unemployed than the nonrelief population.

The present drought, though severe, is not South Dakota's first visitation. It is not likely to be the last. The settlers came largely from nearby Central States such as Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, and Wisconsin where precipitation, soil, and low wind velocity dictated the intensive small-farm pattern. Their experience backgrounds, plus the early homestead laws, have established a faulty economy in South Dakota. Farms should be larger.

The *June Report on Progress of the Works Program*⁸ carries a report on farmers on relief and rehabilitation.⁹ Eleven per cent of Works Progress Administration workers in March, 1937, were located in 1,351 rural counties, the largest municipality of which numbered less than 2,500 persons in 1930. Eighty-nine counties or parts of counties, which included cities, the 1930 population of which was 100,000 or more, comprised 43.7 per cent of the total Works Progress Administration employment. Workers employed on projects of an inter-county nature and persons aided by rural rehabilitation loans and grants are not included in these percentages. In rural as well as in urban areas the number of Works Progress Administration workers dropped by about 26 per cent from the peak load of March, 1936, to March, 1937.

Descriptions including persons engaged in and funds allocated for general and white-collar Works Progress Administration projects, the National Youth Administration and the other Federal agencies participating are included in the report. Announcement is made that agriculture and homemaking courses will be made available to youths of tenant and other low-income farm families through a nation-wide National Youth Administration program.

⁸ Works Progress Administration, June, 1937, (pp. 117).

⁹ This section is a summary of *Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation*, by Berta Asch and A. R. Mangus. (See "Current Bulletins," *Rural Sociology*, September, 1936.)

One of the most significant findings of the study "Farm Rehabilitation Possibilities Among Rural Households on Relief in Virginia,"¹⁰ was the fact that 84 per cent of the 28,597 households of the state on emergency relief outside independent cities had suitable land available for gardening, yet only 31 per cent operated successful gardens during the year.

The Rural Rehabilitation Division in Virginia accepted 6,750 cases during 1935 and 1936, of which 64 per cent came from relief rolls. In 1936, loans averaged \$360 per client. The median size of farms of rural relief households was 15.1 acres, and of rehabilitation households, 49.1 acres.

RURAL-URBAN COMPARISON

"Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy"¹¹ is a report which sets forth rural-urban differences, traces the history of urbanization, and makes recommendations for the future control and development of the urban centers. In the document, cities are defined as places of 2,500 and more inhabitants. Of interest to the rural sociologists are the following findings:

(1) City populations include relatively more persons from 20 to 65 years of age than rural populations. Cities on the Pacific Coast have a greater proportion of older and cities in the South a greater proportion of younger persons than the general urban population.

(2) All except the largest cities, with their many foreign-born males, have relatively more women than men when compared with rural areas. Western cities have the largest proportion of men, Southern cities the largest proportion of women.

(3) Two-thirds of all inhabitants of cities of over a million are foreign born.

(4) If "1" is taken as an index to indicate that enough children are born to retain the present numbers, then the index for cities of 100,000 is .76; cities of 25,000 to 100,000, .88; cities of 10,000 to 25,000, .97; cities of 2,500 to 10,000, 1.04; and the rural population, 1.54.

(5) The suicide rate is 50 per cent higher in the cities of 10,000 and over than in the smaller cities and rural areas. The annual number of suicides is 22,000 for the country, the rate being highest in the fastest growing cities (highest in cities on the Pacific Coast and lowest in the New England and East South Central cities).

(6) Cities spend twice as much per capita for public health services as do rural areas. The urban infant mortality rate is below the rural.

(7) The 1934 per capita expenditures for relief were twice as great in the most urbanized states as for the least urbanized. When all Federal aid is considered, however, the rural states received more per capita than the urban. From

¹⁰ B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, "Farm Rehabilitation Possibilities Among Rural Households on Relief in Virginia," *Rural Relief Series No. 10*, Works Progress Administration of Virginia, Blacksburg, Virginia, April, 1937, (pp. 36; mimeographed).

¹¹ *Report of the Urbanization Committee to the National Resources Committee*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., February, 1937.

1933 to 1935, from three-fifths to three-fourths of the expenditures for relief went to urban centers. One-fifth of the total expenditures went to the 10 largest cities in 1933.

(8) ". . . lynchings decline as urbanization proceeds and as isolated backward areas are brought within the orbit of urban influence."

(9) Approximately 60 per cent of the national loss due to fire occurs in rural areas. Also per capita losses caused by fire in the rural areas are greater than in urban. The larger the city the less the per capita loss. However, loss of lives due to fire is greater in urban centers. In 1933, 3,500 lives were lost. Seventy per cent of these deaths were caused by urban fires.

(10) From 1924 to 1935 there was a 150 per cent increase in rural motor fatalities. During the same period urban motor fatalities increased only 27 per cent. In the last few years the urban rate has decreased while the rural rate has increased. The smaller cities have higher rates than the larger.

(11) In Congress the urban states are under represented to the extent of 13 representatives. From the 66th to the 74th Congress more than one-half the important chairmanships (73 out of 108) have been held by rural members.

(12) City families when compared with rural families of the same income groups spend a smaller proportion of their incomes for food and larger proportions for clothing, advancement, and recreation.

(13) Fifty per cent of the urban families have radios as compared with 21 per cent of families living on farms.

Other rural-urban comparisons are given. Unfortunately the report is not documented.

MISCELLANEOUS

"Family Budgets, 1934-35, of Six Tenant-Cultivators in the Lyallpur District"¹² is the title of the third publication in a series dealing with a group of six tenant cultivators in a relatively prosperous part of Punjab, the Canal Colony of Lyallpur. In income and social status the six families are between ordinary tenants and peasant proprietors in the district. These families are slightly above the average Punjab farmers as a whole. Standard of living data are given for 1932-33, 1933-34, and 1934-35.

The records were kept by an investigator who lived on the farm. Comparability in the expenditures and values for the joint and single families is attained by use of Atwater's scale of adult male units. The consumption values of the six families were compared with those of 164 Nebraska families and 167 Illinois families. The Punjab families expended 66 per cent of their total value of living for food, whereas the Nebraska and Illinois families expended 49 and 41 per cent, respectively, for this item. Punjab families produced 80 per cent of their living, but the Nebraska and Illinois families produced only 47 and 32 per cent, respectively. Punjab families produced nine per cent of their clothing—American farmers none. American farmers are adjudged to have higher standards of living.

¹² Labh Singh and Ajaib Singh, "Family Budgets, 1934-35, of Six Tenant-Cultivators in the Lyallpur District," *Publication No. 50*, The Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, (pp. 50).

The six Punjab families devoted 18.1 per cent of their value of living to clothing and shoes, 4.2 per cent to traveling, 2.5 per cent to religion (25 per cent of which was furnished), 2.1 per cent for medicine, 1.9 per cent for amusement and luxuries, 1.5 per cent for social, 1.0 per cent for lighting, .8 per cent for housing (not including interest and depreciation), and 2.8 per cent for miscellaneous items.

"Farm Tenancy in the United States, 1918-1936"¹³ is a selected list of references dealing with farm tenancy with a brief summarization of contents. In all, there are 1,070 references classified by geographical division and states.

An "Economic and Social Survey of Clay County"¹⁴ includes inventories of educational facilities, libraries, recreation and social organizations. Church, farm, war veterans, civic and other social facilities are given special attention. Local relief and housing are very briefly discussed. A population analysis includes the national ancestry, marital status, occupations, church affiliations, and educational attainments of residents. The number of defectives, illiterates, and the number of war veterans is given.

Exactly 1,089 courses in 26 subjects relating to agricultural economics and rural sociology are offered by state agricultural colleges, according to a mimeographed report from Tennessee.¹⁵ The sources for the analysis are not given, so the reviewer could not determine whether courses were actually offered or merely listed in college catalogues.

Subjects ranked from low to high according to number of courses offered are: agricultural economics, rural sociology, farm management, marketing livestock, marketing all farm products, farm finance and taxation, farm accounting, co-operative marketing, land economics, marketing crops, agricultural policies and problems, economic geography of agriculture, local government, economic history of agriculture, farmers' movements, types of farming, farm laws, agricultural transportation, international agricultural problems, farm labor and tenancy, rural industries, agricultural advertising, and range economics. Distribution of courses in the various fields is given by states.

A total of 144 courses dealing with various phases of rural sociology were offered by 40 institutions. Of the courses, 120 are for undergraduate credit and 24 for graduates. Very few undergraduate courses are open to freshmen. Of the undergraduate courses, 98 are lecture, 11 combination lecture and laboratory, two seminar, and 16 research.

¹³ Louise O. Bercaw, "Farm Tenancy in the United States, 1918-1936," *Agricultural Economics Bibliography* No. 70 (supersedes No. 59), Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., June, 1937, (pp. 302).

¹⁴ *Economic and Social Survey of Clay County*, South Dakota State Planning Board and Clay County Planning Board, Brookings, South Dakota, (pp. 70; mimeographed).

¹⁵ Charles E. Allred and William E. Hendrix, "Courses in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Land Grant Colleges, 1935-1936," *Monograph* No. 39, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, May 10, 1937, (pp. 20; mimeographed).

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

The Review Editor has some difficulty in finding the proper and interested persons for reviewing books. It will facilitate the work if anyone interested will mail cards to Carle C. Zimmerman, 200 Emerson Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, giving his name and address and types of books wished for review.

Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. By Edwin G. Nourse, Joseph S. Davis, and John D. Black. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1937. Pp. xiv, 600. \$3.50.

These reports of which this is the summary volume need no introduction. Throughout them statements have repeatedly been made that the study was as "*nearly scientific* as it could be made" (Vol. I, in the Preface, and elsewhere in Vols. VI and VII). Thus throughout the study Nourse in particular has been somewhat skeptical of the ability to obtain objective scientific research about the A.A.A. free from bias and preconceived notions. This skepticism seems justified unless political speeches and propagandic reports by the A.A.A., both of which abound in this volume, be considered as "scientific." The chapter on contributions of the A.A.A. to general economic recovery is nearly half that sort of thing. The book ends with "pep" talks given to the Farm Bureau Convention in order to maintain backing for the program by Secretary Wallace and Administrator Tolley. In speaking about the A.A.A. officials, they write (p. 479), "Of course there is a vigorous class interest on the part of the farmer. There is also probably an unconscious bias among A.A.A. officials—a deep-grained 'farm-mindedness'—that leads them somewhat beyond a true evaluation of rival claims of farmers and others." The similarity between many statements in this book and previous writings by the authors leads to the opinion that the authors saw in the A.A.A. mainly the things that they believed beforehand and that this report also contains a "deep-grained farm-mindedness" unduly friendly to the A.A.A., and therefore perhaps a double bias instead of impartiality. This is shown by the hasty generalizations throughout the work.

The statement (p. 20) that "all responsible students of the agricultural situation of the period agree . . ." implies of course that those who disagree with much of our current agrarian propaganda are irresponsible. Consequently those who wish to be informed should read for themselves literature on all sides of the question, and in this connection it is worth a while to read this volume if one has not been following the situation closely, and has not already read the previous works of Black, Nourse, and Davis, the newspapers, and the propagandic reports of the A.A.A. itself.

An Appendix of 50 pages of fine print, purporting to give the theoretical qualitative analysis on which many of the conclusions in the volume are based,

was written by H. B. Rowe. His analysis compares favorably with the simple supply, demand, and monopoly analysis (based on the assumption that all things are equal) as given in elementary textbooks. After 46 pages of assumptions and diagrams he states (p. 557): "It is not possible to determine the actual effects of a program applied simultaneously to a number of competing products through an analysis based on relationships for individual commodities when these relationships have been established under an assumption that competing supplies are unaffected." If this had been stated on the first page of the Appendix, the reviewer and many others might have been spared the trouble of reading many pages of elementary economic theory. Since "their [basic commodities] prices strongly influence changes in price of other agricultural commodities" (p. 43), and since part of the philosophy of the A.A.A. was that by applying restrictions to some commodities consumers would have to shift to others or get along with less, a more comprehensive analysis based on more realistic assumptions would have been in order. However, the authors state that the A.A.A. reduced consumption by at least two or three per cent less flour, two or three million less bales of cotton, and 1.1 billion pounds less pork in addition to paying as much or more in money for the smaller quantities (pp. 409-411), without considering the effect of restriction on the prices and the consumption of other commodities which consumers might try to substitute. Where did consumers get all the calories to replace those not obtained from wheat and pork? Is there any truth in the stories about increased sales of canned dog food?

The authors fail to define what they mean by "agriculture," "balance," "equality," "fair share of the national income," and other terms and propaganda slogans. They accept as an axiom that farmers were not getting a fair share of the national income and that "agriculture" was worse off than every other industry. But if one assumes that the conclusions in the recent work, *Income in Agriculture, 1929-1935*, by the National Industrial Conference Board, or in the reviewer's 1932 study on "Wealth, Income, and Living" (*Jour. Farm Econ.*, XV, (3), July, 1933), were correct and that farmers were as well off, or a little better off than most other groups, then one can imagine what happens to much of the A.A.A. philosophy, and many of the "sympathetic" discussions and conclusions of this book. Possibly history will say that A.A.A. attempts have been creating unbalance instead of "restoring balance." The drop in the index of factory pay rolls relative to indexes relating to agriculture is ignored, and the authors apparently think it was proper to tax poor laborers to help fairly well-to-do farmers. The ballyhoo about wartime expansion of agriculture in the United States is accepted by the authors (p. 4), although a diagram on page 18 of the bulletin *Agriculture's Share of the National Income*, published by the A.A.A. in October, 1935, shows that during the war period production did not keep pace with population growth.

The census data on numbers of farms are quoted in round numbers as six million. No use is made of other census data which show that nearly one-third of these so-called farmers work off the farms and that the distribution of farms by size and income is so skewed that an average size or average income is practi-

cally meaningless. The effect of the A.A.A. on large and small farms is virtually ruled out by this statement (p. 339): "This, however, was not a large factor in the total situation, because the family-size farm occupies such a predominant place in our rural economy." Does this mean in numbers, income, or size, or just what? One might also say that the predominant type of business in the United States is small business, because there are so few big corporations. As proof of a wide distribution of benefit payments from the A.A.A., the authors then quote figures to show how small was the percentage of benefit payments of over \$10,000 to one party from one commodity. A few pages earlier (p. 328) data are presented to show that the gross farm income per farm was only about \$1,000. If these figures mean anything at all, then benefit payments of even \$1,000 in addition to other gross income become large payments to large farms—100 per cent greater than the average income from production—and benefit payments of \$10,000 become extremely large—1,000 per cent greater than average gross income, and all this in the name of "equality"!

Some of the conclusions are almost meaningless. Take, for example, the following: "We may therefore conclude that farm laborers on the rank and file of farms in the United States as a whole have shared in the increase of agricultural income since 1932 in as full measure as can reasonably be expected in view of the accompanying circumstances" (p. 352). An article by J. D. Black in the *Review of Economic Statistics* is referred to as the study on which this conclusion is based. This study contains the implicit assumption that farm laborers had full-time work at the monthly wage rates and therefore is not applicable to seasonal farm labor. In some cases it appears as if the authors were trying so hard to shield the A.A.A. that they became wholly inconsistent and drew conclusions contrary to their own statements. They wrote (p. 345): "*No definite statement can be made as to the incidence of the program on southern landlords and tenants respectively. No data collected or studies made are sufficiently comprehensive to be conclusive.*" Seven lines lower down in the same paragraph—"Much of the criticism which has found its way into the press has been founded upon *scattering instances* of violation . . . or upon a few situations . . ." How do the authors know this if no conclusive studies have been made? They then proceed to draw seven numbered conclusions, all of which are so damaging to the A.A.A. that they have to protect the A.A.A. by stating (p. 349), "The A.A.A. was never conceived for the purpose of *equalizing income* or *restoring freedom* of initiative and *equality of opportunity* among different tenant classes within the farm population . . . It is not in order to criticize the program for failure to solve a problem outside its proper field of operation. *We believe that the A.A.A. program helped the tenant class in the South.*" If this last sentence began with the words "In spite of all evidence to the contrary, we still believe, etc.," it would be more significant and really fit into the paragraph. As it is, it seems to be out of place and unwarranted. One wonders if proponents of a program designed to help the "forgotten man" also think that it is *improper* for the A.A.A. to try to equalize income, restore freedom of initiative, and equality of opportunity?

The chapter on Contributions to General Economic Recovery gives the impression that there has been far more recovery than has really taken place and that the A.A.A. contributed most of it. No mention of changes in relief loads and unemployment is given. Economic recovery seems to mean mainly inflated prices, artificial land values, and profits for the few, rather than well being for the masses. The contention is made (p. 434) that A.A.A. payments of processing taxes meant the transfer of hoarded funds, although no adequate proof of this statement is given. On the following page it is inferred that A.A.A. payments helped to reduce excessive bank reserves. If excessive bank reserves are a sign of depression, where is our recovery? In commenting on sources of funds (p. 435) the statement is made "as to consumers, the great mass of the poor [here they admit that there are poor people besides farmers] would have spent all their incomes in any event and whether a larger or smaller part went to farmers could have had little effect on velocity of movements." Earlier (p. 430) it is said: ". . . except as there might be differences in the spending behavior of the two groups." Many of the so-called farmers that received benefit payments were not in need; some made money throughout the depression. These did not increase their spending because they got benefit payments. It is admitted (p. 431) that many farmers used the funds to pay loans and delinquent taxes. Surely this kind of spending does not have the same velocity and create as much demand for goods as the spending by poor people for the necessities of life. The effect of the whole A.A.A. on the distribution of income among families is completely ignored. The Brookings Institution, in another study by different authors, had already recognized clearly that such distribution is a vital part of our national economy.

J. S. Davis in a footnote to the chapter on Contributions to General Economic Recovery (p. 448) feels "that it conveys a materially exaggerated impression of the extent of the A.A.A. recovery contribution." He enlarges on this a little in his brief supplement (which ought to be read before the rest of the book). It is too bad he didn't state his views more fully. It might have helped to overcome some of the bias so evidently injected into the book by the other two authors. Aside from the preface, the concluding chapters, and the two supplements, it is difficult in most cases to tell who wrote the different chapters. Nourse arrives at the conclusion in his final chapter that plowing under cotton, killing pigs—"arresting the processes of production already under way" (as he calls it, p. 458)—"seems to us to have been justified." Nowhere in the book is there consideration of any of the numerous alternative measures which might have been employed for changing depression conditions. Nourse states further (p. 459): "Even though this action was followed by droughts which reduced supplies more drastically than A.A.A. production control measures were calculated to do, surpluses are still barely down to their average level, prices have not reached scarcity figures, consumers have not been deprived of their customary diet, and importations even after the third drought were only an insignificant percentage of total supply." Scarcity prices apparently refer to some index numbers of absolute amounts and not what poor consumers can pay. The reviewer believes that the

customary diet for many families in the United States is fast becoming a relief ration and contends that the figures show that there were more families on relief when Nourse wrote this than when the A.A.A. started. Should 2 or 3 per cent less of wheat and 1.1 billion pounds less of pork be considered as part of the customary diet?

After lauding the program in his supplement Black (often called "Father of the A.A.A.") criticizes the A.A.A. for activities different from those suggested in his 1929 book on "Agricultural Reform." He thinks, apparently without examining the new wording which applies to net income per person living on farms, that the income parity concept of the 1936 (Soil Conservation!) act is better than the parity price concept of the original act. The reviewer holds that it is not only unscientific but also unrealistic to base an agricultural policy on *where people live* instead of *what they do*, especially since about one-seventh of all the gainful workers living on rural farms work in other industries and about one-third of the farmers work off the farm for pay or income. On the other hand, many millionaires also live on farm estates. Perhaps their income ought to be equalized! In commenting on spreads between producers and consumers and the increase in number of persons engaged in marketing activities, he says (p. 496): "Much of this increase goes into paying for services we would rather not pay for if we could help it." Here again is found that generalizing tendency already mentioned. Surely he has no basis for thinking that the rest of society wants to give up any of the goods and services now available, and he has not demonstrated that these can be obtained by using less numbers of persons in marketing activities. Persons engaged in marketing are surely as productive as thousands of government employees who are helping farmers to produce less instead of more. Nevertheless Black indicates that he should like to see the A.A.A. made permanent.

The original act made a pretense at protecting the consumer, and then lightly passed him by. In this book the consumer is treated the same. The authors state (p. 37): "Since one or two control programs initiated when prices had been below parity had been continued even after that goal had been reached, the new provision ostensibly embodied a new measure of consumer protection." The new measures permitted prices to reach 135 per cent of parity before consumers were to be protected by reducing processing taxes, but was it illegal to continue taxes when prices went above parity? The authors do not discuss such points, nor the theory involved in including interest and tax payments on farm real estate as part of the parity formula. This gives consumers about the same kind of protection as they have from inflation in a monetary system of paper money backed by mortgages. In the section dealing specifically with effects on the consumer they state (p. 390): "What protection could be afforded under the provision for disseminating information regarding the anticipated price effects of processing taxes would depend largely on the skill, vigor, and reasonableness of the administrative agency to which its application was entrusted." This is followed by several pages of discussion of the "Consumers' Counsel," which is said to have informed consumers of rises in prices and otherwise acted as a propagandic

agency. What the consumers really would like to know is how they get any protection from having price data published. They know before the A.A.A. collects and averages the prices that prices have gone up, and that they must pay them or starve. Apparently the authors did not attempt to find if relief budgets and expenditures were increased along with the costs of food and if pay rolls rose simultaneously or lagged behind. No attempt was made to analyze the real effects of curtailed production and consumption on employment of labor in industries; only incidental mention is made of the effects of the A.A.A. on the great mass of laborers who represent a population about twice the size of the farm population. Although the authors presumably did not investigate other New Deal agencies, they conclude (p. 246), "In fact, the A.A.A. stands out as one of the best administered of New Deal agencies."

In commenting upon the relations between the A.A.A. and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (p. 247), the authors state: ". . . staff . . . recruited on numerous instances from the most promising younger specialists of the B.A.E. itself. The Secretary had no desire to see the older service crippled, though he was perhaps not unwilling to see whether a little shaking of dry bones would quicken the effect." This type of statement amply illustrates the bias of the work. Many of the unpromising younger specialists and "dry bones" in the B.A.E. might have been men with such principles and ideals that they would not stoop to making themselves special pleaders for things with which they did not agree.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to descriptive material relating to the commodity control, loans, purchasing and diversion programs, marketing agreements, and administrative organization and problems. Without doubt the A.A.A. was well administered, but good administration of an unsocial law does not make the law good even though the authors so contend. Much of the descriptive material may be biased not so much by inaccurate statements as primarily by omission. No description is given of what went on behind the scenes, as to "who were the intellectual architects of the enterprise" (p. 387) that drafted the acts and amendments, made the "purge or housecleaning" (p. 252), and why the opinions of those purged were wrong. How much came out of "the wisdom and experience of farmers themselves" (p. 62)? The Secretary of Agriculture was convinced of the need for planned restriction of milk supplies (p. 104) by what and by whom?

In discussing the emergency pig-sow slaughter campaign, they state: "Actual purchases were about 6.2 million pigs and some 222,000 sows. About 100 million pounds of edible pork were distributed for relief and the remaining product went to the packers." By implication the edible relief pork came from these pigs and sows, but surely the authors do not wish to convey the idea that the remaining product was a gift to the packers. To have described the entire picture might have involved a stinking mess.

After reading this book carefully, it appears to the reviewer that any realistic conclusions concerning the A.A.A. require further reports by persons who can tackle the problem in an unbiased manner under conditions which are not col-

ored by depression and emergency hysteria. Unless other studies are made from different points of view before the next depression or emergency is upon us, this book which upholds a questionable procedure may be used as authority for trying the same things again. There is a great need for more semi-factual, semi-descriptive studies of this kind, but there is a greater need for comprehensive, unbiased, scientific, theoretical analyses free from preconceived notions. Most economists recognize that we do not have perfect competition, absolute mobility, and all the other assumptions which were made in developing classical theory. There are many types and degrees of monopoly and price rigidities and therefore government action may be necessary. However, if most of these impediments to general welfare appear in other industries than agriculture, can they be cured, or controlled, by performing operations on agriculture? Will the trial and error method in agriculture ever approximate, as Black infers it will (p. 489), the level of production and price that would prevail under free competition? Even the classical economists did not assert that free competition would maximize general welfare. They (see Pigou, *Economics of Welfare*, 2nd Ed., Chapter X, esp. p. 197) developed the theory that it might be socially desirable to tax increasing cost goods and to pay bounties on decreasing cost goods. The A.A.A. program, to some extent at least, embodies just the opposite principle, the taxing of decreasing cost industries to supply benefit payments to agriculture. It seems as if the authors of this book overlooked many aspects of classical economic theory in rubber-stamping the A.A.A. Perhaps we need to develop a whole new system of economic theory, but until such theory is fully developed it may be well to apply the theories already more or less accepted as sound. In this connection it might help the authors of this report to read Professor Edwin Cannan's Presidential Address to the Royal Economic Society in May, 1933, on "The Need for Simpler Economics" (*The Econ. Jour.*, XLIII (171), Sept., 1933). The remarks by Professor Canaan have more significance now than when he wrote. Practically nothing has been done to clarify the application of simple economic generalization to the problems, while books like the one under review contribute to the "undue glorification of agriculture," and the renaming of governmental activities sponsored to "do something for agriculture" into "soil conservation" tends to make the "worship" appear more holy.

University of California

GEORGE M. PETERSON

Social and Cultural Dynamics: Fluctuations of Systems of Truth, Ethics, and Law. Vol. II. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: American Book Company, 1937. Pp. xvii, 727. \$6.00.

This book is Volume II of a four-volume work on "Social and Cultural Dynamics." In the preface the author poses 15 questions for which he then offers answers in the 632 pages which follow. The appendices consume 80 additional pages of fine print materials, the "Index of Authors," including some 500 names, takes an additional five pages and the "Index of Subjects" eight pages more, making the volume a 727-page book of something more than 350,000 words.

I cite the magnitude of the volume because only by so doing can I give to

those who have not read it some comprehension of the tremendous task which is represented in the work. By converting some of the major questions raised in the preface into positive statements, which the author does over and over throughout the volume, the major and minor theses of the work are made immediately apparent. As I see them they are (1) "Systems of truth and knowledge"; "first principles of science, philosophy and religion"; "systems of ethics, moral and criminal codes"; "fluctuate in their influence and acceptability in the course of time." (2) The fluctuations in one "compartment" of culture are "connected" with fluctuations in other compartments of the same culture. (3) There are many of these "compartments" but most, if not all, of them are but manifestations and component parts of the "Ideational," "Mixed," and "Senseate" types of culture.

Differently and probably too simply stated, the thesis is that there are two chief types of culture—the "Ideational" and "Senseate"—with an intermediate one—the "Mixed"—which through the decades, generations and centuries vie with each other for domination; sometimes one and sometimes the other is in the ascendancy, but there is no way of predicting when or how long these fluctuating periods of ascendancy will last. We are told, however, that over the period of 2,500 years in Western Civilization each has proved that it carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and, although the author is very sure that the absence of "linear trends" in cultural development makes prediction impossible, he does not hesitate over and over to predict that our present dominant Senseate culture is "overripe" and will surely give way in due time to another period of domination of the Ideational. This almost absolute sureness on his part he claims is not due to any predictable temporal cyclical trend but rather to "the principle of immanent self-regulation of sociocultural processes." He argues that the process of "self-regulation" is proved again and again by his data to such an extent as to "suggest that possibly each form of truth has its own important function in the psychological life of mankind and is equally necessary" (p. 55). In a less metaphysical vein he states it thus: "according to the principles of limit and immanent self-regulation of the sociocultural processes, when, in our eagerness, we go too far beyond the legitimate limit of a given theory, a reaction sets in and leads to its decline" (p. 475).

The source materials out of which these sociological theories are derived are multitudinous and the methodology more or less unique. The sources are the writings of the leading thinkers and theorists of the past 2,500 years from 450 B.C. to A.D. 1920, in Western Civilization, supplemented here and there by oriental sources. The method used is to give an assigned weight to the influence of each thinker, classify him in his proper school of thought and compute the magnitude of each system by adding, in 20-year and 100-year periods, the weights given to the selected thinkers. Selection of those to be included among the great thinkers was not arbitrary. The test of eligibility was that their names "are preserved in the annals of history," and the weight assigned each was more or less mechanically determined by "(1) the number of special monographs devoted to a philosopher; (2) the approximate frequency with which the phi-

losopher's name has been mentioned, not only in the works of his contemporaries but also in those of the subsequent thinkers in the field; (3) whether he was a founder of a school of philosophic thought; (4) whether his name is mentioned even in the most elementary texts of history, epistemology, and theory of knowledge; (5) the number of his avowed disciples and followers among the thinkers in the field; (6) whether his works have been translated into foreign languages; (7) whether his works have been republished again and again in spite of length of time that has elapsed since his death; (8) whether he was a creator of an original and complete system of philosophy and epistemology" (p. 17).

I need not elaborate the method or discuss it critically at this point. The reader of this review will gain more understanding of the method and its operation by having called to his attention the fact that only six thinkers are given the maximum weight of 12 in the scoring, *viz.*, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Kant. Only one other—Socrates—is given a weight greater than 8, and he is given 9. Then follow some with 8 and others with weights of 5, 6, and 7.

In the 20-year periods the thinker is apparently included in each period from his first to his last personal contribution, but in the 100-year periods he is included but once. Thus the weight of one thinker may appear in as many as three periods and another in only one 20-year period. Examples are of Kant, with a weight of 12, whose name appears in only one period—1780-1800; Hume, with a weight of 8, whose name appears in two periods—1740-1760 and 1760-1780; and Voltaire, with a weight of 7, whose name appears in three periods—1720-1740, 1740-1760, and 1760-1780. Thus the total weight for Kant is 12 for both the 20-year and 100-year periods, while the total weight of Hume is 8 for the 100-year period but 16 in the 20-year period, and those for Voltaire are 7 and 21 for the same two periods. All the major graphs are constructed on 100-year periods, however, and thus no thinker unduly influences the fluctuation of the system of thought to which his influence is assigned.

Returning to the two dominant systems of culture—the Ideational and Sensate—it is well to see concisely how the author defines or describes these types, or systems. In the "Systems of Truth and Knowledge" the Ideational is represented in religious rationalism, mysticism, and fideism; the Sensate in empiricism.

In "First Principles" the Ideational is represented by "Idealism," "Etemolism," "Realism," "Universalism," and "Indeterminism"; the Sensate by "Materialism," "Temporalism," "Nominalism," "Singularism," and "Determinism."

In "Systems of Ethics," the Ideational is represented by the concept of the absolute principles; the Sensate by the concepts of the "Utilitarianism," "eudæmonism" and "hedonism"; and in the field of criminal law these same systems prevail in both theory and practice, the Ideational being represented by ideas of "absolute crimes" and the Sensate by the idea that crime is at least partially, if not wholly related to assignable natural sense phenomena. The most general characterization given in the supersensory world; the Sensate in the Sensate world" (p. 388).

Always the "Mixed or Idealistic" is intermediate, partaking of both the others. The various indices or components or compartments and many others are followed, recited, measured, and presented in great detail and with numerous citations to authorities over the 2,500 years under consideration, and always with the statement that they fluctuate rather than follow linear trends. This is true, the author argues, whether the component of culture is a "system of truth," a theory of time, space and number, or a type of "ethicojudicial mentality in criminal law." Never has any one of them developed steadily from the Greco-Roman period to modern times; each has had its periods of ascendancy and its periods of decline and will continue to do so because of the law of limits. He is so sure of this eternal fluctuation that he calls Spencer's theory, that one system of truth will ultimately win over all others, "childish" (p. 513); asserts that Durkheim's theory of the growth of punishment is a "mere rationalization" (p. 613); and says that "linearism in the social sciences, with its evaluation progress and stages of development and all other traits, is dead, for the time being" (p. 381). His conviction concerning the inevitability of these fluctuations leads him to assert that "it simply means that the full and complete truth is 'white' and is possibly accessible only to the Divine Mind. We can grasp but its approximation" (p. 475).

The average reader, like the writer, will probably have to confess his incompetence to judge the validity of many of the generalizations and many more of the details of a work which utilizes so many and diverse sources. The thesis of the work is, however, easily grasped and understood; the method is clear; and the predilections as well as the theories of the author clearly revealed. Concerning these things I would say that the thesis is fairly well substantiated if the method is accepted as valid, but that the author must surely recognize that even statistical computations of fluctuations do not deny that both the assignment of thinkers to given "systems" and the interpretations of their writings make for wide margins of possible error. The reader can not but feel that the author's predilection is distinctly against the "Sensate," whether it be in the field of faith, knowledge, ethics or behavior, and if there is one thing that mars this otherwise admirable piece of scholarship and writing more than the rough handling of his contemporary or near contemporary colleagues in the field of sociology, it is his almost if not quite intemperate statements concerning present Sensate trends.

In conclusion the writer would say that he considers the tertiary thesis of this work both more fundamental and better substantiated by the author than is the primary thesis of fluctuation. Quoted directly from the author's preface it is: ". . . this volume attempts to demonstrate that what a given society regards as true or false, scientific or unscientific, right or wrong, lawful or unlawful, beautiful or ugly, is conditioned fundamentally by the nature of its dominant culture. In the Ideational culture, Ideational science, philosophy, religion, law, ethics, and art triumph, and their Sensate forms are rejected as false, wrong, unlawful, sinful, heretical, and blasphemous. Contrariwise, in a dominant Sensate culture—such as we are now living in—Sensate forms of science, philosophy, religion,

ethics, law, and art become dominant; and their Ideational forms are branded as superstition, prejudice, ignorance, and the like" (p. vii).

Division of Farm Population and Rural Life

CARL C. TAYLOR

Education for Democracy. American Country Life Association. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. \$1.50.

Conferences should be participated in to be truly appreciated, but rural leaders will find many valuable suggestions and plans for the solution of rural problems in the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Conference held at Kalamazoo, Michigan. Democracy is assumed as a frame of reference which will continue to dominate the American scene. Against this background various specialists indicate the changes necessary to make rural education more effective. Among them are increased educational opportunity, improved financing and administration. Adult education and increased use of group discussions are considered vital to the continuance of democratic functioning.

New developments in fields related to rural education are presented. These include conservation, youth, health, social work, recreation, and library service as they contribute to the development of a satisfying rural life. New programs point out increases in Federal support and supervision but emphasize also the importance of local interest and participation.

The program of the student section, now the youth section, is especially challenging. If theirs is to become the program for rural America, rural living will be challenging and worth while. Theirs is no defeatist program and no hint that rural youth will be satisfied with less than the best. Oldsters will do well to keep up with youth and encourage them.

Two outstanding and closely related needs are expressed directly or indirectly by nearly all of the specialists. The first is a greater realization by rural people of the need for changes which seem necessary to make democracy operative under changing conditions. The second is the need for rural training and experience for specialists who are to work with rural people. To these might be added a third—the need for careful consideration of methods by which desired changes are to be brought about. This last might well be the theme for some future conference of the Association.

Iowa State College

RAY E. WAKELY

The Chisholm Trail. By Sam P. Ridings. Guthrie, Oklahoma: The Co-operative Publishing Company, 1936. Pp. 591. \$3.50.

The author, an attorney at Medford, Oklahoma, sets down partly from memory and partly from documentary evidences the things he saw, heard, and knew about which happened over 50 years ago along and in the vicinity of this famous, world's-greatest cattle trail from San Antonio, Texas, to Abilene, Kansas, in an attempt to preserve for posterity the folklore of the plains as it emerged in the frontier life of over a half-century ago. The early traders, ranchers, and Indians of Oklahoma and not the Chisholm Trail, consume most of the narrative, since

only that part of the Trail which lay within the present borders of Oklahoma is discussed in detail. In the earlier days the territory between Red River and the southern boundary of Kansas was a barrier between the cattle ranchers of Texas and their markets. The original Trail was marked out in the Oklahoma Territory in 1865 to reach the Indians in the Southwest, but the cattle drives began in 1867, and the northern and southern extremities of the Trail were joined to the middle, thus making it all the Chisholm Trail. For 15 years it was the principal artery of commerce and cattle trading north and south through Oklahoma, but when the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad reached Caldwell, Kansas, in 1880 the Trail that far south was closed forever. As the railroads proceeded farther south the Trail dwindled in length until, finally, it was used no more.

The book is a collection of biographies of men who were prominent in the transformation of a great area from a wilderness into a nascent agricultural empire; an account of their dealings with the Indians and with each other; and an excellent description of man's combat with the forces of nature. However, it has an implicit significance that goes beyond the mere enumeration of the legends and events recounted, since it may be regarded as a huge case study of the formation and diffusion of a culture. Figuratively speaking, discrete racial, economic, technological, and psychological factors were poured into a crucible from which later emerged the concrete culture pattern of the Middle Southwest. Because of its isolation, transportation connections with the outside world were the greatest needs of Oklahoma Territory. Once trails had been blazed, giving it outlets to markets, the State became habitable for people with advanced cultures. After that the rapid emergence of the State of Oklahoma was inevitable.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Social Work as Cause and Function. By Porter R. Lee. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. \$2.50.

The author writes as a recognized leader to social workers concerning their successful professional development. He depicts rather vividly the changes in social work and in society which affect the social worker. His conclusions and counsel will also interest social scientists and laymen as well.

Fifty years ago social work was a cause supported by the private charity of persons who felt "a person ought to help." Now it has developed into a recognized function of society based upon the idea that "the community ought to provide such service." Along with this change has grown the importance of preventive measures as a part of the new community function. The author notes two additional objectives resulting from the depression: first, economic security; second, acceptance of governmental activity in the field of social welfare as the foundation for the entire social program. Then he adds, "The peculiar task, however, of combining professional competence with adequate political sense is one in which we have not as yet become highly proficient."

Educators will also be interested in the point which is made that training social workers is quite different from doing social work. Training is much more difficult and less highly developed. The teacher must know and show the pro-

cesses by which adjustment is brought about, the various possibilities, and why each was chosen or discarded. Good teachers are few. The growth of the profession depends upon three factors: a recognized system of professional education, some control over the right to practice, and a well-established professional organization. He says, "Certainly . . . we must present ourselves not as an aggregation of specialists but as a unified profession whose practitioners use their professional skill in specialized ways." Social workers must recognize the need for social action and be interested in statesmanlike planning. They must be tolerant and lead, but they must not become the advocate of any special interests.

In its broadest conception social work is presented as a unified system of social case work and as a unified profession. The social worker's job, we are told, is to assist the adjustment of families, to develop their powers and responsibility in such a way that, if possible, they may learn to meet their own needs. Various agencies may assist them in doing this but to these must be added the personal inspiration and leadership of the social worker. The author maintains, "In my judgment there is no greater problem before us as case workers than the task of defining this job of leadership—which is the task of winning confidence and changing attitudes." We must help those who lack psychological and spiritual resources. At this point private agencies supplement governmental programs. The community needs them both.

Social work is a partnership with the public. Without public interest, confidence, and support it cannot survive. Professional social workers are finally judged by the uninstructed public.

The author disregards contributions which might be gained from the social sciences, sociology, psychology, education. As a result he attempts to solve some problems the hard way, drawing always on the breadth of his experience and relying upon it to give depth to his thinking.

Unity is lost by the chronological arrangement of the chapters which causes the reader to see the book as a somewhat disconnected but quite worth-while series of discourses. The book deserves careful consideration and a much more attractive title.

Iowa State College

RAY E. WAKELEY

Children of Strangers. By Lyle Saxon. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. Pp. 294. \$2.50.

The author of *Old Louisiana* has given us another study of the plantation and race relations in Louisiana, this time a full-length novel. One familiar with the earlier work would expect from Mr. Saxon something both interesting and revealing, and in *Children of Strangers* one is not disappointed. Mr. Saxon is skilled in the art of "feeling himself" into the lives and the culture of the people, white and black, who have made and do make up Southern society. He is interested in the color and texture of this society.

Children of Strangers deals with a community of Creole mulattoes isolated before the Civil War by a shift in the course of the Red River. They are the

descendants of a wealthy French planter whose lands they have inherited through several generations. Landownership, a sense of community, unique traditions and folkways, and clan pride have made and kept them an estate between the whites at the top and the blacks at the bottom. Unlike mulattoes in the rest of the United States generally, who identify themselves with the Negro group, but with a tendency, perhaps, to regard themselves as the superior part of that group, the mulattoes living on Isle Brevelle constitute a group apart. Ostracism is the lot of one who mingles too freely with Negroes. Here is a Southern interracial situation paralleling the "colored" population of Jamaica and the "cape colored" population of South Africa. But the story is intended to illustrate the process of disintegration which now is taking place with the passing of the conditions which, in the past, have isolated the community. If this story is a correct account of what is going on, the whites are getting the land, some of the mulattoes are passing into the white society of the North and West, while others are sinking into the Negro class.

The white planter who owns a plantation in the midst of the community recognizes the class distinctions between the mulattoes and his Negro sharecroppers in appropriate ways. At Christmas time, for instance, he drinks with representative and leading members of the mulatto class, but not with the Negroes. However, while the mulattoes do not stand as far away from the whites as the Negroes, they do not stand too near. From their doorways they can "see the big-house rising above its trees not more than half a mile away. But the big-house at Yucca was remote, for all that. There are barriers far greater than distance: race and timidity and old, threadbare pride."

In a racial and caste situation where intermarriage is not sanctioned mixed-bloods, nevertheless, sooner or later appear. Where these people fall into more or less distinctive divisions of labor, or form communities on the land, new caste groups come into existence. In this way, apparently, the hundreds of castes in India originated. (See W. Crooke, "The Stability of Caste and Tribal Groups in India," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1914), XLIV, 270-279). There are a larger number of such communities, or mixed-blood "islands," in the Southern States than ordinarily is realized, and they deserve special study. They should be studied comparatively, along with similar communities in the West Indies, in South Africa, and elsewhere.

Duke University

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

Perilous Sanctuary. By D. J. Hall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Pp. 279. \$2.50.

The interest which this novel has for the rural sociologist lies in the description of the life and people in a New Mexican village which the author uses as the background of and a factor in the psychological conflicts of an English adventurer. Unfortunately the incidents and the characters chosen by the writer for his purpose are for the most part too dramatic and unique to serve sociological interests.

In his treatment of the Penitente Brotherhood which is active in the village

the writer not only concerns himself chiefly with the more exotically dramatic aspects of the order, but also tends toward regrettable exaggeration of the violence which present-day Penitente Brothers exercise in guarding their secrets.

Better drawn is the picture of the everyday life. Some aspects of the *Mexicano* psychology and of the type of social organization, which, for want of a better term, can be called a *patron-peon* system, Mr. Hall has portrayed well, even though briefly. The value of this portrayal is however seriously impaired by the attribution of a character and personality to the *patron* which are unique to the point of incredibility.

Radcliffe College

FLORENCE KLUCKHOHN

My Father's House, An Oneida Boyhood. By Pierrepont Noyes. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937. Pp. x, 312. \$3.50.

The book gives an account of the social relationships within the Oneida experimental community and an insight into those of its members with the outside world. Its social isolation was imposed by the attempt of John Humphrey Noyes to create a colony on the principles of the Primitive Christian Church. This involved establishing a new code of ethics, customs, and morals in which the community had complete authority over individuals and there were no private family relations, exclusive friendships, or rearing of children. The community controlled workshops and financial arrangements—a complete break from "capitalism." Pierrepont Noyes was one of 58 children born between 1868 and 1881, during the system of complex marriage and before any signs of disintegration had marred the community's singleness of purpose.

Although perfectionism was the goal and religion the main-spring, life in the community was well-rounded; it involved group plays, dances, outdoor sports, recreations, and meetings of all kinds; work in the various shops and on the farms rotated according to the individual's ability; and the children had their own school, with a method of teaching by field trips, observations, and experiments, which was in itself different from most schools of that period. The picture of the community in its prosperous days is clear and possibly idealized to some extent, but the factors responsible for its disintegration after the first 30 years are not made so perceptible. Much of its early success could be attributed to the strong personality of John Humphrey Noyes. The account suggests indirectly that he maintained his somewhat paternal authority for too long a period; and the men who felt that they had earned a share of it became dissatisfied. The attacks of the clergy, the growing dissatisfaction of a minority in the group, the introduction of new members who were not thoroughly in sympathy with its ideals, all contributed to the disintegration of the strong community. From the sociological point of view, this document is not as complete for that period as one could wish; nevertheless, the impression of the doubts and fears, the emotional disturbances, and readjustments accompanying a fundamental change are given clearly.

The flight of John Humphrey Noyes left the community without a strong leader and precipitated rapid changes. Marriage was re-established, the Chil-

dren's Home broken, family living quarters were arranged, and a Joint Stock company was formed to take care of the finances. Some of the younger members left the community, while the older persons, who were unable to make a satisfactory adjustment to the outside world, remained. Again, the record would be more nearly complete if it told more of these new family arrangements and relations. The last two parts of the book deal almost exclusively with Pierrepont Noyes and his adjustment to the world "outside." His visit with his father at Niagara Falls gives a depressing account of the last days of the Prophet. On the whole the most interesting parts of the book deal with the community as seen through the eyes of a child reared within its walls; the latter part of the book reflects, in the life of Pierrepont Noyes, the spirit of disintegration and readjustment necessitated by the collapse of a social system. The ideology was gone; nothing had been found to replace it.

Radcliffe and Iowa State College

MARGARET WARNKEN RYAN

The Population Problem in Egypt. A study of Population Trends and Conditions in Modern Egypt. By Wendell Cleland. Lancaster, Pa.: Science Press, 1936. Pp. xii, 134.

The population of Egypt has increased 47 per cent during the past half century. During the same time the cultivated area was enlarged only 8 per cent, and the volume of crops harvested 28 per cent. Population density increased from 1.9 persons per acre in 1897 to 2.6 per acre in 1927, or 37 per cent. In this predominantly agricultural country population has been increasing more rapidly than cultivable land and techniques of cultivation. The increase in the quantity of the people has over-compensated for itself by the decrease in the material goods available for living. The irrigation works, which alone can add to the wealth of the country, have contributed to the spread of the diseases, bilharziasis and ancylostomiasis, which together with trachoma and pellagra affect some 99 per cent of the population and lower greatly the vitality of the peasants. With a birth rate of 44.3 per 1,000 and a death rate of 27.9 per 1,000 in 1933 and virtually no emigration, the outlook is for continued growth, although at a declining rate. If the plans for extending migration to its maximum are carried out, the result apparently will be barely to maintain the present small acreage per capita during the next 20 years.

The growing pressure of population has resulted in an extremely low standard of living. Judged by European standards, most of the fellaheen are decidedly below the minimum. The author sees the major clue to the present situation "in that the anemia resulting from the widespread worm infections so depletes energy and lowers ambition, without at the same time causing early death, as to fill the land with half living listless people." Here too is the clue to the apparent paradox between the point of view of those landlords and other persons who feel that more labor is needed and the author's estimate that the soil could be made equally productive if there were 5,000,000 fewer persons on farms.

The general outline stands forth clearly in this report; the details are neces-

sarily hazy, for the available data leave much to be desired. Such vital statistics as are available are critically utilized, and their inadequacy is set forth. The major portion of the book discusses population trends; two chapters portray the standard of living. The author indicates briefly the effect of religious and political factors upon the trend of fertility. Recent trends of population in Egypt are clearly presented. But population trends, after all, are but one aspect of the social complex which is indicated by the terms "overpopulation," "underpopulation," or "optimum population." It seems desirable that there be a portrayal of the entire social setting in which the population problems of Egypt have been developed. A carefully laid foundation for such a project is available in Mr. Cleland's analysis.

Washington, D. C.

CONRAD TAEUBER

Caste and Class in a Southern Town. By John Dollard. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. 502. \$3.50.

This work subjects a Southern town in the cotton plantation area to psychoanalytical scrutiny. The approach and method may be novel but the general findings are not. Following by several month's Woofter's *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation* (Washington: W.P.A. Division of Social Research, 1936), this volume seeks insight into another phase of the cotton plantation situation. The explicit purpose is to reveal the main structure of white-Negro adjustment in the plantation area, emphasis being placed upon emotional factors and acculturating forces. A particularly valuable chapter is devoted to possible biases of the author. By use of a modified psychoanalytical technique life histories were obtained from six Negro men and three Negro women, all of the middle class. Fifty or 60 other informants were interviewed several times, while briefer acquaintance was had with perhaps another 150 persons, white and Negro. The basic method, however, is claimed to be participation in the social life of the town.

One methodological point reminiscent of LePlay is Dollard's contention that in the field of the mores and collective life any person is a good sample of his culture. "In every life history of a Negro will be found the dilemmas typical of his class and caste position" (p. 27). This assumption requires, of course, a degree of homogeneity in the universe being sampled. Since the stringent caste influences and forms of control to which Negroes are subjected in the South may conceivably lead to some homogeneity in the minority group, this viewpoint appears worthy of further consideration. Following the discussion of method and a brief consideration of the history of the Southern caste situation, chapters are taken up on the concepts of caste and class, the economic, sexual, and prestige gains of the white middle class, and caste patterning of education, politics, and religion.

Up to this point, the reader may feel that few new facts have been presented and that other works on the topic are perhaps more satisfactory, but the remainder of the book places more stress upon psychological interpretations and

goes further. Accommodation attitudes of Negroes and defensive beliefs of whites, aggression in its numerous forms, and a discussion of gains of the lower-class Negroes along with a theory of the nature of race prejudice form this last part.

The author, unfamiliar with the South and living in Southerntown for only five months, has done remarkably well. Nevertheless, some of the conclusions and interpretations may be questioned by those more familiar with the situation. For instance, when it is maintained that Negroes place a negative value upon spirituals, "slave songs," because of their connection with slavery (pp. 88, 90), one wonders if this is true for Negroes in general or merely for the relatively few who have achieved middle-class status. The fact that folk songs of the Southern whites have disappeared perhaps to a larger extent than have Negro spirituals may indicate that the infrequency with which spirituals are now sung is not necessarily a function of the race situation. Similarly, the more sedate religious behavior in middle-class Negro churches as compared to that in the churches of lower-class Negroes is credited to the fact that whites associate violently emotional religious experience with primitive and animal behavior, and Negroes consequently wish to deny such a trait to themselves (p. 88). It would appear that class rather than caste may be responsible for this difference in religious expression, as somewhat the same difference is found between middle-class and lower-class churches of whites. Furthermore, many will doubtless disagree with the author's explanation of the prevalent Southern abhorrence of sexual contact between Negro men and white women: "The only serviceable analogy that comes to mind is that such a relationship is perceived as a violation of the incest taboo, that the white woman occupies toward the Negro the same utterly inaccessible rôle that the white mother does to her white son" (p. 437).

Sections dealing with economic aspects of the plantation system could have been strengthened materially had Wooster's study, mentioned above, been available to the author. The author several times attributes to psychological factors in the caste situation the frequent shifting of Negro croppers from farm to farm (pp. 118-119, 300-301). Numerous studies have shown that in the rural South the mobility of Negroes is lower in each tenure status than that of whites. It appears that territorial mobility in cotton areas is a function of class rather than of caste and that caste, if a factor at all, has made for lower mobility of Negroes. Although perhaps not telling the whole story, the book is a worth-while contribution, not only to the field of race relations but also to social theory. In some aspects the approach to social stratification and vertical social mobility is new, while the importance of class and caste in "defining the situation" for each individual, white or Negro, and thus influencing his behavior is admirably demonstrated. One is led to wonder how a Paretan treatment of race prejudice would compare in its conclusions with this thoughtful study.

Memorandum on Research in Competition and Co-operation. By Mark A. May, Gordon W. Allport, Gardner Murphy, and Research Assistants. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937. Pp. 389.

Competition and Co-operation. By Mark A. May and Leonard W. Doob. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937. Pp. v, 191.

These two volumes combined constitute the report of the Sub-Committee on Co-operative and Competitive Habits, of the Committee on Personality and Culture, of the Social Science Research Council. The objectives of the sub-committee are stated to be as follows: (1) to make a critical survey of scientific studies dealing with problems where competitive and co-operative behavior of human beings was recorded and analyzed; (2) to outline the existing frontiers of knowledge concerning these types of behavior; and (3) to formulate a list of research problems and to indicate needed research projects to fill in the gaps and extend the frontier.

Eight research assistants (C. Q. Berger, J. W. Boldyreff, Barbara Burks, John Dollard, Leonard Doob, Margaret Mead, D. W. Oberdorfer, and John H. Useem) were employed to survey the scientific literature in various parts of the field and to make suggestions for further research. Their reports (with the exception of those of John Dollard and Margaret Mead, published elsewhere) appear as appendices to the *Memorandum*. Each report contains abstracts of books, articles, and reports; a summary and evaluation of the literature surveyed; and a list of proposed research projects. The work of the research assistants, taken as a whole, is extremely well done. Unfortunately, the usefulness of the *Memorandum* to the research scholar is considerably impaired by its complete lack of mechanical aids. There is no subject index, no table of contents, and the numbering of the pages starts anew with the work of each author. I have tested the *Memorandum* on a number of research problems and find that there is a good chance of finding what one wants somewhere in this volume, but it takes a good deal of hunting.

May and Doob's report for the subcommittee was designed to relate co-operation and competition to the wider field of personality and culture, to present a tentative orienting theory of co-operation and competition, and to organize existing knowledge that is relevant to co-operation and competition. I regret that lack of time has prevented me from examining this work with the care and thoroughness which are necessary to give it a fair appraisal. A good many of the propositions which it sets forth strike me as being rather sterile common-places. For example, in the chapter on theory the authors raise the question: for what things do individuals co-operate or compete? Here is their answer: "They compete or co-operate to get the *goals* they want. The nature and intensity of their wants is [*sic*] determined largely by the nature and width of the gaps between their levels of achievement and aspirations" (p. 9). All that the first sentence means is that individuals compete or co-operate to get the things that they want, a truth which must have had its birth in the human mind some time ago. The second sentence is just as meaningful, so far as I can see, when the

positions of the subject and the predicate are reversed. Why not say that the nature and width of the gaps between the level of achievement and the level of aspiration of individuals are determined by the nature and intensity of their wants?

University of Maryland

CARL S. JOSLYN

Length of Life: A Study of the Life Table. By Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1936. Pp. xxii, 400. Tables, 54. Charts, 53. \$5.00.

This book is "a work setting forth with some degree of system and completeness the essential data available on the subject of human longevity." More than that, it is written in such a manner as to hold the interest of a wide audience. The "general public" as well as many specialists in different lines will find this study of human longevity interesting as well as instructive.

The first two chapters present some interesting information on the origin and development of the study of the life span and of the life table. The development of the life table from ancient times until the present is traced. In chapter three, the extent and character of the gain in longevity in the United States is shown; and in chapter four the geographical distribution of longevity in the United States is presented. In chapters five, six, and seven the biological aspects of the life table are treated. In chapters eight, nine, and ten, the factors related to longevity are discussed; e.g., medical and sanitary progress, physical condition, impairments, diseases, and occupational status. In chapters eleven and twelve, the application of the life table to the social and economic aspects of population problems is discussed. Chapter thirteen deals with life tables based on the experience of life insurance companies. The problems and methods of life table construction are described in the fourteenth and final chapter.

A special and practical feature of the book is the large collection of original and up-to-date life tables. Life tables are given for different countries of the world and for all of the states of the Union, save Texas. Of particular interest to rural sociologists is the life table for the urban and the rural population of the United States, based on the 1930 census. It is of especial interest to note that the gains in expectation of life for the urban population since 1901 have been greater than the corresponding gains for the rural population, although the expectation of life in 1930 for the rural population was still greater than the expectation of life for the urban population.

A few years ago your reviewer made some amateurish attempts at constructing and using life tables in connection with rural population research. Had this book been available, much time and worry would have been saved. ("Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina," *Bulletin* 295, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, North Carolina.) This is another way of saying that research workers in rural population will find this book a useful tool.

Texas Agricultural Experiment Station

C. HORACE HAMILTON

Sod House Days: Letters from a Kansas Homesteader 1877-78. By John Ruede. Edited by John Ise. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. vi, 248. \$2.75.

Unlike most rural folk, homesteader Ruede possessed the ability of expressing himself clearly in writing. His word pictures are vivid accounts of experiences gained in carving a farm from the Western Plains. They clearly portray the manner in which the cultural pattern of land utilization that had been developed in the Eastern States was slapped down blanket fashion onto the Great Plains area. Ruede did his share to destroy the buffalo grass that once covered what is now the "dust bowl." This book will do much to give that perspective which is so necessary for dealing with the present-day problems of the Great Plains area. It deserves a wide circulation.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH*

Research Memorandum on Crime in the Depression. By Thorsten Sellin. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 27, 1937. Pp. v, 133. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression. By The Educational Policies Commission. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 28, 1937. Pp. v, 173. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression. By Samuel A. Stouffer and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 29, 1937. Pp. v, 221. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on International Migration in the Depression. By Warren S. Thompson. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 30, 1937. Pp. v, 86. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression. By Donald Young. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 31, 1937. Pp. v, 252. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Recreation in the Depression. By Jesse F. Steiner. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 32, 1937. Pp. v, 124. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression. By Samuel C. Kincheloe. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 33, 1937. Pp. v, 158. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression. By Dwight Sanderson. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 34, 1937. Pp. v, 169. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Consumption in the Depression. By Roland S. Vaile. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 35, 1937. Pp. v, 86. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Health in the Depression. By Selwyn D. Collins and Clark Tibbits. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 56, 1937. Pp. v, 192. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Reading in the Depression. By Douglas Waples. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 37, 1937. Pp. v, 228. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Relief Policies in the Depression. By R. Clyde White and Mary K. White. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 38, 1937. Pp. v, 173. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Social Work in the Depression. By F. Stuart Chapin and Stuart A. Queen. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 39, 1937. Pp. v, 134. \$1.00.

The purpose of this series is to stimulate and assist research. Each author attempts "to locate existing data and interpretations already well-established," discover serious inadequacies in existing information, and formulate "research problems feasible for study." There is much of interest to rural sociologists in this series of 13 bulletins. Dr. Sanderson's memorandum on rural life during the depression is of primary importance, and will have the widest appeal to students of rural life. The most fundamental questions pertaining to population, effects of agricultural readjustment, status and stratification of farmers, rural youth, rural institutions, rural services, and rural attitudes are all raised. With a few concise statements, the existing state of knowledge with respect to each of these is set forth. Then follows specific mention of the next steps which the author believes should be taken.

Students of rural life will also find many suggestions and much valuable information in Thompson's statement on Internal Migration, Young's memorandum concerning Minority Peoples, Vaile's analysis of Consumption, Stouffer and Lazarsfeld's treatment of the Family in the Depression, and the Whites' study of Relief Policies. All in all this series should prove a great aid to research into the social aspects of agriculture.

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

News Notes and Announcements

E. L. MORGAN (1879-1937)

Rural sociology has lost a pioneer. On October 9, 1937, Dr. Morgan, who was professor of rural sociology and chairman of the department at the University of Missouri, died suddenly from a heart attack in St. Louis.

Dr. Morgan gave his entire life to endeavor in the fields of rural sociology and rural welfare. He was born on a farm near Boone Gap, Illinois, and was a graduate of McKendree College located at Lebanon in his native state. He pursued graduate study in agricultural economics and rural sociology, securing the master's degree at the University of Wisconsin in 1912 and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Massachusetts State College in 1932. In 1912 he became a member of the staff of the Massachusetts State College of Agriculture with the title of "Community Adviser." In this capacity he carried on the work of rural community development which is now designated as Extension Work in Rural Sociology. For some time during the World War, he served as National Director of the Rural Service of the American Red Cross. In 1921 Dr. Morgan became professor of rural sociology at the University of Missouri and in that capacity developed both research and extension activities. He was responsible for developing the first curriculum in rural social work to be offered by a college or university in the United States.

A complete review of Dr. Morgan's activities and influence would be impossible at this time. Only careful study by a conscientious biographer could accomplish that. As a brief appreciation of his work and influence, the following paragraphs are contributed by a few of the persons who knew him intimately and respected him highly.

AS A SCHOLAR

Dr. Morgan's first bulletin, *Mobilizing the Rural Community*, was the first vision of methods of rural community organization. His subsequent publications, and those prepared by his assistants under his direction, were notable contributions of exact data concerning community relations. Such data helped make possible the development of a definite technique of community organization. The published research which he directed covered a wide range, including studies of rural community organization, rural contacts, the relations of rural young people, the standard of living, and the place of the church and the library in rural life. All of these are characterized by a combination of realistic description and exact methods of quantitative measurement, and evince the breadth and quality of Morgan's scholarship.—DWIGHT SANDERSON

AS A TEACHER

Dr. Morgan, as a teacher, will best be remembered for his courses in group leadership and community organization. Through his congenial classroom man-

nerism he was able from the first day to establish a lasting mutual relationship with his students. His method permitted him to lead the group on through a philosophy richly illustrated by salient personal experiences. But the classroom was merely a place of convention. Dr. Morgan's interest in students was far too complete to be confined to that. It reached beyond in the form of counsel and material assistance and was a thing not terminated by graduation. His teachings which permeated these extra-classroom activities have contributed greatly to the lives of his many students.—MELVIN W. SNEED

AS A PROMOTER OF ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES FOR RURAL WELFARE

I know from working with Morgan in a great variety of activities that he had two outstanding capacities. He could, and always did, measure himself and his ideas by the same objective criteria that he did others, and he had a great capacity to synthesize suggestions into programs of action and promote these programs smoothly and effectively.—CARL C. TAYLOR

AS A FRIEND

E. L. Morgan had a great capacity for friendship. His depth of understanding of human nature was profound. His sympathies were both broad and deep. To be accepted as Morgan's friend was a distinction, for the support that he tendered to his friends was limited only by his resources.—C. E. LIVELY

American Sociological Society:—Dr. George Von Tungeln, Chairman of the Section on Rural Sociology, wishes to call attention to the fact that the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society are set for December 28 to 30 instead of December 29 to 31, as stated in his previous announcement.

Agricultural College of Warsaw:—The Agricultural College of Warsaw announces the establishment of a new periodical *Roczniki Socjologii Wsi* (Polish Annals of Rural Sociology). This journal will be especially devoted to rural social problems in Poland. It is associated with the Agricultural College in Warsaw, published with aid of the National Culture Fund. After the next number a special leaflet containing English summaries will be attached to each issue.

The Bengali Institute of Sociology:—

ORIGINS OF THE INSTITUTE

1. As it was not found convenient to do justice to sociological topics under the auspices of the Sociological Division of the "Āntarjātik Banga" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute), established April 9, 1932, which is rather comprehensive and all-embracing in its scope, the Directors of this *Parishat* were feeling the need for an independent institute for the study of sociological problems in Bengali.

2. Impetus to the establishment of an independent sociological institute was furnished by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar's paper on "Sociology in Bengal" published in the *Education Gazette* (Calcutta) of December 26, 1936, the jour-

nal with which Bhudev Mookerjee, a leading Bengali sociologist of the nineteenth century, was first associated in 1866 as editor.

3. The Bangiya Samáj-Vijnán Parishat (Bengali Institute of Sociology) was then established on April 14, 1937.

4. The Directors of the Bangiya Samáj-Vijnán Parishat are identical with those of the "Āntarjātik Banga" Parishat.

OBJECTS OF THE INSTITUTE

1. To carry on studies and investigations in sociology, theoretical and applied.
2. To use the Bengali language as the medium for these studies and investigations.

3. To appoint Research Fellows and Assistants, and with their contributions to enrich Bengali thought and language in the domain of sociology taken in the most comprehensive sense.

4. To publish a journal of sociology in Bengali.

5. To organize lectures for public meetings and discussions before small groups on sociological themes, as well as talks on sociological books, journals, reprints, institutes, etc.

6. To enter into liaison with the sociologists and sociological institutes or societies of the rest of India and other countries of the world.

7. To establish contacts between the work of Indian sociologists and that of foreign sociologists.

Correction:—A note on page 367 of the September issue of *Rural Sociology* stated that Dr. Theodore G. Standing and Mr. William H. Sewell were assuming duties at the University of Oklahoma. This should be corrected to read: "at the Oklahoma A. and M. College."

Mississippi State College:—*Rural Sociology* might be interested in the nine "new" ways of pronouncing "subsidy" used by Southern families interviewed in the Consumer Purchase Study. They follow:

- (1) Subsity, (2) Subsy, (3) Sustencence, (4) Sustinance, (5) Sacity,
- (6) Substute, (7) Subside, (8) Sidy, (9) Penny Money.

Oklahoma A. and M. College:—Mr. Robert T. McMillan resigned his position as rural sociologist for the Resettlement Administration at Amarillo, Texas, and accepted an appointment as research assistant in rural sociology at this institution on September 20. He will be associated during the current year with Professor W. H. Sewell in a study of the Social Correlatives of Farm Tenure Status in Oklahoma.

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